BYZANTION

REVUE INTERNATIONALE DES ÉTUDES BYZANTINES

fondée en 1924

par Paul GRAINDOR et Henri GRÉGOIRE

Organe de la Société belge d'Études byzantines

TOME XLVII
(1977)

HOMMAGE
À
IVAN DUJČEV

Publié avec le concours du Ministère de l'Éducation nationale et de la Culture française et de la Fondation Universitaire de Belgique

BRUXELLES
FONDATION BYZANTINE
BOULEVARD DE L'EMPEREUR. 4
1977

IVAN DUJČEV

Notizia biografica e bibliografia
a cura di Enrica Follieri

La più fedele notizia biografica su Ivan Dujčev è quella suggerita dall'elenco delle sue pubblicazioni. Attraverso il loro contenuto e la loro successione si può seguire di tappa in tappa la vicenda umana e culturale dell'autore: dai primi passi nel campo delle scienze storiche compiuti, sotto la guida di V. N. Zlatarski, nell'Università di Sofia (la città dove egli nacque, il 18 aprile 1907), agli studi di bizantinologia, di storia medievale e di paleografia condotti, tra il 1933 e il 1936, nell'Università di Roma, alla scuola di Silvio Giuseppe Mercati, e nell'Archivio Vaticano, all'attività di docente universitario esercitata al ritorno in patria, agli anni difficili della guerra e specialmente del dopoguerra. A partire dal 1950 l'operosità dello studioso bulgaro riprende con rinnovato fervore, e si sviluppa negli anni Sessanta e Settanta in un'attività che ha del prodigioso, parallelamente alla collaborazione a intraprese scientifiche internazionali, come il «Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi» e il «Corpus fontium historiae byzantinae», alla partecipazione a innumerevoli convegni e congressi, alle lezioni tenute, su invito, presso numerose Università europee ed extraeuropee. Né sono mancati a Ivan Dujčev riconoscimenti da parte di qualificati enti culturali: si onorano di annoverarlo fra i loro soci l'Accademia di Palermo (dal 1967) e quella di Napoli (dal 1975), l'Istituto di studi bizantini e neogreci di Palermo (dal 1975), la British Academy (dal 1976); in Bulgaria è stato dichiarato, nel 1971, «Cultor benemeritus scientiae»; la cultura di lingua tedesca gli ha conferito, nel 1974, il prestigioso premio «Gottfried-von-Herder».

Giunto al suo settantesimo anno in piena attività scientifica, Ivan Dujčev ha accumulato nel suo curriculum una massa imponente di scritti — oltre cinquecento! — che ne fanno una delle più insigni personalità contemporanee nel campo della bizantinologia e della slavistica. Ma non si devono passare sotto silenzio le sue qualità umane: la cordialità con cui egli accoglie — insieme alla sua bella e

intelligente consorte, la gentile signora Elena — i colleghi di passaggio per la Bulgaria nella sua casa di Sofia; la generosità con cui mette a disposizione di chi si rivolge a lui i tesori della sua ricca biblioteca e della sua profonda cultura; la devozione per i maestri, l'indulgenza verso i principianti, la piena solidarietà verso gli amici; e specialmente, in questa nostra età così propizia al turbinare delle banderuole sotto i mutevoli soffi del vento, la sua immutevole fedeltà ai principi ideali che hanno ispirato tutta la sua vita.

Sia dunque benvenuta l'iniziativa di *Byzantion* — rivista cui egli collaborò la prima volta nel lontano 1935 — di dedicare a Ivan Dujčev il presente numero, come riconoscimento per i meriti eccezionali dell'illustre studioso, e insieme come augurio per la sua attività futura, che amici e colleghi gli auspicano lunga, serena e feconda.

Bibliografia

Non sono compresi nella presente bibliografia i numerosi articoli di carattere divulgativo, né le notizie bibliografiche.

Si sono usate le seguenti abbreviazioni:

APPr	Archiv za poselištni proučvanija
Byz	Byzantion
ByzSl	Byzantinoslavica
B.Z.	Byzantinische Zeitschrift
DHGE	Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques
IAI	Izvestija na Archeologičeskija institut
IBAI	Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija archeologičeski institut
IIBL	Izvestija na Instituta za bŭlgarska istorija
IBBL	Izvestija na Instituta za bŭlgarska literatura
IIDr	Izvestija na Istoričeskoto družestvo
IIL	Izvestija na Instituta za literatura
IstPr	Istoričeski pregled
MakPr	Makedonski pregled
REB	Revue des Études Byzantines
SBNE	Studi bizantini e neoellenici
SHPS	Studia historico-philologica Serdicensia
TODRL	Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury
VizVrem	Vizantijskij vremennik
ZbR	Zbornik radova Srpske akademije nauka, Vizantološki institut.

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SOME PREFECTS CALLED JULIAN

I

According to their lemmata, the two following epigrams were both originally inscribed on the base of the same equestrian statue of Justinian.

(a) *Ταῦτά, σοι, ὦ Βασιλεῦ Μηδοκτόνε* (1), *δῶρα κομίζει* (2)
σῆς Ῥώμης γενέτης καὶ πάϊς Εὐστάθιος,
πῶλον ὑπὲρ νίκης, Νίκην στεφανηφόρον ἄλλην (3),
καὶ σὲ μετηνεμίῳ πώλῳ ἐφεζόμενον.
ὕψοσ', Ἰουστινιανέ, τέον κράτος· ἐν χθονὶ δ' ἀεί
δεσμὸς ἔχοι Μήδων καὶ Σκυθέων προμάχους.
(*APl* 62 : *εἰς στήλην Ἰουστινιανοῦ Βασιλέως ἐν τῷ Ἱπποδρόμῳ*).

(b) *Πῶλον ὁμοῦ καὶ ἄνακτα καὶ ὀλλυμένην Βαβυλῶνα*
χαλκὸς ἀπὸ σκύλων ἔπλασεν Ἀσσυρίων.
Ἔστι δ' Ἰουστινιανός, ὃν ἀντολίης ζυγὸν ἕλκων
στῆσεν Ἰουλιανὸς μάρτυρα Μηδοφόνον.
(*APl* 63 : *εἰς τὸ αὐτό*).

The second of these poems was dedicated by a certain Julian *ἀντολίης ζύγον ἑλκών*. *ἀντολίη* can only mean the praetorian prefecture of the East. Compare, for example, *APl* 37. 3-4, commemorating the two

(1) For a parody of this typically grandiose apostrophe, cf. *AP* xi. 270. 1, with *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (1973),219.

(2) A characteristic Nonnian clausula : cf. *Dion.* iv. 260 ; xi. 128 ; xvi. 106 ; xxxvii. 103. 398, 777 ; xlii. 396, 416 ; *anon. AP* i. 10.18 (cf. *ca.* 527).

(3) As Mango remarks (*The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (1972), 118, n. 315) Justinian was probably shown 'holding a globe on which was perched a little Victory with a wreath in her hand'. Cf. A. GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (1936), 46. 'Another' Nike, because there was (at least) one other there already in the hippodrome : cf. *APl* 341. 2 and 345. 1, with *Porphyrius*, p. 186.

tenures of the Eastern prefecture and consulate (symbolised by the purple of the Trabea) of the infamous Peter Barsymes (4):

> ἀντολίη πρώτη καὶ διχθαδίη μετὰ τήνδε
> κόχλου πορφυρέης καὶ πάλιν ἀντολίης.

Our Julian, then, was praetorian prefect of the East at the time or shortly after some victory of Justinian's over Persia. Now Justinian was at war with Persia on and off throughout his long reign, but the one and only occasion on which his armies actually defeated the Persians in battle during all this period was at Dara in June 530 (5). And it so happens that the man who is attested as prefect of the East between 18th March, 530 to 20 February, 531, was called Julian. His tenure may have extended for a week or two beyond the latter date, but no more, since his famous successor John the Cappadocian is attested in office by April 30, 531 (6). We can hardly doubt that this is our man.

Assuming that Julian was in office at the time, the *terminus ante quem* for the erection of the statue is February-March 531 — which is likely enough on other grounds: for in April the Persians turned the tables by inflicting a disastrous defeat on the Romans near Callinicum, which would have done something to take the gilt off the gingerbread. We may probably assume that the statue was erected fairly soon after the victory at Dara in June 530, probably before the end of 530.

The statue itself happens to be independently attested. Not (as editors have assumed) the massive equestrian statue which Justinian himself had erected in the Augustaeum (PROCOPIUS, *Aed.* i. 2). The lemma locates it firmly in the hippodrome, and the *Parastaseis* (PREGER, *Patria Cpoleos* i. 60 11f) expressly mention a bronze equestrian statue of Justinian erected after a Persian victory (*μετὰ τὴν νίκην Μήδων*) in the area of the Kathisma. This tallies in all respects with the statue commemorated by *AP* 63. The 'destroyed Babylon' (*ὀλωμένη Βαβυλών*) of l. 1, evidently represented, like the emperor

(4) As shown in *JHS*, 1966, 15.

(5) BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, ii² (1923), 82-5, with the corrections of E. STEIN, *Bas-Empire*, ii (1949), 288.

(6) All the sources are collected by STEIN, *Bas-Empire*, ii, 784 (minus the poem under consideration).

and the horse, in bronze, will have been defeated Persians, shown lying in chains on the ground trampled by Justinian's mount (the familiar *calcatio* motif (7)). According to Corippus, the pall on Justinian's bier showed the emperor 'effera Vandalici calcantem colla tyranni' (*Laud. Just.* i. 286).

So *APl* 63 presents no problems. Both the statue and the prefect can be dated and identified. Eustathius is not quite so straightforward. The clue to his rank is contained in l. 2. The *πάϊς* is only there to balance *γενέτης*, and means no more than that he is a local man, a citizen of Constantinople. But *γενέτης Ῥώμης* (8) must allude to some specific office or rank. Editors assume the patriciate. It is certainly true that writers of the age delighted in exploiting the notion 'father' latent in the word: e.g. *AP* ix. 674. 4-5 (? fifth century), *Ἀμμώνιος, ὃς βασιλῆος | ἐστὶ πάτηρ* (9). But in all such examples the patrician is described as the father of the emperor, not of Constantinople. Corippus' 'pater imperii' of the eunuch patrician Callinicus (*Laud. Just.* iv. 333) and Suidas' gloss *πατρίκιος. πάτηρ τοῦ κοίνου* are closer, but still not quite the same as 'father of Constantinople', since the patrician's influence or fame is not (or need not be) confined to one city alone.

By the tenth century *πάτηρ πόλεως* (10) formed part of the official title of the prefect of Constantinople (cf. CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS, *de Caer.* p. 264. 12 and 528. 2). As supreme judicial authority and arbiter of almost every aspect of life in the city, it is perfectly possible that he bore such a title, if only unofficially, as early as Justinian's day (11). If so, then *γενέτης Ῥώμης* would be a perfectly

(7) C. WALTER, *Papal political imagery in the Medieval Lateran Palace*, in *Cahiers archéologiques*, xxi (1971), 109 f.

(8) = the 'new Rome', often used *tout court* for Constantinople in the poetry of the age: *Porphyrius*, p. 254.

(9) Cf. CLAUDIAN, *in Eutrop.*, ii. 68-9; ii. *pr.* 50; PHILOSTORGIUS, *HE*, xi. 4, p. 135. 20 Bidez.

(10) To be distinguished, of course, from the same title *πάτηρ πόλεως* given to magistrates in charge of public works in cities other than Constantinople (references in J. and L. ROBERT, *Bull. Epigr.* (*REG*, lxxviiii), 1965, no. 419, p. 172)

(11) For an earlier unofficial title cf. the interesting epigram from a statue base in (Egyptian) Thebes: *τὸ[ν] δ' ἐκυρ[ὸν] Θεόδωρον ἀριζήλης ἐπ' ἀπήνη[ς] | Ῥώμης ὁπλοτέρης θήκατο κηδεμόνα* (G. LEFÈBRE, *Rec. des inscr. gr. chr. d'Egypte* (1907), no. 227). Theodore apparently held the prefecture of Constantinople in 385 or 387 (so *PLRE* Theodorus, 18); it is the reference to the chariot that is the key here (see below, p. 60). The title *κηδεμὼν πόλεως* of course goes back to Plato (*rep.*, 412 c).

reasonable and recognisable 'poetic' version of it. There is ample space in our very defective fasti for the city prefecture between Asterius, prefect shortly before the coronation of Justinian in April 527, and Eudaemon, in office January 532 (12). It is perfectly possible, then, that Eustathius was city prefect while Julian was praetorian prefect, namely 530/1.

The content of *API* 62 certainly seems to bear out the contention of the lemmata that both 62 and 63 adorned the same statue; Eustathius' statue, like Julian's was equestrian, of Justinian, and in commemoration of a Persian victory.

Yet doubts ought not to be concealed, even if they turn out to be exaggerated or groundless. It would be unusual enough for two prefects to have combined at all in the erection of such a monument. But if they did, one might have expected the cooperation to be signalled explicitly in the epigrams. Compare, for example, the epigram to a charioteer called Julian, which

> *αὐτὸς ἄναξ καὶ δῆμος ἅπας καὶ πότνια βουλή*
> *ἔστησαν κοινὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκάμενοι* (13).

Or the epigram to another charioteer, Constantine, put up (wonder of wonders), by the Blues and Greens *united* (14):

> *οἱ Βένετοι Πρασίνοισιν ἐναντίοι αἰὲν ἐόντες*
> *εἰς ἓν ὁμοφροσύνης ἐξεβόησαν ὅρον ...*

Yet in our case each epigram taken by itself implies that the statue was provided by the one prefect in question alone.

We can hardly accept Mango's curious recent idea that Julian and Eustathius are in fact one and the same man, holding the two prefectures in succession (15) (general considerations of probability aside, one would expect some hint of such peculiar circumstances in the epigrams). Would it be preposterous to suggest that the two epigrams in fact commemorated two different statues? Some faint support for such a notion might be found in the 'Scythians' (? Huns) added to

(12) I hope before long to publish a provisional list of the city prefects of Constantinople down to Heraclius: cf. *GRBS* xvii (1976), 286.

(13) *AP* xv. 45. 3-4.

(14) *API* 368. 1-2.

(15) *The Art of the Byzantine Empire* (1972), 118, n. 318.

the Persians in 62. 6, opening the possibility that the epigram refers to a different occasion, a different moment from Justinian's long and inconclusive Persian wars. If so, then Eustathius' prefecture would be undatable.

Yet on balance it is probably easier to accept two prefects erecting one statue in (perhaps uneasy and so in the end unmentioned) collaboration than two apparently identical monuments commemorating apparently identical achievements. The Scythians can be neatly enough accommodated in the context of 530 if we assume a reference to the Crimaean Huns, who rebelled in 528 and were reduced soon afterwards [16].

A little more remains to be said about the prefects. *AP* vii. 602, by Agathias, bewails the early death of a boy called Eustathius, aged only 15 [17]. Now it appears from line 7 that his grandfather had held some high office:

> *οὐδὲ τεοῦ πάππου θρόνος ἤρκεσεν, οὐ γενετῆρος*
> *ὄλβος ...*

The lemmatist is ready with the information that he was 'son' (*παῖς*) of 'Eustathius the ex-prefect the great' (*Εὐσταθίου ἀπὸ ὑπάρχων τοῦ μεγάλου*). Now the credentials of such lemmata are often very dubious, and at best it looks as though the lemmatist is confused, since the boy's father is only credited with wealth; it is the grandfather whose 'throne' cannot help him [18] (the 'throne' of the Roman governor or prefect being the commonest symbol of his power [19]). Yet sometimes the lemma does preserve information that is not fiction or guesswork, and since *τοῦ μεγάλου* cannot have been inferred from the poem and is not an obvious guess, it may well be that there really was a prefect known as 'Eustathius the great'. In an earlier discussion of this poem my wife and I could only think of the Eustathius who

(16) BURY, *Later Roman Empire*, ii², 311-2.

(17) The *κηρός* of this epigram refers, not to a death mask (as suggested in *JHS*, 1966, 10), but to a funeral portrait in encaustic (cf. MCCAIL, *JHS*, 1969, 91, n. 21).

(18) It would also be natural for the name to 'jump' a generation; that is to say for a father to name his son after his own father rather than himself.

(19) Many examples in L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, iv (1948), 41 f., and see below, p. 60.

was praetorian prefect of the East in 505/6 (20). Yet assuming that this man reached the prefecture at the prime of his life (40/45) and married at a normal age (before he was thirty, say), one would have expected his grandson to reach the age of 15 rather earlier than the period to which Agathias' epigrams belong, namely the 550s and early 560s. Of course, Eustathius may have won his prefecture early and married late, and the epigram may be one of Agathias' earliest. All the same, it would certainly be easier (21) to identify the prefect-grandfather of the unfortunate young Eustathius with the city prefect of 530. A man in (say) his 40s in 530 could very easily have had a 15 year old grandson 25 years later, by the mid 550s. It could be added that a sobriquet such as 'the great' might seem better to fit a man who beautified the city with equestrian statues of Justinian than the earlier praetorian prefect, who is no more than a name in the law codes.

As for Julian, he has achieved a more lasting fame. As my wife and I showed in 1966, there are excellent reasons for supposing that the praetorian prefect of 530/1 is none other than Julian 'the Egyptian the ex-prefect', the prolific epigrammatist, author of 80 odd surviving poems in the Anthology. Julian the prefect was a supporter of the short-lived usurper Hypatius in 532 (22), and Julian the poet wrote two epitumbia on Hypatius (*AP* vii. 591-2). It would be a very odd coincidence if two prefects called Julian had both been associates of Hypatius. If then the prefect of 530/1 was a notable epigrammatist (he seems to have published a book of poems himself in addition to those later published (or republished) by Agathias (23)), is it not a possibility to be reckoned with that he himself is the author of one (if not both) of the epigrams to our statue? Contemporaries would have tended to assume that a poet wrote the poem that commemorated his most striking monument, and it would be understandable if he had taken personal steps to ensure that it was up to his standard. Stylistic comparisons with his assured work are hardly possible (except at a

(20) *JHS*, 1966, 10; cf. STEIN, *Bas-Empire*, ii, 783.

(21) *pace* McCAIL, *JHS*, 1969, 91, n. 21.

(22) *JHS*, 1966, 13; the further identifications made by McCail, *JHS*, 1969, 88 seem to me very fragile.

(23) Stadmueller's edition, ii, pp. XXII f.; Waltz's, vii, p. XLV.

negative level (24)) with such a short specimen as *APl* 63, but it is a perfectly competent and reasonably elegant piece of work. There is nothing in the context of *AP* to suggest that either poem was included in Agathias' *Cycle*, but this does not prove either that they were not, or that, if they were, Julian did not write them. It is perhaps worth remarking that, writing as he was with an eye to the favour of Justinian's successor Justin II, Agathias included very few epigrams commemorating the activity of Justinian (25).

II

Now it happens that there are a number of other epigrams in the Anthology commemorating prefects called Julian. Not unnaturally, perhaps, editors have often assumed or alleged that all or most refer to the same man. In fact these poems, six in number, can be apportioned out between two or (more probably) three different prefects, none of them the praetorian prefect of 530/1 (26).

(A) The three following epigrams have never been satisfactorily discussed and dated :

> *Ζήνωνα πτολίαρχος Ἰουλιανὸς βασιλῆα.*
> *Ζήνωνος παράκοιτιν Ἰουλιανὸς Ἀριάδνην* (27)
>
> (*APl* 69)

(24) By which I mean that (e.g.) a metrical flaw (not present in this case) might be held to rule out Julian's authorship.

(25) See *JHS*, 1966, 24-5 ; McCail, *JHS*, 1969, 94-6, reacting against our thesis, has exaggerated the specifically 'Justinianic' features of Agathias' *Cycle*, concluding with the remarkable argument that epigrams commemorating Justinian were deliberately omitted by Agathias because 'Justinian's name was unscannable except by a barbarism'. Quite apart from the fact that this would not explain the absence of epigrams referring to Justinian as an unnamed *ἄναξ* or *βασιλεύς*, McCail must surely be aware that by this period no 'barbarism' was involved in such a scansion of a proper name ; there are certainly parallels in *Cycle* epigrams (e.g. Julianus in Theaetetus, *APl*, 32 *b*. 1).

(26) Presumably one of the four is the Julian *ἔπαρχος* who was honoured with a statue in St. Sophia (*Patria Cpoleos*, 26. 14 = 202. 5 Preger).

(27) Note the exact parallelism between the two lines, each consisting of 4 words of 3, 4, 5 and 4 syllables respectively ; the first line begins with Zeno and the second ends with Ariadne, Julian occupying hte same position in both lines.

Οἶκον ἄναξ Ἑλικῶνος ἀνηβήσαντα νοήσας (28)
κυδαλίμοις καμάτοισιν Ἰουλιανοῦ πολιάρχου
Πιερικῶν προπάροιθε δόμων παγχρύσεος ἔστη

(*APl* 70)

Κῦδος Ἰουλιανοῦ παναοίδιμον, ὃς μετὰ κόσμον
Πιερίδων χρυσέην στῆσεν Ἀναστασίην

(*APl* 71)

69, with its explicit reference to Zeno and his empress Ariadne, is uncontroversial — at least as regards date (Zeno reigned from 474-5 and again from 476-91, and was married to Ariadne all this time). Here there is only one rather minor suggestion to be made. We happen to know of a pair of statues of Zeno and Ariadne by the entrance to the Chalke palace (*Patria Cpoleos* 38. 5 = 164. 17). Of course there may have been other such pairs elsewhere, but surely it *was* a pair of statues, rather than one joint monument. We may compare (out of several examples) 70 and 71, dedications (as we shall see) to two separate statues of an emperor and his empress, erected on the same occasion. Or *AP* ix. 812 and 813, from statues put up to Justin II and Sophia respectively on the same occasion (29):

θεῖον Ἰουστῖνον, καθαρὸν φρουρήτορα θεσμῶν,
Δομνῖνος καθαρῆς ἐν προθύροισι Δίκης (812)

τῆς Σοφίης τόδ' ἄγαλμα Δίκης προπάροιθε θυράων,
οὐ γὰρ ἄνευθε δίκης ἔπρεπε τὴν σοφίην (813)

For joint representations compare ix. 810 (30), *οὗτος Ἰουστῖνος Σοφίῃ σχεδόν* ... or (probably commemorating a painting) Agathias, *APl* 41. 3, where a certain Thomas is said to be *θεσπεσίης ἄγχιστα συνωρίδος*, 'next to the divine pair' (? Justin and Sophia again (31)).

In *APl* 69 the emperor and empress are not linked in any way so as

(28) For the motif of the emperor 'noticing' that a building has been repaired, or needs repairing, cf. *AP*, i. 2. 3 (of Justin II), *δόμον σκάζοντα νοήσας*. Compare the future of *νοήσεις* drawing the reader's attention to noteworthy features: e.g. Paul Sil., *Ecphr.* 806, *πάντα νοήσεις/ ὄμμασι θάμβος ἄγοντα* ; *ib.* 846, 855 ; *Ambo*, 201, 273.

(29) *JHS*, 1966, 21.

(30) There is no basis whatever for Beckby's assertion that these statues stood by the harbour of Sophia.

(31) *JHS*, 1966, 9.

to suggest a joint representation, nor can I recall another example of a dedicator (in this case Julian) naming himself twice in one dedication (especially so short a one). I suggest that Julian in fact put up two separate statues, one to Zeno and one to Ariadne, and that the two lines of *AP* 69 are two separate dedications to each, each naturally enough naming its dedicator. Future editors might distinguish them as 69a and 69b.

P. Speck (32) has recently suggested that they derive from the statues of Zeno and Ariadne "carrying epigrams by the philosopher Secundus" outside the Chalke palace, as listed in the *Parastaseis Syntomai Chronikai*, § 80 (*Patria Cpoleos*, p. 70 Preger). But the authority of this work is doubtful; it is most unlikely that statues placed here would have survived the destruction of the Nika revolt in 532. Moreover, the *Parastaseis* state specifically that the epigrams of Secundus (33) (a shadowy but certainly much later figure) were in iambics.

Now for 70 and 71. Two epigrams, almost certainly one occasion, but how many statues? Is the Julian the same as the Julian of 69? Who are the emperor of 70.1 and the Anastasia of 71.2? What is the date of the statues and where and what is the 'house of Helikon' outside which they stood?

To begin with the last question, it is commonly assumed that the 'house of Helikon' which Julian renovated or beautified was the great library of Constantinople (34). This is a not unreasonable assumption, which might even be thought to receive some support from another relevant epigram which topographers have missed, *AP* ix.140 (35):

> ἕδρην χαλκεόπεζαν ἐπὶ προθύροις Ἑλικῶνος
> εἱστήκει θεράπων τις ὑπὲρ νώτοιο μεμαρπώς,
> οὐδ' ἔθελεν (36) μογέοντι πορεῖν ἐπίβαθρον ἀοιδῆς ·
> τοὔνεκά μευ θώρηξε νόον πολύμητις ἀνάγκη.
>
> '*On the threshold of Helicon* stood a servant
> holding a bronze-footed stool on his back. But

(32) *Gnomon*, lxvii (1974); 389, n. 16.

(33) KRUMBACHER, *Gesch. Byz. Lit.*[2] (1897), 557.

(34) E.g. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*[2], 161-2.

(35) These remarks are intended to supersede my earlier discussion of this epigram, 'A biographical note on Claudian', *Athenaeum*, xliv (1966), at pp. 37-9.

(36) Or perhaps, rather, *οὐδὲ θέλεν*; cf. *Porphyrius*, p. 266.

> he was unwilling to offer it to me as a support
> for my song [i.e. to me while I was singing] when
> I grew tired. So necessity the mother of
> invention sharpened my mind'.

A corruption obscures the point of the last line (37), but otherwise the main outline of the situation is clear enough. For some reason a servant refused to put a stool down for his master, evidently a poet reciting one of his works, to sit on when he grew tired (38). All that concerns us is the porch or forecourt of 'Helicon' where the poet was reciting. As with *API* 70-1, there is no lemma, nor even any positive indication that the poem refers to Constantinople at all, but it is of the right period and it is certainly tempting to connect this 'forecourt of Helicon' with the 'House of Helicon'. The library was part of what might loosely be termed the 'university complex' in the Basilica (39) and its forecourt would be an appropriate enough place for a poet to give a recitation. In Rome, for example, the Athenaeum served precisely this same double purpose, a place of study for higher education and a place for poets and rhetors to perform (40).

(37) Stadtmueller's *ἰήν* ('voice') is certainly the neatest correction of P's *ἰὸν* ('arrow', an easy corruption after *θώρηξε*), though it is hard to see why, when it was apparently the poet's legs that were tired, ingenuity was required to 'fortify' his *voice*. With A. WIFSTRAND, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos* (1933), 165-6, I prefer Reiske's *νόον* ; i.e. ingenuity sharpened the poet's *wits*, so that he found somewhere else to sit down when deserted by his slave. It is true that the text does not specify where, but it is difficult to see how any emendation of just *ἰὸν* could give real point to the poem ; perhaps it is incomplete. The lemma is garbled guesswork (see STADTMUELLER, *ad loc.*).

(38) It emerges from the passages cited by Mayor on Juvenal iii. 9 (i⁴, 1886, pp. 179-80), that it was customary for a poet to deliver his preface standing and then sit down to read the actual poem. So it may be that the poet's servant did not notice that he had finished his preface. By the late empire the preface was often fairly substantial (see my discussion in *CQ*, 1970, 119 f.) ; one might feel disposed to forgive the slave who missed the transition from preface to poem (after 125 lines) in Paul's *Ecphrasis* of St. Sophia.

(39) P. SPECK, *Die Kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (*Byz. Archiv*, 14), München, 1974, 92 f.

(40) *SHA*, Pert. 11. 3, *Sev. Alex.*, 35. 2 and other texts collected by H. BRAUNERT, in *Historia-Augusta-Colloquium Bonn 1963* (1964), pp. 10-12 — though the conclusions he draws from them concerning the date of the *HA* seem to me quite unwarranted : see *JRS*, 1965, 248.

The library *might* have been popularly known as a 'house of Helicon' or the 'halls of the Muses'. But there is no evidence whatever that it was. And it has not been observed in this connection that we do know of *another* building in Constantinople that was popularly known as the 'temple of the Muses' (*νεὼς τῶν Μουσῶν*), namely the Senate House by the Augustaeum square (41). It is Themistius who so styles it, because of the multitude of classical statues it housed (*Or.* xvii. 215*d*, i.308.25 Downey; *Or.* xxxi.355*b* and *c*, ii.191-2 Downey). The transportation of these statues from Rome to Constantinople he describes as 'the moving of Helikon to the Bosphorus' (*μετελήλυθεν ὁ Ἑλικὼν εἰς τὸν Βόσπορον*, *Or.* xxxi. 355*b*). *Or.* xxxi concludes with the eloquent claim that the Senate House was presided over by Calliope, the chief of the Muses. In 404 it was burnt down in a great fire: 'it is said', wrote the historian Zosimus (v. 24.6), 'that there perished in that fire the very images which had originally been consecrated to the Muses on Helikon' (42). It can scarcely be coincidence that Zosimus too should think of the Muses and Helicon. Two at least of the statues survived the fire, Dodonian Zeus and Lindian Athena (miraculously, according to Zosimus), and the Senate House was evidently rebuilt, for it was burned down again in 532 and rebuilt once more by Justinian.

The Senate House was, in effect, a 'museum' in the modern sense. There is no reason to suppose that it lost its popular name after the fire of 404 (its porticoes were no doubt restocked), and it is surely more probable that it is to this building that our three epigrams refer.

ix.140 is ascribed to Claudian. But which Claudian: Claudian of Alexandria, court poet to Honorius and Stilicho between 395 and 404, or a shadowy and inconsequential Nonnian epigrammatist (43)? In 1966 I was inclined to attribute the poem to the famous Claudian (44), but I now suspect that I was wrong (45); if so, then it would

(41) For the two Senate Houses of Constantinople, see R. JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*², 1964, 154 f.; C. MANGO, *The Brazen House* (1959), 56 f.

(42) Statues of *Μοῦσαι Ἑλικωνιάδες* are also mentioned by Eusebius (*V. Const.* iii. 54, p. 101. 26 Heikel) and Sozomen (*HE*, ii. 4, p. 57. 3 Bidez-Hansen), though not located at the Senate House.

(43) I have attempted to distinguish them and their works in my *Claudian* (1970), 7-12.

(44) *Athenaeum*, 1966, 37 f.

(45) ix. 139, likewise ascribed to Claudian, looks decidedly post-Nonnian (cf.

belong at earliest some time late in the second half of the fifth century.

What now of *APl* 70 and 71? The simplest and seemingly most natural solution is to assume that 69, 70 and 71 all commemorate the activity of the same Julian, in which case 70 and 71 would likewise be dated under Zeno. On the traditional identification of the building this seemed very plausible, since the library was burned down in 476, and it was supposed that the epigrams referred to its rebuilding. In fact their language suggests renovation or beautification rather than reconstruction (*ἀνηβήσαντα*, 70.1; *μετὰ κόσμον*, 71.1). Nor can a suitable Anastasia be found under Zeno — though one could always postulate an otherwise unknown daughter or sister.

The problematic Anastasia has usually been emended away. Thus Stadtmueller's *Ἀναστασίου*, recently championed by Beckby and McCail. This would imply that Julian's tenure of the prefecture ran on from the end of Zeno's reign into that of his successor Anastasius (491-518). But it is a dangerous principle to tamper with unexceptionable proper names in a poorly attested period, and in this case there are powerful historical and stylistic objections as well.

Ἀναστασίου has one superficial attraction. A Julian does actually stand on record as city prefect under Anastasius. Unfortunately, however, the source in question (46) expressly states that this Julian was appointed the day *after* Zeno's death, namely April 10, 491 (47). So even if this Julian is the same man as the Julian of *APl* 69 (under Zeno), which is likely enough (48), we should have to infer two separate tenures of the prefecture for him. This is no problem; what

WIFSTRAND, *Von Kallimachos zu Nonnos*, 165), and though 140 is not obviously post-Nonnian, this is hardly strong enough evidence to ascribe each poem to a different Claudian (cf. my Claudian, 127, n. 2).

(46) *De. Caer.*, i. 96, from Peter the Patrician, and so thoroughly reliable.

(47) BURY, *Lat. Rom. Empire*, I [2], 429 (who by oversight writes December for April).

(48) He was appointed by Ariadne in response to popular demand for the removal of the last prefect as a 'thief' (*ἔξω βάλε τὸν κλέπτην ἔπαρχον τῇ πόλει*, *De Caer.*, l.c.). It is very likely that Ariadne would, at such a moment, have chosen as the new prefect a man the people had confidence in: that is to say, someone who had held the office before — not to mention someone who had erected a gold statue to her (69*b*). The unpopular prefect is described as 'foreign', no doubt (as Bury remarks, p. 430, n. 1) an Isaurian.

does seem to rule him out of consideration for *APl* 70-71 is the fact that he was appointed by Ariadne the day before Anastasius' own proclamation, and dismissed by Anastasius at the earliest opportunity (not more than a matter of weeks after his accession, it seems), to be replaced by Anastasius' own nominee, his brother-in-law Secundinus ([49]). This would hardly allow time for the renovations and the erection of our two statues. And given the circumstances of Julian's dismissal from office, it does not seem likely that Anastasius would have reappointed him to the prefecture later.

So *Ἀναστασίου* would entail postulating *another* man called Julian who held the city prefecture under Anastasius. This both Beckby and McCail apparently do, since they (implausibly) identify their Anastasian Julian with Julian the Egyptian ([50]), who, as praetorian prefect in 530/1, could scarcely have held office under Zeno.

The other objection is stylistic. The more functional details in inscriptional epigrams of this period tend to be highly formulaic. Now there are two stock formulae for describing the material of which a statue was made. The first and commonest is to say: 'We, the emperor, the senate, the Ionians, etc. have erected *εἰκόνα χαλκείην* (*χρυσείην*, etc.) of or to X' or else 'We ... have honoured X *εἰκόνι χαλκείῃ* (*λαινέῃ*, etc.)'. If we read *Ἀναστασίου* in 71, we should have to suppose that *χρυσέην* agrees with *εἰκόνα* understood = 'a golden [sc. statue] of Anastasius'. I have not made an exhaustive search, but I do not recall any parallel for this.

The other formula is for the adjective (*χρύσεος*, *χάλκεος*, etc.) to agree with the honorand, usually in the form 'X stands golden, brazen, etc.'. Cf. (e.g.) *APl* 73. 3, *χρύσεος ἕστηκεν Αὐρηλιανός*; *AP* xv. 41. 1, *χάλκεος οὐκ ἔστης*; *APl* 336. 6, 349. 5, etc. It is this formula which is used in 70. 3 (*παγχρύσεος ἕστη*), and surely again in 71. 2: *χρυσέην στῆσεν Ἀναστασίην*. I should be most reluctant to emend away a classic example of a stock formula such as this for an expression for which there is no parallel. Had the writer wished to introduce a reference to a gold statue of Anastasius, he could so easily, without disturbing formula, metre, grammar or construction, have written: *χρυσοῦν στῆσεν Ἀναστάσιον*. It follows that there is really no

(49) Bury, *Lat. Rom. Emp.*, i², 432, cf. 437, n. 4.
(50) Beckby, *ad loc.*, McCail, *JHS*, 88, n. 2.

justification for interfering with *Ἀναστασίην* — and no advantage either.

The alternative is to dissociate 70-71 from 69. It might seem natural enough to infer from their juxtaposition that all three refer to the same city prefect Julian, but (as we shall see) there are in all probability no fewer than four prefects called Julian commemorated in the epigrams of the Anthology. 69-71 have no lemmata to locate the statues or identify the unnamed emperor of 70. 1, and they may well have been juxtaposed originally for no better reason than a guess based on the name Julian alone. There is nothing to suggest that 69*a* or *b* have anything to do with the renovation of the library, and it is perfectly possible that the man as well as the occasion is different.

There is nothing in particular to be said in favour of identifying the Julian of 70-71 with the Julian prefect of 566 (51) (to whom we shall come shortly). But there is yet another Julian to be considered, city prefect under Tiberius II in 580. There is one consideration which lends strong support to an identification with this man. Tiberius had a wife called Anastasia. Her given name was Ino, but in September 578, when Tiberius became sole Augustus, he had her crowned Augusta under the more seemly name of Anastasia (52). Tiberius only reigned till 582. Thus the prefecture of this Julian, attested in office in 580 (53), falls squarely in the middle of the brief period during which there was an empress Anastasia.

Now it might be argued that Anastasia was a relatively common Byzantine name — as indeed it was. But not among empresses, and though the 'golden Anastasia' could have been a lesser imperial female, other twin dedications of this nature strongly suggests that she was an empress. Tiberius' Anastasia is, moreover, the only Anastasia (except for an obscure sister of Constantine (54)) to be commemorated in the *Patria* of Constantinople (55), for all their errors and confusions

(51) So JANIN, *Constantinople byzantine*², 161-2.

(52) See *Circus Factions* (1976), 146.

(53) His activities as a stern persecutor of Jews and heretics are fully and fascinatingly described by JOHN OF EPHESUS, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 7, pp. 218-28 Payne Smith.

(54) Not wife of Valens, see *PLRE*, Anastasia 1 and 2.

(55) See Preger's index, p. 330. At p. 66. 19 the *Patria* refer to statues of Julian and 'his wife Anastasia', but Julian's only wife was called Helena, and the story told about 'Anastasia' is certainly not true of Helena (*PLRE*, Helena 2).

an invaluable guide to the names one might expect to find in dedicatory inscriptions of this sort.

Since then Tiberius II and his empress Anastasia fit the indications of *APl* 70-71 better than any other candidates hitherto proposed, I suggest that they are in fact the emperor and empress in question, and that it was ca. 580 that the Senate House of Constantinople received the improvements here commemorated. Some fifty years after the labours of Justinian it might well have needed a little further attention. It must have been quite soon after this that it was destroyed for the third and final time [56].

(B) Now for the prefect of 565/6. First *AP* ix. 803 :

> *Αὐσονίων* [57] *δέσποιναν Ἰουλιανὸς πολιοῦχος,*
> *ὡς σοφίης μεστὴν ἄνθετο τὴν Σοφίην.*

This is the inscription to a statue of the empress Sophia, wife and virtual co-ruler of Justin II (565-578). We know from Victor Tunn. (*Chron.* s.a. 566, 2) and Justinian, *Novel* 140, that a Julian held the city prefecture in 566 [58], and there can be little doubt that this is our man. According to the Palatine lemma, our epigram was written for a statue of Sophia in the entry to the Zeuxippus' (*ἐν τῇ εἰσόδῳ τοῦ Ζευξίππου*). Perhaps genuine information, since it cannot have been

(56) It is not mentioned after the sixth century : MANGO, *Brazen House*, 57.

(57) Originally a poetical equivalent of 'Italian', *Αὐσόνιος* came (naturally enough) to be applied to the Romans, and continued (in poetry) to be so used even of the inhabitants of the eastern provinces ; e.g. *Αὐσονίων σκηπτοῦχος* (of Justinian) at PAUL. SIL., *Ecphr.*, 174, *κοίρανος Αὐσονίων* at *APl* 343. 2 (of Anastasius). I make this point since (for example) F. Buffière, in the notes to his lamentable new Budé edition of *AP* xv. 7. 6, writes of *δώροις Αὐσονίοιο Διός* (meaning a Roman emperor : cf. OPPIAN, *Cyn.*, i. 3 and *Dion. Per.*, 78, with M. L. WEST, *Philologus*, 1966, 115) that the phrase would be 'difficilement applicable à un empereur de Byzance' (p. 205). The poem probably does belong in the second century (see L. ROBERT, *Hellenica*, viii (1950), 90, not quoted by Buffière), but a fifth or sixth century emperor certainly could have been so styled. On similar grounds it has sometimes been (wrongly) inferred that Quintus of Smyrna and even Nonnus wrote before the foundation of Constantinople : see R. KEYDELL, *Gnomon*, 1965, 40.

(58) STEIN, *Studien zur Gesch. des byz. Reiches* (1919), 186 ; cf. his *Bas-Empire*, ii, 779. The prefects of 565/6 and 580 *could* be the same man, but the name is not uncommon. There is more than a chance that the prefect of 565/6 is the Julian commemorated on a British Museum silver stamp dating from the reign of Justin II : Erica CRUIKSHANK DODD, *DOP*, xviii (1964), 244-5.

inferred from the poem itself, and certainly more acceptable than the vague Planudean lemma, *εἰς τὸν οἶκον Σοφίας*, since *ἄνθετο ... Σοφίην* clearly points to a statue ([59]). The Zeuxippus was the largest and most splendid public bath in Constantinople. The play on the empress' name is ubiquitous in the literature of the reign (compare particularly ix. 813, quoted above), less the frigid pun it might seem to modern taste than a genuine conviction that the name was symbolic of the personality. The church of St. Sophia, claims Corippus, 'Sophiae nomen nondum regnantis habere/... meruit' (*Laud. Just.* iv. 272-3), followed up by the remark that 'rem Sophia dignam certo sapientia fecit' (ib. 280). Corippus similarly exploits the name of Justin's mother Vigilantia, not to mention the notion of 'justice' latent in Justin's own name. All three combined at *Laud. Just. praef.* 21 f.:

> mater consilii placidi Vigilantia vestris
> semper inest oculis [i.e. because he works ceaselessly] ...
> alma Augusta, tui consors Sapientia regni.
> Tu quoque, justitiae nomen de nomine sumens ...
> *nominibus tribus his* regitur quodcunque movetur.

Next ix. 804:

> *Ἰουστίνον* ([60]) *κατὰ χρέος* ([61]) *τὸν δεσπότην*
> *Ἰουλιανὸς ὕπαρχος ὡς εὐεργέτην.*
>
> 'Julian the prefect, as was fitting <set up this statue of> his master Justin, as a benefactor'.

The lemmata preserve no information about the identity of the Justin or the location of the statue (*AP εἰς στήλην Ἰουστίνου βασιλέως*; *Plan. εἰς Ἰ. στήλην*). Since we know of a Julian prefect under Justin II, commemorated in the preceding epigram and another in the close vicinity (ix. 779), we may reasonably assume that 804 celebrates Justin II and this Julian, evidently a wealthy and public-spirited man.

(59) Below, p. 58.

(60) On the prosody and accentuation of the proper name here, see *Porphyrius*, p. 184.

(61) *καταχρεως* P, *κατὰ χρέος* correctly Plan., presumably qualifying the understood verb (*ἄνθετο* or similar: for the omission cf. (e.g.) *APl* 69 *a* and *b* above, and ROBERT, *Hell.*, iv (1948), 102, n. 3).

After the classicising revival of the hexameter and above all elegiac couplet in the earlier years of the sixth century, we have here an early example of the iambic line (not yet a dodecasyllable) that was soon to dominate Byzantine secular poetry (62).

Now for ix. 770:

Δῶρον Ἰουστίνοιο τυραννοφόνου βασιλῆος,
καὶ Σοφίης ἀλόχου, φέγγος ἐλευθερίης,
ὡράων σκοπίαζε (63) *σόφον σημάντορα* (64) *χαλκὸν*
αὐτῆς ἐκ μονάδος μεχρὶ δυωδεκάδος,
ὄντινα συληθέντα Δίκης θρόνον ἡνιοχεύων
εὗρεν Ἰουλιανὸς χερσὶν ἀδωροδόκοις.

'Light of freedom [i.e. the Sun], look upon this gift of the emperor Justin, slayer of tyrants, and his wife Sophia; look upon this skilled bronze indicator of the hours from one to twelve, which Julian, who guides the seat of Justice, recovered with incorruptible hands after it had been stolen'.

The lemma refers the poem to 'the base of the sun dial by the arch in the Basilica' (65).

The reference to Sophia puts it beyond doubt that the Justin is Justin II. And after 803-4 we would naturally assume Julian to be the

(62) See *Porphyrius*, p. 83.

(63) The whole first line is closely paralleled by *AP* ix. 789. 1, *τέκτονά με σκοπίαζε σοφῶν κοσμήτορα μύθων*, anonymous and of unknown date but (like 779) fairly clearly post-Nonnian, both in its adjectival noun *κοσμήτωρ* (only once in Nonnus, surprisingly, at *Dion.* xxvii. 279) and above all in the characteristic *σκοπίαζε*, almost invariably in this *sedes*: cf. *Dion.* v. 422; vii. 65, 262; xi. 189; xii. 372; xxiii. 244; xxiv. 209; xxv. 481; xxi. 127; xxxv. 31; xxxviii. 311; xlii. 447; xliii. 163. Not unnaturally it was affected in subsequent ecphrastic and dedicatory epigrams, to draw the reader's attention to the object of the poem: e.g. CHRISTODORUS, *AP*, ii, 64; anon. *AP*. ix. 606. 1; PAUL SIL., *AP* v. 262. 5.

(64) The adjectival noun is again typically Nonnian (cf. *σημάντορι φωνῇ* in *Metab.* A. 119; B. 39; E.38; *Σ*. 81; *σημάντορι μύθῳ*, N. 21, though like so many stylistic features conveniently styled 'Nonnisms', it does not originate with Nonnus: cf. *σημάντορι καπνῷ* at Triphiodorus 237, now shown to have been written before Nonnus: cf. *Claudian* (1970), 478-82, and *P. Oxy.* 2946. Among epigrams of the period, cf. Theaetetus Schol., *AP* vi. 27. 3, and PAUL SIL., vi. 64. 1 (from Philip Thess., ib. 62. 1).

(65) Not therefore any of the other horologia listed in PREGER, *Patria Cpoleos*, p. 374.

Julian city prefect of 566. Yet all commentators, from Jacobs to Beckby, have assumed that the office concealed in the periphrasis *Δίκης θρόνον ἡνιοχεύων* is the *praetorian* prefecture. So too Louis Robert (66), in a discussion of the emphasis laid in late imperial epigrams on the judicial activity and (especially incorruptibility of the Roman magistrate (interesting not least in that the latter could so obviously *not* be taken for granted).

The judicial emphasis in 779 would certainly suit the praetorian prefect, supreme judicial authority beneath the emperor with a court from which there was no appeal. But the city prefect had a 'seat of justice' too, with exclusive jurisdiction in many cases arising in Constantinople itself (67). Compare Corippus' account (*Laud. Just.* iv. 3f.) of the duties of an unnamed city prefect who, given the dramatic date of the poem (January 566), must be none other than our Julian himself:

> praefectus ... urbis,
> consultor legum libertatisque tuendae
> dispositor, iusti vindex, corrector iniqui,
> censuram gravitate regens, multoque rigore
> terribilis, mitique magis pietate tremendus.

The point of the allusions in 779 is that Julian has recovered an object apparently stolen (*συληθέντα* (68)); that is to say he has been acting in his judicial capacity (*χερσὶν ἀδωροδόκοις*, proudly drawing attention to the fact he did not keep the sundial himself once he had captured the thief!).

The metaphor of the 'charioteer' or the 'reins of office' is very common of higher Roman officials (provincial governors and above). To the examples collected by Robert may be added (*exempli gratia*):

(66) *Hellenica* iv (1948), 26. n. 2, 98. n. 2.

(67) JONES, *Later Roman Empire*, i (1964), 486.

(68) Taken by itself the word might have been taken in a more general way, 'despoiled', but since we learn from l. 1 that the sundial was a gift of Justin, and so (even if originally dedicated before Justin's accession in 565) still almost brand-new by the date of Julian's prefecture, the *εὗρεν* strongly suggests that it was stolen and recovered soon afterwards. For P. Speck's idea (*Die Kaiserliche Universität*, 1974, 101) that it was the sundial whose removal to the Chalke in 536 is recorded by Malalas, p. 479, see *GRBS*, xvii (1976), 272-3.

MARINUS, *V. Procli*, 8, *τοῖς τὰς ἡνίας ἔχουσι τῆς Αἰγύπτου* ; THEOPH. SIM., *Hist.* viii. 13. 14, *τῆς Αἰγυπτιακῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡνίας διίθυνεν* (cf. i. 13. 1) ; ISIDORE OF PELUSIUM, *Ep.* i. 226, *τὰς ἡνίας τῆς ἀρχῆς μεταχειρίζων* ; DIOSCORUS, 42. 5. 30 Heitsch, *Θήβην διαμπερ[ὲ]ς ἡν[ι]οχε[ύων]*. The rather unhappy notion of the prefect 'driving a seat', is just the sort of 'métaphore incohérente' ([69]) one expects of a hack epigrammatist patching up a dedication out of stock formulae. In our case, however, this is not the explanation. The phrase happens to occur already in Nonnus, where the giant Typhoeus, plotting to oust Zeus from the throne of heaven, cries (*Dion.* i. 444-5)

οὐράνιον γὰρ
ἀντὶ Διὸς σκηπτοῦχος ὅτε θρόνον ἡνιοχεύσω.

Compare too *Dion.* xli. 389, where Augustus is said *σκῆπτρον ὅλης ... χθονὸς ἡνιοχεύσει*, 'ride or drive the sceptre'.

Late fifth and sixth century epigrams are steeped in the style and language of Nonnus. Is 779. 5 a direct echo of *Dion.* i. 445 — or is Nonnus using a formula already establishing in the honorific epigram of his day? Whatever the answer, it could well be that the popularity in late epigrams of the verb *ἡνιοχεύειν* itself (a poetical form of the regular *ἡνιοχεῖν*) owes something to its very frequent occurrence (34 times) in Nonnus ([70]).

To return to the subject of ix. 779, there is no cause to doubt that he is city prefect. We may compare ix. 696. 2, where Theodorus is declared *ἄξιος ... πόλιν καὶ τέτρατον ἡνιοχεῦσαι*. It would after all have been a very odd coincidence if both city and praetorian prefects at the beginning of Justin II's reign had been called Julian — and even stranger if both had erected monuments to the new emperor without attempting to distinguish between themselves. In any case, at the time of the Aetherius/Addaeus conspiracy, to which (as we shall see) line 1 alludes, a certain Theodotus was praetorian prefect (EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 3). We are bound then to accept that ix. 779, like 803 and 804, all refer to Julian, city prefect in 565/6.

Many extravagant titles were accorded Roman emperors out of convention alone, without any necessary basis in their actual qualities or

(69) ROBERT, *Hell.*, iv. 26. n. 2.
(70) Peek's Lexicon, col 664.

achievements. *τυραννοφόνος* is not such a title. *τύραννος* normally bears a very specific meaning in the literature of the later empire : a usurper — or at any rate someone whom the reigning emperor could allege to have been (or to have been plotting to become) a usurper or rebel (71). Emperors are styled *τυραννοφόνος* only when they have been obliged to suppress a rebellion of some sort against the throne. And it so happens that in the first year of Justin II (566) an attempt was made on his life — or so it was claimed — by two leading senators, Aetherius and Addaeus. Both were beheaded at once. The conspiracy is recorded by several chroniclers (72), and it no doubt created quite a stir at the time. Surely it is Aetherius and Addaeus who are the 'tyranni' with whose suppression Justin II is credited in our epigram.

It was the regular practice for an emperor to commemorate his success over such 'tyranni' with some sort of monument in the city bearing a suitable inscription. For example, Constantius II erected an obelisk in Rome to commemorate his defeat of Magnentius, claiming that (73) :

> 'haec gloria duduin
> auctori servata suo cu[m c]aede *tyranni*
> redditur ...'

Theodosius erected a huge obelisk in the Hippodrome in Constantinople to celebrate his victory over Maximus (74) : according to the inscription it was

> 'iussus et *exstinctis* palmam portare *tyrannis*.

For the same occasion he also erected a triumphal arch bearing the legend (75) :

> 'Haec loca Theodosius decorat *post fata tyranni*'.

Anastasius built a palace to celebrate his suppression of the revolt of the Isaurians, which claimed to be (76)

> *οἶκος Ἀναστασίοιο τυραννοφόνου βασιλῆος*.

(71) See Averill Cameron's commentary on Corippus, *Laud. Just.* (1976), 000.
(72) EVAGRIUS, *Hist. Eccl.* v. 3 ; THEOPHANES, p. 242 de Boor.
(73) *CLE* 279. 20-21 Buecheler.
(74) *CLE* 286. 2 (with *Athenaeum*, 1966, 32 f.).
(75) *CLE* 285, cf. too Constantine's monument celebrating his victory over Maxentius (*CLE* 278), with an allusion to 'proelia saeva tyranni'.
(76) *AP* ix. 656. 1.

The same adjective *τυραννοφόνος* occurs again in xv. 50. 6, an epigram commemorating the failure of Vitalian's rebellion in 515 (77). In his *Ekphrasis* on Santa Sophia in 563 Paul the Silentiary alludes to the attempt on the life of Justinian made the preceding year as follows:

> *σήμερον οὐ σακέων με φέρει κτύπος, οὐδ' ἐπὶ νίκην*
> *ἔσπερον ἠὲ Λίβυσσαν ἐπείγομαι, οὐδὲ τροπαίοις*
> *ἀμφὶ τυραννοφόνοις καναχήποδα ῥυθμὸν ἀράσσω.*
>
> (135 f.)

Not to mention the very frequent references to the suppression of 'tyranni' in the panegyrics recited to emperors after such victories, with such material precedents all over the city, it would be surprising if a monument had not been erected or renovated in honour of Justin II's 'victory' of 566.

It need cause no surprise that the poem is no more explicit than it is. It was an almost universally observed principle that one never mentioned an unsuccessful usurper by name. It was always enough to refer to him contemptuously just as 'tyrannus' (78). Claudian provides a good illustration. In his numerous panegyrics he very frequently has cause to allude to Theodosius' defeat of two successive usurpers, Maximus and Eugenius. To Eugenius he alludes more than eight times, to his general Arbogast five times, and to Maximus at least twice — but never once does he utter their names. In almost every case it is just 'tyrannus'. Birt observed in his *index nominum* to Claudian that Arbogastes does not fit into a hexameter line ('respuunt dactyli'), as this were a sufficient explanation why Claudian was not more precise. Yet Maximus and Eugenius would both have fitted easily enough — had Claudian *wanted* to name tham (79). Many other examples could be cited. All the inscriptional lines quoted above and Paul's *Ekphrasis* likewise mention no names. Indeed, did we not have independent evidence for the date of the poems and monuments in question we should often have had no idea which 'tyranni' were meant.

(77) See *Porphyrius*, p. 127.

(78) See R. MacMullen, *Rev. intern. des droits de l'Antiquité*, X³ (1963), 223.

(79) For example, Claudian accommodates the recalcitrant (if not impossible) Tribigild as 'Tarbigilus' (Birt, ind. nom., s.v.).

Seen against this background, it is surely very likely that ix. 779 should be interpreted as a commemoration of Justin's successful suppression of what could at least be represented as a conspiracy against himself. Compare too with the description of the monument in question as *φέγγος ἐλευθερίης*, the last two lines of the anonymous epigram *APl* 350, commemorating the suppression of Vitalian's rebellion in 515 ([80]):

> *καὶ πέσεν αἰνοτύραννος ἐπιφθιμένης τοτε Ῥώμης,*
> *ἦμαρ δ' Αὐσονίοις ἦλθεν ἐλευθερίης.*

in both cases *ἐλευθερίη* has been restored by the fall of the 'tyrannus'. And in the case of ix. 779 the 'tyranni' can only be Aetherius and Addaeus. This is rendered the more certain by the fact that the conspiracy is dated by Theophanes to 566, thus falling within Justin's tenure of the city prefecture.

There is a discreet allusion to the conspiracy in the preface to Agathias' *Cycle*, composed probably in 567 or 568 and embodying a panegyric on Justin II ([81]).

> *τοὔνεκεν, ὁππότε πάντα φίλης πέπληθε γαλήνης,*
> *ὁππότε καὶ ξείνοιο καὶ ἐνδαπίοιο κυδοιμοῦ*
> *ἐλπίδες ἐθραύσθησαν ὑφ' ἡμετέρῳ βασιλῆϊ ...*
>
> (iv. 3. 98 f.)

And another in Corippus' panegyric on Justin, composed in 566/7:

> 'quisquis erit vestrae, per se cadet, invidus aulae,
> adficietque viros legum pius ensis iniquos'.
>
> (i. 60-61)

Tactfully enough, Agathias included a number of epigrams commemorating monuments built or renovated in the first year or two of the new emperor ([82]). It is tempting to conjecture that ix. 779 was among them. Certainly there is little in the context of poems in which it occurs to suggest that it does (though it is followed at ix. 782 by a poem by Paul the Silentiary on a sun-dial), but then all the poems in the latter part of Book ix are broken up and separated from their

(80) *Porphyrius*, p. 126.
(81) *JHS*, 1966, 23-4.
(82) *JHS*, 1966, 21-3. *BICS*, 1966, 103.

original contexts ([83]). It is sometimes alleged that Agathias did not include anonymous poems in his *Cycle*, but there is no evidence that he did not, and the precedent of Meleager (who certainly did ([84])) would surely have prompted him to do so. There were many suitable epigrams inscribed on buildings all over the capital. He even recorded anonymous epigrams in his *History* when he came across one he felt to be interesting or relevant (pp. 87, 102, 134 Bonn). In any case, 779 may owe its present acephalous state, like so many other poems in the *Anthology*, to the carelessness or lack of interest of a scribe ([85]). It is a quite competent piece, well up to the standard of much that Agathias did include.

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(83) F. LENZINGER, *Zur griech. Anthologie*, Diss. Zurich, 1965, 17 f.

(84) A. S. F. GOW, *The Greek Anthology, sources and ascriptions* (Hell. Soc Suppl. Papers ix), 1958, 20 f.

(85) Cf. GOW, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 5.

ROMANOS, ON THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM: A *BASILIKOS LOGOS*

Although Cardinal J. P. Pitra first published it a century ago (1), Romanos' kontakion for Palm Sunday has failed to receive the scholarly attention which it merits. A recent bibliography (2) shows that it has been edited (3) and translated by several scholars who have contributed introductions, notes, and translations, but that no critical study has yet been made. Nevertheless, this kontakion is one of Romanos' most successful hymns, sharing the formal complex design and hieratic beauty which characterize such famous masterpieces as 1 *On the Nativity I*, 4 *On the Presentation in the Temple*, 19 *On Mary at the Cross*, or 29 *On the Resurrection VI*.

In contrast to this neglect in modern times, the Byzantines admired this lyrical kontakion in which the deacon-poet of Constantinople sings of Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. All the great kontakaria include it, five of them transmitting the text complete, or nearly so (4). That no other kontakion for Palm Sunday survives is eloquent tribute and testimony to the popularity of Romanos' poem.

(1) *Analecta Sacra spicilegio solesmensi parata*, I (Paris, 1896), 61-76.

(2) By K. MITSAKIS, *Byzantine Hymnographia*, I (Thessalonike, 1971), 541-542.

(3) See Helle KYRIAKAKI in N. B. TOMADAKIS, *Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ Ὕμνοι*, III, pt. 2 (Athens, 1957), 179-206; Paul MAAS and C. A. TRYPANIS, *Sancti Romani Melodi Cantica: Cantica Genuina* (Oxford, 1963), 116-122; José GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, *Romanos le Mélode: Hymnes IV* (Paris, 1967), 13-53; the translation into English by Marjorie CARPENTER, *Kontakia of Romanos, Byzantine Melodist I: On the Person of Christ* (Columbia, Missouri, 1970), 157-165; the translation into Modern Greek by P. A. SINOPOULOS, *Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ Κοντάκια* A (Athens, 1974), 95-106. Henceforth these works will be cited by the author's name. Citations, titles and numbers in this essay will refer to the edition of Maas-Trypanis.

(4) GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 16-24, discusses the manuscript tradition in detail.

For Christmas and Palm Sunday, two major feasts of the Orthodox liturgical cycle, the Byzantines unanimously chose kontakia by St. Romanos, the genius-poet of their church. The two prooemia and the first strophe are still sung in Orthodox churches on Palm Sunday.

One of the thirty-four extant Christological kontakia, the sixteenth is Romanos' most "royal" poetic sermon. Although Christ the King figures in many other kontalia (5), in this one the poet concentrates on Christ's royal aspect, which characterizes "Orthodox spirituality in every epoch and in every country" (6). Everywhere present, Christ's royalty is revealed in ikon and hymn. While in every liturgy he is praised as the eternal, universal king, the *pantokrator* looks down from the domes of Orthodox churches.

In the sixth century Byzantium of Romanos Christ's royalty possessed an immediacy and vitality that is lacking in our secular republican world. When Romanos composed his encomium to the heavenly ruler, he lived in Constantinople, residence of an emperor whose empire coincided with the borders of the *oikoumene*. Romanos and his fellow citizens considered themselves the subjects of two monarchs, the one in heaven, the other in the Sacred Palace.

By this time, the Messianic tradition inherited by Christianity from Judaism had combined with Hellenistic political philosophy to produce the theological and political foundations for Byzantium's imperial cult (7). Palace and heaven mirrored each other. God and emperor shared a single ikonography and cultic vocabulary. Both were obeyed as *κύριος, βασιλεύς, δεσπότης* (8).

The Byzantine poet's kontakion for Palm Sunday consists almost entirely of "royal" images. Jesus is the dominant figure, the king who rides a donkey to Israel's sacred capital. Other regal figures appear from the Old Testament: Moses, the leader who brought his people

(5) Consult Alexandros S. KORAKIDES, *Ἡ περὶ τοῦ Λόγου θεολογία τῶν κοντακίων Ῥωμανοῦ τοῦ Μελῳδοῦ* (Athens, 1973), 126-134.

(6) Vladimir LOSSKY, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London, 1957), 149.

(7) See the thorough investigation by Francis DVORNIK, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy: Origins and Background*, 2 vols. (Washington D.C., 1966).

(8) These titles are discussed by Louis BRÉHIER, *L'Origine des titres impériaux à Byzance*, in *BZ*, 15 (1906), 161-178.

1. Zagorsk. Cabinet ecclésiastique et archéologique.
Icône «Introduction au Temple».
Première moitié du xve s.

from bondage into freedom; Saul, Israel's first king, and David, Jesus' royal ancestor, and Israel's heroic, idealized monarch. Moses' ῥάβδος was one of Byzantium's most treasured relics, and Byzantine rulers delighted in the titles "new Moses" or "new David" (9). They considered themselves legitimate heirs of these Hebrew kings.

Throughout the sixteenth kontakion there are numerous references to emblems or symbols of royal dignity or power. Romanos uses such images of regal majesty as the throne, chariot, scepter and sun. The first word of this royal kontakion is appropriately θρόνος.

Adventus regis, *acclamatio* and *adoratio*, rituals of imperial cult and ceremony, furnish Romanos with significant structural elements for this kontakion. Already these rituals had influenced the ikonography of Jesus' coming to Jerusalem (10). All three themes are present in the dramatic representation of Palm Sunday in the *Codex Purpureus* at Rossano, a masterpiece of sixth century painting (11). Romanos follows the same pattern.

Writing a metrical sermon to be chanted when the church commemorates Christ's entry to Jerusalem a few days before the crucifixion, Romanos made his kontakion a true *basilikos logos*, an encomium to a king (12). A literary genre described in all rhetorical handbooks, the royal encomium flourished in the early Byzantine period (13). The deacon-poet of the Church of Theotokos in Kyrou must have been familiar with the genre both from his education in Emesa, the Hellenized city of his birth, and from experience in the imperial capital. Romanos' contemporaries lavished eulogy on the three emperors who reigned during his long residency in Con-

(9) In 23 *On the Adoration of the Cross*, ιη' 3-5, and 54 *On Earthquakes and Fires* ιη' 6-7, Romanos echoes official cult and likens Constantine the Great and Justinian to David.

(10) See André GRABAR, *L'Empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris, 1936), 234-236. (Hereafter: GRABAR, *Empereur*).

(11) Reproduced in André GRABAR, *L'Age d'or de Justinien* (Paris, 1966), 205.

(12) See the description by Menander in SPENGEL, *Rhetores Graeci*, III, 368-377.

(13) Toivo VILJAMAA, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Helsinki, 1968), 7-20, 98-112, analyzes the literary form of the royal kontakion and the social and political milieu which encouraged it from the age of Constantine to Justinian.

stantinople. Orators and poets wrote encomia to Anastasius I (491-518), at the end of whose reign Romanos had come from Syria to Constantinople, Justin I (518-527) and to Justinian I (527-565). These powerful rulers expected and received the adulation of their subjects. One of Romanos' kontakia may be considered an encomium to a sitting emperor. 54 *On Earthquakes and Fires* contains a eulogy of Justinian (and Theodora), the munificent rebuilder of Haghia Sophia. Romanos may have written it expressly for the laying of the foundation stone of the great cathedral on February 23, 532 ([15]).

An examination of the sixteenth kontakion shows that it contains all the *topoi* ([16]) prescribed for the *basilikos logos* in the rhetorical handbooks. In the hands of Romanos the conventional kontakion becomes a true panegyric for a king. In the prologue the poet emphasizes the greatness of his subject. He relates incidents from the king's life, extols his virtues, and in an epilogue prays for the king's continued favor. Romanos develops the two most important *topoi* of the *basilikos logos*, namely, *πράξεις*, and *σύγκρισις*. In important details Romanos' *basilikos logos* for the divine king conforms to the same models used by the eulogists of the emperors.

Having fewer than the usual twenty-four stanzas, Romanos' royal encomium is among his short kontakia ([17]). Its one hundred fifty-two verses are divided into two prooemia or koukoulia consisting respectively of three and five lines, followed by sixteen strophes of nine verses each. For each proem and for the hirmos of the kontakion Romanos composed an idiomelon. The acrostic, *ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΒΑΙΑ ΡΩΜΑΝΟΥ*, composed of the initial letters of the sixteen strophes, identifies the author and the *dies festus*. In its structure the *basilikos logos* does not differ in any way from the classic kontakion as perfected by Romanos.

In the first *proem*, an apostrophe to Christ, the sacred poet briefly states the kontakion's theme, praise of the divine king. By means of antithesis he introduces the paradox of the king's dual nature. As

(14) For Justinian's eulogists see Viljamaa, *op. cit.*, 60-62.

(15) Mitsakis, *op. cit.*, 388-390.

(16) See Viljamaa, *op. cit.*, 98-99.

(17) Grosdidier de Matons, 16 : "Il est pourtant assez court, de texte comme de souffle ...".

God, Jesus occupies a throne in heaven ; as man he rides a donkey. The proem's lyrical language, direct address and royal imagery foreshadow the style of the entire kontakion. In its final verse the deacon-poet introduces the refrain, an acclamation or *euphemia* with which each subsequent stanza will close.

Written by Romanos for a new edition of the kontakion ([18]), the second proem is an exhortation. Using the liturgical "we", Romanos urges us always to sing the praises of the divine king. Although in other kontakia homiletic exhortations are more conspicuous ([19]), in this kontakion Romanos limits this element to the second proem. True to the purpose of the *basilikos logos*, Romanos sings instead of preaching.

Sixteen strophes constitute the encomium-kontakion proper. They are divided into two approximately equal sections. The first part consists of lyrical narrative, the second of sacred drama. In the first eight strophes (*α'-η'*) the poet alternates hymn with narrative to exalt the divine king. In the following seven strophes (*θ'-ιε'*) he presents a sacred drama in three episodes, re-enacting Jesus' entry into Jerusalem. It begins with an invention of Romanos, a mystic dialogue (*θ'-ιβ'*) between Christ and the descendants of Adam. The second episode (*ιγ'-ιδ'*), "The Lament over Jerusalem", has scriptural basis, as has the third (*ιε'*), "The Cleansing of the Temple". Romanos, however, alters details of the prose accounts by the four evangelists ([20]) and enriches the sacred story with imagery and emotional color. In Romanos' verses Jesus' entry into Jerusalem becomes a poetic revelation of the divine king. The royal kontakion concludes with the customary prayer (*ιστ'*), spoken by the liturgical poet.

Like his other kontakia, *ΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΒΑΙΑ* contains many diverse elements. The poet skillfully combines hymns, prayers, narration, invective, drama and theology into a harmonious design. He extends the

(18) KYRIAKAKI, 185, rejects the authenticity of the second proem. See, however, the arguments of GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 25. Cf. MITSAKIS, *op. cit.*, 209.

(19) For example, the long exhortation in the first strophe of 32 *On the Ascension.*

(20) MATTHEW, 21 : 1-11 ; MARK, 11 : 1-11 ; LUKE, 19 : 28-38 ; JOHN, 12 : 12-16. References to the Old and New Testaments are to the Jerusalem Bible.

temporal dimensions of the royal ode with references to episodes from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. His language reverberates with echoes from the Scriptures and the Divine Liturgy, creating a richly embroidered poetic texture. Romanos' language and imagery spring directly from Christianity's sacred history and literature and from its living tradition. At the same time, Romanos' poetic imagination and originality enrich the tradition which nourishes him. For all the traditional elements, the sixteenth kontakion is a new song to the king in heaven.

An artistic achievement comparable to his famous kontakia, the royal kontakion offers evidence of a poet in command of a difficult literary genre. To compare the sermons for Palm Sunday written in the fourth and fifth centuries (21) is to appreciate the originality and grace of Romanos' poetic genius. Although these sermons contain some of the motifs found in Romanos, none served him as model (22). The young deacon-poet had already mastered his art when he wrote his hymn for Palm Sunday.

It is generally agreed that this graceful kontakion is "une œuvre de jeunesse" (23). This dating rests on two factors: first, the loose, independent articulation of the refrain with the strophe; second, the archaic form of the acrostic, which, like those of 41 *On Abraham and Isaac* and 44 *On Joseph II*, mentions the *dies festus* (24). The kontakion may have been written either during the Syrian period of Romanos' career when he served as deacon in the cathedral of Berytus, or during the first years of his diaconate in Constantinople, in the first decades of the sixth century (25).

Although lack of internal evidence makes it impossible to establish

(21) See the sermon attributed to METHODIUS OF OLYMPUS and CHRYSOSTOM, *PG.*, 18, 384A-397B; 59, 703-708; also PSEUDO-CHRYSOSTOM, *PG.*, 61, 715-720; CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *PG.*, 77, 1050C-1072B; PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE, PG., 65, 772B-777A.

(22) The conclusion of R. J. SCHORK, *The Sources of the Christological Hymns of Romanos the Melodist* (unpublished dissertation, Oxford, 1957), 267-268; GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 15, n. 1.

(23) GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 1, 134, n. 1.

(24) KYRIAKAKI, 182, also notes an awkwardness of construction.

(25) GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 16, finds further support for this dating in the allusion in the final strophe to the church harassed by heresies.

a firm date of composition, this early dating appears reasonable. Furthermore, this date is strengthened by the spirit of idealism that animates this kontakion. It has a directness, innocence and simplicity that belongs to youth.

I further suggest that we assign its composition not to the end of an imperial reign, but rather to the beginning of one, to the first years of the reign of Justin I, who ascended the Byzantine throne in July, 518. The new emperor and his ambitious nephew Justinian immediately inaugurated policies reversing those of the deceased emperor. Their new policy of reconciliation with Rome attracted the attention of Romanos and is reflected in several kontakia (26). It is possible that the change of emperors is reflected also in the sixteenth kontakion. Its dominant image of the ideal ruler, and its mood of hope and expectation are consonant with the optimism which ordinarily attends an inauguration. It is also relevant to note that the theme of Strophe στ' is royal succession, and that in this striking strophe Romanos acknowledges a new ruler and salutes a new era.

ADVENTUS REGIS

Romanos composed his kontakion for Palm Sunday (27) when Christendom celebrates a sacred *adventus regis* (28).

> Ἄγει πανήγυριν ἐτησίαν ἡ σεπτὴ ἐκκλησία
> συγκαλοῦσα πιστῶς τὰ τέκνα ταύτης, φιλάνθρωπε,
> μετὰ βαΐων προσυπαντῶσα
> καὶ χιτῶνας στρωνύουσα εὐφροσύνης,
>
> 15.ιε'1-2 (29)

(26) See the study by E. C. TOPPING, *The Apostle Peter, Justinian and Romanos the Melodos*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2 (1976), 1-15.

(27) For an account of the elaborate celebration of Palm Sunday in Jerusalem at the end of the fourth century see *Itinerarium Aetheriae*, Hélène PÉTRÉ ed. (Paris, 1948), 219-222. From Jerusalem the feast was adopted in Constantinople and Rome. See A. BAUMSTARK, *La Solemnité des palmes dans l'ancienne et la nouvelle Rome*, in *Irénikon*, 13 (1936), 3-24.

(28) Ernst H. KANTOROWICZ, *The King's Advent*, in *Art Bulletin*, 26 (1944), 207-239, traces the development of the *adventus regis* in the imperial cult and art of Rome and Byzantium.

(29) GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, III, 181-182, doubts the authenticity of this kontakion. Cf. MITSAKIS, *op. cit.*, 416-418.

The evangelists had described Christ's arrival as that of a Hellenistic king of the Jews. In order to emphasize the "royal aspect" of Jesus, St. John borrowed technical terms from the vocabulary of Hellenistic ruler cult: *ἐξῆλθον εἰς ὑπάντησιν αὐτῷ* (12: 13). When, after the triumph of Christianity in the fourth century, Christian artists transferred themes from imperial art into liturgical art, Christ's entry into Jerusalem became explicitly a royal *adventus*. Thus, when Romanos emphasized the *adventus regis* in this kontakion, he was continuing well-established Scriptural and ikonographical traditions.

The *adventus regis* provided the sacred poet with a major structural frame for his royal kontakion. From the first verse he focuses on the king's coming. The kontakion ends with the dramatic representation of a special *adventus*. Through the entire length of the poem verbs of movement maintain an unbroken, fluid image of procession. With the refrain naming Christ as *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, each strophe has at least one such verb. In addition, many similar verbs support the kinetic image: *ἐποχούμενος* (Pr. I, 1), *παραγίνεται (β' 2)*, *μολοῦντος (γ' 2)*, *ἤλυθας (ι' 1)*, *ἐλήλυθα (ια' 2)*, *ἔφθασε (ιγ' 1)*, *εἰσελεύσομαι (ιδ' 1)*, *ἦλθον (ιδ' 6)*, *εἰσέρχεται (ιέ 1)*, *παρεγένετο* [30] *(ιε' 3)*, *μεταβαίνομεν (ιε' 5)*. Stretching from the first line of the first proem, through the narrative and dramatic sections, these verbs create a vivid, horizontal image of the *procensos* [31]. To read or hear this kontakion is to follow the procession into Jerusalem. Through Romanos' verses we accompany mystically Christ's *adventus*.

In the opening verse Romanos specifies the triumphal charcater of this advent. It is a victorious king who comes. In three verses all the traditional elements of the triumphal *adventus* [32] are mentioned: acclamations, the waving of palms [33], lists of victories, the names of the vanquished foe.

(30) Occurring twice in this kontakion, this New Testament verb usually means simply "come" or "arrive". Sometimes, as in MATTHEW, 3: 1 and LUKE, 12: 51, it has the special meaning "make a public appearance", which is strikingly appropriate in the context of Palm Sunday.

(31) This official word for the emperor's ceremonial going from one place to another was known to Romanos. See 43, *On Joseph I στ'* 6.

(32) Discussed at length by GRABAR, *Empereur*, 31-84.

(33) The palm is not only a symbol of victory; it is also associated with the Messianic tradition. See Jean DANIÉLOU, *Primitive Christian Symbols* (Baltimore, 1964), 1-14.

Ἐπειδὴ Ἅιδην ἔδησας καὶ Θάνατον ἐνέκρωσας
καὶ κόσμον ἀνέστησας
βαΐοις τὰ νήπια ἀνευφήμουν σε, Χριστέ, ὡς νικητὴν
κραυγάζοντά σοι σήμερον · "Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαβίδ. ..."

α' 1-3.

With the spacious cola of the first verse, its triple internal rhyme and the triad of dynamic verbs, the poet welcomes and exalts the divine victor (34). By the stately apostrophe he also amplifies the cosmic proportions and significance of the defeat of death, man's most feared enemy. Less subtle and poetic than Romanos, a contemporary artist at Ravenna depicted the divine victor in Byzantine imperial dress, adorned with purple, gold and jewels (35).

Two strophes later the poet enlarges the theme of the triumphal *adventus* by comparing the present advent with an earlier one in the life of Jesus. In Strophe γ' he juxtaposes the Entry into Jerusalem with "The Flight into Egypt" (36). Fugitives from the murderous wrath of King Herod, the baby Jesus and his parents journeyed to Egypt. Whereever they passed, Egyptian idols crumbled and fell in recognition of the infant's divine royalty. This episode too had already been represented in Christian art as an *adventus regis* (37).

In this strophe which hymns Christ's universal dominion Romanos invokes him as *παντὸς τόπου βασιλεύων* (γ' 5). The two advents are compared, three pairs of correlatives (38) drawing attention to the parallels :

Σιὼν ἐσείσθη ἅπασα καθὼς ποτὲ ἡ Αἴγυπτος :
ἐκεῖ μὲν τὰ ἄψυχα,
ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἔμψυχοι ἐσαλεύθησαν μολοῦντος σου, σωτήρ ·
. . . .
τὰ εἴδωλα αὐτῶν κατέπεσαν πάλαι,
καὶ νῦν οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦντες δονοῦνται

γ' 1-2, 6-7.

(34) Christ is again hailed as *νικητής* in 29 *On the Resurrection VI*, Pr. I, 3.

(35) Reproduced in Plate 23 of Leonard VON MATT and Giuseppe BOVINI, *Ravenna* (Koln, 1971).

(36) Based on the apocrayphal PSEUDO-MATTHEW, 23. Romanos develops the episode in greater detail in 3, *On the Massacre of the Innocents*, ιζ' 4-11.

(37) GRABAR, *Empereur*, 213-214, 228, 236.

(38) *ἄψυχα-ἔμψυχοι* (1-2) : *ἐκεῖ-ἐνταῦθα* (1-2) ; *πάλαι-νῦν* (6-7).

Like panels in a triumphal arch, this pair of precisely sculptured images present two royal triumphs in Christ's life, the one at its beginning, the other in the last week of his life on earth.

After this comparison with a past incident Romanos returns to the present advent to describe more fully the victories which are being hailed in Jerusalem. Here Romanos incorporates into his kontakion the most important encomiastic *topos* of the *basilikos logos*, the *πράξεις* (39). Christ's three victories over death are his great deeds. Beginning with the most recent and spectacular, the raising of Lazarus from the tomb (40) (*δ'* 3), Romanos mentions the resurrections of the widow's son (41) (*δ'* 4-5) and of Jairus' daughter (*δ'* 6-7) (42). Three hymnic participial phrases describing the conqueror of death correspond to the three *praxeis*:

> *ὁ ῥυσάμενος αὐτοὺς ἐκ τῆς φθορᾶς (δ' 2) ; ὁ ἁρπάσας αὐτὸν θανάτου (δ' 5) ; ὁ τὴν αὐτοῦ ζωώσας (δ' 7).*

Thus the poet glorifies the deeds of a king whose power prevails even over *Thanatos* (43).

After condemning the Jews for rejecting Jesus as they had earlier rejected Moses, Romanos resumes the theme of the triumphant advent to Jerusalem. In Strophe *στ'*, addressed to Christ the king, *δέσποτα* (44) (*στ'* 1), Romanos compares the entry into Jerusalem with the most triumphant advent in the Old Testament, the return of David after he had slain the Philistine giant and delivered Israel from the enemy (45). Both Jesus and his royal ancestor received a conquering

(39) See VILJAMAA, *op. cit.*, 99.

(40) Romanos follws JOHN, 12 : 9-11, the only evangelist who connects the raising of Lazarus with the Entry into Jerusalem. The resurrection of Lazarus is the subject of Kontakia 14 and 15. See note 29 on the latter.

(41) Recounted in LUKE, 7 : 12-17.

(42) Recounted in MATTHEW, 9 : 18-26 ; MARK, 5 : 22-42 ; LUKE, 8 : 40-56. See also 29, *On the Resurrection VI*, *η'* 2-3, 7-9.

(43) The same three resurrections are mentioned by Christ in his speech before Pilate in 20 *On the Passion of Christ*, *η'* 4-8.

(44) A title implying total ownership as of a slave, it is commonly applied to God in the Septuagint. Although used only twice of Christ in the New Testament (II, PETER, 2 : 1, JUDE, 4), it was more widely used of him in Patristics. See G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford, 1968), *s.v.* After the fourth century it is one of the emperor's official titles.

(45) See I SAMUEL, 17 : 40-54 , 18 : 6-7.

hero's welcome. Yet Christ's victory is the greater of the two, since he had conquered man's spiritual enemy :

καὶ σὺ γὰρ ἀπέκτεινας τὸν ὀνειδιστὴν νοητὸν Γολιάθ.

στ' 2.

Although Jesus in the flesh is the son of David (46), he is greater than his ancestor because he is God. At the end of the strophe Romanos formally acknowledges Jesus' divinity :

σὺ γὰρ εἶ ὁ κύριος Δαβίδ.

στ' 8.

Thus the Christian poet settles the scribes' question about who is David's lord (47). He thereby incorporates the second most important encomiastic *topos* of the *basilikos logos*, the *σύγκρισις* (48). With the comparison to David the poet proves the superiority of his royal subject over other kings. David had conquered a giant (49), but Christ had triumphed over Satan and Death.

At the end of the first section of the kontakion Romanos shifts the *adventus* theme from Jewish history back to the life of Christ. In Strophe *ζ'* he compares the advent to Jerusalem with the Nativity, the birth of the divine king. Already before the time of Romanos Christian artists had pictured the birth in the stable as a royal *adventus*, complete with acclamations, gifts and adoration (50). Romanos now also depicts it as a royal advent (51). A triad of correlatives creates a diptych of royal *adventus* :

ποτὲ γὰρ δι' ἐμὲ ἐτέθης ἐν φάτνῃ
ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις εἰληθείς,
καὶ νυνὶ τῷ πώλῳ ἐπέβης οὐρανὸν θρόνον κεκτημένος ·
οἱ ἄγγελοι ἐκεῖ τὴν φάτνην ἐκύκλουν,
ἐνταῦθα μαθηταὶ τὸν πῶλον συνεῖχον ·

ζ' 4-7.

(46) This Messianic title appears in *α'* 3, *δ'* 2, *στ'* 1.

(47) See MATTHEW, 22 : 41-46 ; MARK, 12 : 35-37 ; LUKE, 20 : 41-44. The scribes admitted that Jesus was David's son, but denied he was David's Lord.

(48) See VILJAMAA, *op. cit.*, 99, 114-116. The comparison is introduced in the previous strophe where he compares Jesus to Moses (*ε'* 4-7).

(49) Mentioned again in 54 *On Earthquakes and Fires* *ιη'* 6-7.

(50) GRABAR, *Empereur*, 212.

(51) Royal imagery also is found in 1 *On the Nativity I*, particulalry in Strophes *γ'*, *στ'*, *ζ'*, *κα'*.

In this way Romanos encompasses the entire life of Jesus through the *adventus* theme. The Incarnation of God is an *adventus* from heaven to earth. It began at Bethlehem and ended at Jerusalem.

The *adventus regis* extends beyond the lyrical first section into the seven strophes of the sacred drama. The poet prefaces the second and third dramatic episodes with images of coming and arrival : *τὴν πόλιν γὰρ ἔφθασε (ιγ' 1) ; εἰσέρχεται | ... ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (ιε' 1-2)*. In addition, Christ himself refers to his coming to Jerusalem : *Νῦν ἐν σοὶ εἰσελεύσομαι (ιδ' 1)*. The kontakion ends with Christ's arrival at the sacred heart of Jerusalem, the Temple, symbolically tracing the road of the *adventus*.

The Palm Sunday kontakion concludes with the dramatic presentation of "The Cleansing of the Temple", an episode connected with the Entry into Jerusalem in the accounts of three evangelists (52). Escorted by children singing "Hosanna to the Son of David", Jesus enters the Temple :

ἐν οἴκῳ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ υἱὸς παρεγένετο

ιε' 3.

Inspired perhaps by Psalm 47, a hymn for the triumphal procession of a king to the Temple, Romanos interprets this episode as the *adventus* of a king-priest. This sacerdotal *adventus* reveals another facet of Christ's kingship, his universal priesthood.

At the beginning of the royal kontakion Romanos lauded Christ as *παντὸς τόπου βασιλεύων (γ' 5)* : at its conclusion he praises him as *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ παντός (ιε' 2)*. In Jesus the universe has both its divine ruler and its divine high priest.

A poet in the service of the church and the singer of its doctrines, Romanos uses the sacerdotal advent to invest the Entry into Jerusalem with theological meaning. In his monologue Christ speaks of the Holy Trinity :

ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ὁμοῦ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα ·

ιε' 6.

(52) MATTHEW, 21 : 12-17 ; MARK, 11 : 15-17 ; LUKE, 19 : 45-46. This episode fulfills the prophecies of ZECHARIAH, 14 : 21 and MALACHI, 3 : 1-4.

With these words the *adventus* assumes trinitarian significance. In Christ, the second person (53), the triune God has entered the world, the eternal has intersected time. Christianity is founded on this paradoxical *adventus*. In the penultimate strophe of the *basilikos logos* Romanos celebrates an *adventus* which is also a trinitarian theophany.

LAUDES REGIAE

Laudes regiae or *acclamatio*, an indispensable element in imperial cult and ritual (54), constitutes the second important structural theme of Romanos' *basilikos logos*. Along with the image of *adventus* the sixteenth kontakion contains an equally prominent image of *acclamatio*. It presents a royal procession accompanied by the sounds of praise. When Jesus rode to Jerusalem on the donkey, crowds followed, cheering him as if he were a king coming to his capital. In *Matthew* 21 : 9 we read a description of the *acclamatio* (55) :

> *οἱ δὲ ὄχλοι προάγοντες αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἔκραζον λέγοντες,*
>
> *Ὡσαννὰ τῷ υἱῷ Δαυίδ ·*
> *Εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος ἐν ὀνόματι κυρίου.*
> *Ὡσαννὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψίστοις.*

Romanos demonstrates poetic virtuosity in elaborating this simple Biblical acclamation into a complex acclamation-kontakion, Byzantine ἄκτα worthy of the king who came from heaven. The difference between the "Hosanna" (56) of the Gospels and this highly wrought

(53) In β' 3, ιε' 3 and ιστ' 1 Jesus is identified as the second person of the godhead.

(54) See Egon WELLESZ, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*, 2 ed. (Oxford, 1961), 99-114 : Paul MAAS, *Metrische Akklamationen der Byzantiner*, in *BZ*, 21 (1912), 28-51 ; H. J. W. TILLYARD, *The Acclamations of Emperors in Byzantine Ritual*, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 18 (1911-12), 239-260. For representations of *acclamatio* in imperial and Christian art see GRABAR, *Empereur*, 54, 65, 126 ; H. P. L'ORANGE, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship in the Ancient World* (Oslo, 1953), 92.

(55) See the parallels in MARK, 11 : 9 ; LUKE, 19 : 38 ; JOHN, 12 : 13.

(56) Repeated in α' 3 and η' 5, where Romanos gives its original meaning. Originally a cry for help, "hosanna" became in early Christianity a kind of jubilation. Cf. Eric WERNER, *The Sacred Bridge* (New York, 1970), 267.

kontakion gauges the distance between primitive Christianity and the sophisticated Byzantine church of the sixth century. The style had indeed changed. Yet Romanos was stirred by the same emotional commitment and faith that had inspired the evangelists.

Since each strophe by means of the refrain is addressed to Jesus, the kontakion is one continuous acclamation. One of Romanos' most lyrical hymns, its one hundred fifty-two verses ring with songs of praise to the king. Heaven and earth, past and present form one cosmic choir in which are to be heard the voices of angels, the children of Jerusalem, the church, and that of the sacred poet, Romanos.

Every strophe contains images of song and sound. Nouns like *αἴνεσις, ἀνύμνησις* (Pr. I, 2), *φωνή* (*γ'* 8, *ιε'* 8), *ὕμνος* (*η'* 4, *ιγ'* 2), and verbs like *βοάω* (Pr. I, 2, Pr. II, 4, *ε'* 8, *ιγ'* 4, *ιστ'* 8), *κράζω* (*η'* 5, 8, *ιγ'* 8, *ιε'* 8), *κραυγάζω* (*α'* 3, *β'* 8), *εὐφημέω* (*στ'* 3) and *ὑμνέω* (Pr. II, 1, *στ'* 1) reproduce echoes of *acclamatio* from the first verse to the final refrain. Through these repeated auditory images the poet enabled his congregation and church to hear Christ's triumphal advent to Jerusalem.

Of the several acclamations contained in the kontakion the most conspicuous is the refrain (57). Introduced in the first proem, it is repeated at the end of each strophe: *Εὐλογημένος εἶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναλέσανθαι*. Sung eighteen times, it intensifies the kontakion's theme, praise for the divine king. At the same time the refrain-acclamation creates a poetic sound-barrier which separates the congregation (or reader) from profane time, enclosing it in sacred time.

For the refrain of his kontakion Romanos altered the traditional Messianic acclamation with which the crowds at Jerusalem had welcomed Jesus. To the formula derived from the Messianic *Psalm* 118 : 25 (58), *εὐλογημένος ὁ ἐρχόμενος* (59), he added *εἶ*, the verb "to

(57) *Kontakia*, 4, 14, 28, and 30 also have acclamation-refrains.

(58) A processional hymn for the Feast of Tabernacles.

(59) A Messianic paraphrase for the Christos who is promised by God. See MALACHI, 3 : 1 ; MATTHEW, 3 : 11 ; JOHN, 1 : 15, 27 ; REVELATION, 1 : 8. PROCLUS OF CONSTANTINOPLE (*PG.*, 60, 772C) explains the title in this way : *πάντοτε γὰρ ἔρχεται, καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπολιμπάνεται.*

be" in the second person singular (60). With this repeated invocation to Jesus in the refrain-acclamation the kontakion gains a tone of immediacy. The congregation, which joined in the singing of the refrain, thus participated in the sacred *acclamatio* to the heavenly king. Romanos altered it secondly by substituting the new phrase, *τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναχαλέσασθαι*, for the second part of the traditional acclamation. By this substitution Romanos states the soteriological purpose of the king who comes. The Christian poet does not acclaim a Messiah who came to oust the Roman garrisons stationed in the Tower of Antonia and to restore the Davidic throne. Rather he acclaims the Messiah who came to "recall Adam from death" (61).

The theme of *laudes regiae* is introduced in the first proem. Christ, who reigns simultaneously in heaven and earth, receives *laudatio* in both realms. Angels and men sing his praises together :

> *καὶ τῶν ἀγγέλων τὴν αἴνεσιν καὶ τῶν παίδων ἀνύμνησιν*
> *προσεδέχου βοώντων σοι ·*
>
> Pr. I, 2.

The rhythm of this expansive verse, its parallel structure and inner homoioteleuton symbolize the cosmic paean sung to the king of the universe.

To this paean Romanos added his own, this kontakion-acclamation.

It opens with a *Te Deum* sung by the palm-waving children of Jerusalem. *Τὰ βρέφη* (62) replace the crowds and disciples who, according to the Gospels, acclaimed Jesus when he went to Jerusalem. The children's young voices reverberate throughout the kontakion. Their *ὕμνος* forms a major part of the *acclamatio* theme, since Romanos alludes to it at least five times (63) in the kontakion proper.

Although earlier sermons for Palm Sunday emphasize the presence

(60) Also in the acclamation-refrain of 14 *On the Raising of Lazarus I.*

(61) The ancient meaning of *ἀναχαλέω*, "to invoke the dead to rise again", survives in its use in this refrain. See the discussion of *ἀναχαλέω* in the refrains of laments by Margaret ALEXIOU, *The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition* (Cambridge, 1974), 59, 109-110.

(62) Mentioned only in MATTHEW, 21 : 15, their presence is emphasized by ROMANOS : *Pr.* I, 2, *α'* 2, *γ'* 8, *στ'* 1, *η'* 4, *ι'* 6, *ιγ'* 2, 5, *ιε'* 2, *ιστ'* 2.

(63) *γ'* 8, *στ'* 1, *ιγ'* 2, 8, *ιε'* 7-8.

of the children (64), none provided a model for the poignant hymn which Romanos composed for them in his poetic sermon. This hymn of seven lines (α' 3-9) demonstrates Romanos' inventive genius for dramatic lyric and *ethopoeia*. With artless innocence the children evoke first a tender image of Jesus as Mary's child, followed by a cruel one of his lonely death on a cross. Alluding to their escape from Herod's massacre of children (65), the children of Jerusalem gratefully accept Christ's self-sacrifice.

Οὐκέτι γάρ", φησί, "σφαγήσονται βρέφη
διὰ τὸ βρέφος Μαριάμ,
ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ πάντων νηπίων καὶ πρεσβύτων
μόνος σταυροῦσαι ·
οὐκέτι καθ' ἡμῶν χωρήσει τὸ ξίφος ·
ἡ σὴ γὰρ πλευρὰ νυγήσεται λόγχῃ ·

α' 4-7.

Direct, simple, and self-centered, the song is one that only children could sing to their deliverer. They rejoice in their salvation innocently and selfishly.

The poet then weaves the children's acclamation into the song pattern of the rest of the kontakion. In Strophe γ' where he compares the Entry with "The Flight into Egypt" Romanos describes how the children's song disturbed those who denied Jesus' divinity :

καὶ νῦν οἱ τὰ αὐτῶν φρονοῦντες δονοῦνται
τῶν βρεφῶν ἀκούοντες φωνάς ·

γ' 7-8.

Three strophes later he compares their hymn with the epinicion sung by the daughters of Israel (66) to welcome the victorious David :

Βαΐοις βρέφη ὕμνουν σε υἱόν Δαβὶδ καλροῦντές σε
εἰκότως, ὦ δέσποτα ·

...

ἐκεῖνον αἱ χορεύουσαι μετὰ νίκην ηὐφήμησαν.

στ' 1, 3.

(64) See for example CYRIL OF ALEXANDRIA, *PG.*, 77, 1052A. In Hellenistic times it was customary for school children to take part in the official receptions of kings. Cf. GRABAR, *Empereur*, 235, n. 2.

(65) The subject of Romanos' most savage kontakion, 3 *On the Massacre of the Innocents*.

(66) See I SAMUEL, 18 : 7.

Both royal conquerors and saviors were hailed with song and honor.

When Romanos compares the advent to Jerusalem with the Nativity, he ends the parallels with allusions to the *acclamatio* of each occasion :

> *"Δόξα" τότε ἤκουες, καὶ νῦν*
> *| : "Εὐλογημένος εἷ ὁ ἐρχόμενος τὸν Ἀδὰμ ἀναλαλέσασθαι". :|*
> ζ' 8-9.

When Jesus was born, the angels, who unceasingly sing his praises in heaven (67), descended to earth to hymn his advent to earth (68), the royal *parousia* at Bethlehem. At Jerusalem the children continued the acclamations (69). In each case the divine king is greeted with song.

In the final strophe of the first section Romanos once again refers to the children's hymn. Jesus' royal power is not revealed in external displays of might but in the song of innocent children :

> *ἀλλ' ἦν τοῦ κράτους σου ὁ ὕμνος τῶν παίδων*
> *καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὄχλου συνδρομὴ*
> η' 4.

It reappears in the sacred drama. Romanos introduces it in his prefatory remarks to "The Lament over Jerusalem" :

> *καὶ πάντας ἠρέθιζε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς αὐτοῦ*
> *ὁ ὕμνος τῶν παίδων ·*
> ιγ' 2.

It then becomes a major motif of Christ's lament (ιγ' 4-9). Christ contrasts the sincerity and faith of the children who sing his praises with the malice of their elders who remain silently stubborn (70) in the presence of the divine king.

In the final scene, "The Cleansing of the Temple", Romanos again mentions the singing children. In his speech Christ locates his royal

(67) See *Pr.* I, 1. The theme of angelic hymns originates in Isaiah, 6 : 3.

(68) LUKE, 2 : 13-14 describes the angelic song of the birth of Christ.

(69) According to Orthodoxy's mystical theology of music all hymns are patterned on divine archetypes. Romanos is well aware of this theology. See 4 *On the Presentation in the Temple*, Pr. I, 1-2, and 46 *On the Three Children*, κε' 1-4. Cf. WELLESZ, *op. cit.*, 58-60.

(70) δ' 8, ε' 8. The silent elders of Jerusalem are conspicuous in a kontakion where everyone else sings.

court in the hearts of the children and those who sing with them:

τῶν πιστῶς χραζόντων μοι φωναῖς ·

ιε' 8.

The poem thus comes full circle, beginning and ending with the *ὕμνος παίδων*.

From heaven and sacred history the *laudes regiae* reach the eternal "today" (71) of liturgical celebration. Each time the church commemorates Jesus' entrance to Jerusalem it adds its own acclamation. Since the continuity of praises to the king depends on the church, the deacon-poet urges his congregation, "us", to acclaim Christ:

ἡμεῖς δὲ πίστει ἀμεταθέτῳ
ἀεὶ τιμῶντες ὡς εὐεργέτην, βοήσωμεν αὐτῷ ·

Pr. II, 3-4.

By repetition of the pronoun and verb in the first person not only in the second proem, but also in prayers (72) and in the sacred drama (73), Romanos implicates "us" in the *leitourgia* of his acclamation-kontakion.

The exhortation to "us" to sing is balanced by the prayer at the end of the kontakion which begins with this petition:

Υἱὲ θεοῦ πανάγιε, μετὰ τῶν ὑμνησάντων σε
ἡμᾶς συναρίθμησον

ιστ' 1

The sacred poet prays that God will accept "our" hymns, "our" praise of the divine king, along with those of the children.

The church, however, and "we" have no voice of our own, but "we" sing through the inspired voice of the poet-priest, Romanos. Likewise, the angels and the children of Jerusalem find their voices in his. All the voices in the sixteenth kontakion belong to Romanos, its *ποιητής*. A liturgical poet, he offers his *laudes regiae* to the church. He shares his voice with "us".

Although scholars warn against identifying the *ἐγώ* in the kontakia with the sacred poet (74), I believe that in this lyrical kontakion we can

(71) Referred to in *α'* 3.
(72) *ἡ* 7, *ιστ'* 1.
(73) *θ'* 1-2, 6-8, *ι'* 3-7.
(74) See, for example, the remarks of MITSAKIS, *op. cit.*, 385.

distinguish the poet from the anonymous corporate ἡμεῖς, that we can hear his personal voice. Without it this kontakion would sound like hollow brass. The overflow of Romanos' strong emotions and his personal response to the coming of the divine king, however, endow it with the music of truth and faith.

Like the coryphaeus of a chorus, Romanos stands clearly in the foreground of this kontakion. We hear his voice when he exhorts "us" in the second proem and equally in the first proem when he addresses God ([75]). His voice also sounds in the nine other strophes addressed to Christ ([76]). It sounds most distinctly in his two poetic inventions, the children's hymn and in the mystic dialogue with which the sacred drama begins.

Heightened emotions sometimes compel the liturgical poet to separate himself completely from the corporate "we" and to speak to God as though this poem would remain always private and not be shared in the public liturgy. Such instances are to be found in the sixteenth kontakion.

The first is found in στ' 5, when Romanos addresses the divine conqueror of death as Ἰησοῦ μου. The same phrase of intimate address also occurs in Romanos' personal prayer in 10. ιη' 5. Similar phrases, however, occur more frequently in the sacred dramas of the kontakia. In each case they are uttered in intensely emotional and personal situations : the Theotokos calls Christ, the new-born baby ὁδηγέ μου, υἱέ μου (1. κδ' 9) ; the leper begging for a cure says κύριε μοῦ (8. ιβ' 2) ; Mary Magdalene finding the empty tomb calls out Ἰησοῦ μου (29. ζ' 5) ([77]).

In contrast to these examples ([78]), in the Palm Sunday kontakion Romanos does not assign the intimate address to a *persona dramatis*. Instead, he must in his own person express, without intermediary, his own deepest feelings, in this case, gratitude for divine love. ἡ χάρις

(75) In this kontakia Romanos speaks both to God and to man. For the dual functions of the liturgical poet see the study by E. C. TOPPING, *The Poet-Priest in Byzantium*, in *Greek Orthodox Theological Review*, 14 (1969), 31-41.

(76) They are Strophes α', γ', δ', στ', ζ', η', θ', ι', ιστ'. Such frequent address to Christ is very unusual in the kontakia.

(77) In Kontakion 29 see also θ' 6, 10, ι' 5.

(78) Other examples are to be found in Kontakia 30, η' 9 ; 20, δ' 7, η' 1, ιη' 4, ιθ' 7.

σοῦ Ἰησοῦ μου is a personal statement by Romanos. That he is a liturgical poet does not make it impersonal.

The heightened emotion that inspired this phrase extends into the following strophe. These words reflect Romanos' personal worship of the divine king :

> *καὶ πῶλός σε νῦν ἔτερψε · προσκυνῶ σου τὸ εὔσπλαγχνον ·*
> *ποτὲ γὰρ δι' ἐμὲ ἐτέθης ἐν φάτνῃ*
> *ἐν τοῖς σπαργάνοις εἰληθείς,*
>
> ζ' 3-4.

The ritual of the *adventus regis* required *proskynesis* or *adoratio* ([79]). In Romanos' first Nativity kontakion, in which the royal *adventus* theme appears, it is the Theotokos and the Magi who prostrate themselves before the divine king ([80]). On the other hand, in the Palm Sunday kontakion it is the sacred poet jimself who performs the ritual act of obeisance. Romanos' religious emotion asserts itself so strongly that the first person singular — *προσκυνῶ, ἐμέ* — is inevitable.

Finally, after the sacred drama has ended, and the sacred poet has prayed for the peace and welfare of the church, a recurrent theme of liturgical prayer ([81]), he speaks to God again in his own person. In the final lines of the concluding prayer Romanos prays for himself, the salvation of his soul, and for his sacred vocation :

> *καὶ ἐμοὶ τὴν λύσιν κατάπεμψον, σωτήρ,*
> *τῶν ἀνομιῶν μου ·*
> *παράσχου μοι λαλεῖν ἃ θέλεις ὡς θέλεις ·*
> *μὴ νωθρόν μου τὸν νοῦν ἡ λύπη ποιήσῃ ·*
> *δεῖξόν με καλλίεργον βοᾶν ·*
>
> ιστ ' 5-8.

Like the celebrant in the Divine Liturgy ([82]), the sacred poet petitions God in his own behalf. Preacher and poet Romanos prays for the theological correctness of his metrical sermon, and for its beauty ([83])

(79) See GRABAR, *Empereur*, 85-88, 147-149.

(80) *στ'* 2, *ιθ'* 9, *κα'* 2, *κβ'* 2, *κδ'* 5.

(81) Several prayers in the Divine Liturgy refer to the well-being of the church

(82) As deacon these prayers were familiar to Romanos. He is following liturgical custom when he prays for himself.

(83) *καλλίεργον*, a rare word meaning "beautifully, well-wrought", expresses the aesthetic concerns of Romanos. Cf. K. MITSAKIS, *The Vocabulary of Romanos the Melodist*, in *Glotta*, 43 (1966), 187 ; GROSDIDIER DE MATONS, 53, n. 1. It should

as well. 29 *On the Resurrection VI* concludes with a similar petition. Significantly, these two prayers which show Romanos' concern for his poetic art occur in two of his most beautiful and lyrical kontakia, both the poems of a young Romanos in the early years of his diaconate in Constantinople (84).

To *Eυσπαγχνον*

Like the encomia to the emperor, the *basilikos logos* of Romanos exalts the attributes and virtues of the divine king. Every element in the kontakion converges on the paradoxical regal figure of Jesus. By narration, hymn and drama the poet seeks to disclose the royal divinity of the man riding the donkey to Jerusalem for the consummation of his Messianic destiny.

Early in the kontakion Romanos introduces the subject of his *basilikos logos*. Freely paraphrasing *Zechariah* 9 : 9 (85), he describes the king whose encomium he sings :

> *Ἰδοὺ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν ὁ πρᾶος καὶ ἡσύχιος*
> *τῷ πώλῳ καθήμενος*
> *σπουδῇ παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὸ παθεῖν καὶ τὰ πάθη τεμεῖν ·*
>
> *β'* 1-2.

Gentleness, serenity, humility and sacrificial love characterize the divine king. Romanos extols these four virtues in his ikon of the king of the universe.

Changing the order of Zechariah, he lists *πρᾶος* first. He again places it first when he repeats the list of virtues in *ι'* 2. And to emphasize it even stronger he changes the epithet into the superlative degree. *πρᾶος* describes both Moses (86) and David (87) in the Old Testament, but Jesus is supremely *πραότατος*.

not be forgotten that Romanos wrote his hymns within a framework of moral and aesthetic purpose.

(84) *Kontakion*, 29 was probably writtent in 526. See E. C. Topping, *The Apostle Peter, Justinian and Romanos the Melodos*, in *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 2 (1976), 8-10.

(85) An oracle by the sixth-century Hebrew prophet, this verse is quoted by Matthew, 21 : 4-5 and John, 12 : 15, and became the text for Palm Sunday.

(86) *Numbers*, 12 : 3. Cf. Basil of Seleukia, *PG.*, 85, 428A.

(87) *Psalm*, 132 : 1. In imperial cult David personified this royal virtue, as is attested in this address to the emperor ; *ἡ πόλις σου ... τὴν πραότητά σου ὁρῶσα, ἄλλον Δαβίδ σε ὀνομάζει*. See Constantine Porphyrogennetus, *De Ceremoniis*, Ch. 82.

Romanos alters the Scriptural versions of "The Lament over Jerusalem" ([88]) and "The Cleansing of the Temple" ([89]) in order to reveal the sublimely gentle character of Jesus. Without rancor Jesus grieves that Jerusalem rejects him. He does not, as in the Gospels, foretell the city's destruction. With gentle authority he ousts the money changers from the Temple, explaining that God's kingdom consists of gentle spirits :

> *νῦν εὕρομεν αὐλὴν τῶν πράων τὴν γνώμην.*
>
> *ιε'* 7.

These are the last words spoken in the sacred drama. The poet thus ends his royal kontakion withthe image of Christ's perfect *πραότης*, untouched by hatred, uncorrupted by power. *ἡσύχιος*, the second royal trait, does not appear in the Prophet Zechariah's description of the Messiah. Romanos adds it, however, associating it with the first virtue ([90]). The poet lauds the king who remains steadfastly serene in the midst of violence and confusion. He formally recognizes Jesus as the long-awaited prince of peace, acknowledging him also as the divine creator of peace :

> *οὐχ ὅτι ταραχώδης εἶ — φυτουργὸς γὰρ εἰρήνης εἶ —*
>
> *γ'* 3.

In the sacred drama Jesus' deeds and words are stamped with regal, unchanging serenity. With quiet words and demeanor he confronts the hostility with which Jerusalem answers his offer of mercy and salvation. In the *threnos* he quietly refers to his death at the hands of the people whom he had delivered from Egypt ([92]) :

> *λατομοῦσι τάφον ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτοῖς παρέσχον σκέπην νεφέλην ·*
> *καὶ χαίρω, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῶν χάριν ἦλθον ·*
>
> *ιδ'* 5-6.

(88) LUKE, 19 : 41-44.

(89) MATTHEW, 21 : 12-17 ; MARK, 11 : 15-19 ; LUKE, 19 : 45-46 ; JOHN, 2 : 13-17.

(90) The combination of these two epithets in I Peter 3 : 4 may have influenced Romanos.

(91) Literally, "one who plants", a "sower". The same phrase occurs in 3, *On the Massacre of the Innocents*, *η'* 11.

(92) The second example of Exodus imagery. The first occurs in *ε'* 4-6.

Suffering, rejection and death fail to disturb his regal calm and composure.

A concrete image — *τῷ πώλῳ καθήμενος* (*β'* 1) — designates the third royal *arete*. Following Zechariah, the Byzantine poet symbolizes God's infinite humility by means of the donkey, the lowly beast of burden.

The supreme paradox of divine majesty and humility was introduced in the first verse of the royal kontakion:

Τῷ θρόνῳ ἐν οὐρανῷ, τῷ πώλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς
ἐποχούμενος, Χριστὲ ὁ θέος (93).

Pr. I, 1.

In the balanced phrases of antithesis the poet proclaims the reality of Christ's invisible glory and his visible humility. For those who, like the poet, have eyes to see, humility reveals God's transcendent splendor.

The paradox is repeated in Strophe *β'*, the first paean to royal humility:

καὶ ἦν θεάσασθαι τοῖς νώτοις τοῦ πώλου
τὸν ἐπὶ ὤμων Χερουβίμ.

β' 4.

By the obvious and dramatic contrast between the lowly donkey and the fiery Cherubim (94) who carry the celestial throne Romanos attempts to measure the depths of divine humility.

The same paradox reappears in Strophe *ζ'*, the second paean to Jesus' humility. Here the donkey is compared with heaven, God's most magnificent throne (95).

καὶ νυνὶ τῷ πώλῳ ἐπέβης οὐρανὸν θρόνον κεκτημένος.

ζ' 5.

(93) This address to Christ, familiar from the Divine Liturgy, is a favorite of Romanos. It appears in almost half of the prooemia of the thirty-four Christological kontakia.

(94) The image of God enthroned on the Cherubim is inherited from EZEKIEL, 1 : 15-27. Romanos often uses it (4 *β'* 3, 7 *β'* 4, 29 *ζ'* 9) to emphasize Christ's divinity.

(95) ISAIAH, 66 : 1 is the source of this image of divine transcendence. Cf. MATTHEW, 5 : 34.

Thus Romanos insists that Christ is God (96) and that his humility matches his grandeur.

Romanos further amplifies this divine *ἀρετή* with a second image, the "poverty" motif inherited from *II Corinthians* 8 : 9 (97) : *ὅτι δι' ὑμᾶς ἐπτώχευσεν πλούσιος ὢν* ... Romanos uses the Pauline paradox for his royal portrait of Christ. It is introduced in *β'* 6 :

πτωχεύοντα βουλῇ τὸν πλούσιον φύσει.

The rhyme and balanced phrases emphasize that God voluntarily (98) assumed the weakness and "poverty" of the human condition. The second statement of the paradox involving this image occurs in Christ's first speech in the sacred drama :

καὶ πένης ὁ πλούσιος ἑκὼν γέγονα · πολὺ γὰρ σὲ ποθῶ ·
ιβ' 2.

In Strophe *η'* both images appear. Humility does not conceal, but rather reveals divine power and glory :

Ἰσχὺν τὴν σὴν ἐνδείκνυσαι τὰ εὐτελῆ αἱρούμενος ·
πτωχείας γὰρ εἶδος ἦν
ἐν πώλῳ καθίσαι σέ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔνδοξος σαλεύεις τὴν Σιών ·
η' 1-2.

Christ did not need external trappings and panoplies to prove his divine sovereignty. The deacon-poet affirms in this kontakion that divinity lies in humility.

Two verses describing the most important royal *ἀρετή* climax the list of kingly virtues :

σπουδῇ παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὸ παθεῖν καὶ τὰ πάθη τεμεῖν ·
ὁ Λόγος ἐπὶ ἄλογον λογικοὺς θέλων ῥύσασθαι ·
β' 2-3.

It is the attribute of sacrifical mercy and love that dominates Romanos' ikon of the divine ruler. He dedicates his *basilikos logos* to the com-

(96) Romanos also calls Christ "God" ; Pr. I, 1 ; Pr. II, 2 ; *ζ'* 2.

(97) The Greek church fathers often used this image in connection with the Incarnation. See, for example, BASIL OF CAESAREA, *PG.*, 29, 361C ; ATHANASIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *PG.*, 25, 97A ; BASIL OF SELEUKIA, *PG.*, 85, 440A.

(98) That Christ's sacrifice is voluntary is further emphasized by *γνώμῃ* (*β'* 7), *ἑκών, θέλω* (*ιβ'* 2, 6).

passionate king who rejoices in humility. This is the God whom Romanos worshipped :

> *καὶ πῶλός σε νῦν ἔτερψε · (99) προσκυνῶ σου τὸ εὔσπλαγχνον.*
> *ζ' 3.*

In the sacred drama the poet develops the *ethos* of the divine king who is the world's *εὐεργέτης* (100), and *σωτήρ* (101). In the thirty-nine verses of Christ's three speeches, Romanos sensitively delineates *τὸ εὔσπλαγχνον*, the infinite mercy of Christ who sacrificed himself in order to recreate the universe.

The mystic dialogue invented by Romanos particularly illuminates the character of the *philanthropos* king. The dialogue begins with a desperate appeal (*θ'-ι'*) to Christ by the children of Jerusalem and "us", the representatives of mankind. Using dark images of slavery, humiliation and indebtedness, the suppliants describe their bondage to Satan. Adam's descendants confess the failure of the Law and the prophets to liberate them from the slavery to which Adam's disobedience had condemned them. Instead of freeing them, the Law further enslaved them — *κατεδούλωσεν ἡμᾶς* (*ι'* 4). Emancipation depended on Christ. Throwing themselves at his mercy, the children implore Christ to die on the cross and save them :

> *+ θέλησον σταυρώθητι καὶ σχίσον τὸ χειρόγραφον. +*

In his answer (*ια'-ιβ'*) Christ reassures them that he is ready and willing to give his life in exchange for theirs, that this is the reason of his coming to Jerusalem. Addressing the frantic suppliants in the second person singular, as though speaking to each individually, the divine king explains his redemptive mission.

> *ἐμοὶ μόνῳ πρέπει τοῦ λῦσαι σε τοῦ χρέους τοῦ βαρυτάτου ·*
> *πωλοῦμαι ὑπὲρ σοῦ καὶ ἐλευθερῶ σε ·*
> *σταυροῦμαι διὰ σέ, καὶ σὺ οὐ νεκροῦσαι.*
> *ια' 5-7.*

(99) See a similar strong phrase in I *γ'* 3.
(100) Pr. II, 4.
(101) *γ'* 2, *ιστ'* 5.

The only true *λυτρωτής*, Christ offers himself as the ransom for many ([102]). By his death he purchases life for the world, liberation from Satan and *Thanatos*.

In the second half (*ιβ'*) of his response Christ describes the love that prompts his mercy and self-oblation : *σὲ τὸν πτωχὸν ἐφίλησα ; πολὺ γάρ σὲ ποθῶ* (*ιβ'* 1, 2). He refers again to his love in the *threnos* over Jerusalem that rejects him. There being no limits to his *philanthropia*, the divine king offers love to the enemies who will kill him :

> *καὶ στέργω τοῦ παθεῖν ποθῶν τὸν πεσόντα.*
>
> *ιδ'* 7.

The divine king identifies himself with the familiar and beloved figure of the "Good Shepherd" ([103]), who lays down his life for his sheep :

> *ἐπείνασα, ἐδίψησα διὰ σὲ καὶ ἐμόχθησα ·*
> *ἐν ὄρεσι, χρημνοῖς καὶ νάπαις διῆλθον*
> *σὲ τὸν πλανώμενον ζητῶν ·*
> *ἀμνὸς ὠνομάσθην, ἵν' ὅπως τῇ φωνῇ μου σὲ θέλξας ἄξω ·*
> *ποιμήν, καὶ διὰ σὲ ψυχὴν θέλω θεῖναι,*
> *ἵνα σε τῆς χειρὸς ἐκσπάσω τοῦ λύκου ·*
>
> *ιβ'* 3-7.

Thus in dramatic lyric Romanos evokes an indelible image of the divine king's *philanthropia*, his redeeming love. His is a Christ who freely and joyfully accepts suffering and death in order to establish a new kingdom based not on law but on grace.

In his kontakion for Palm Sunday Romanos created a luminous ikon of the divine king. He sings of Christ's strength and mercy, his majesty expressed in self-sacrifice. Christ is the divine king, the ideal king for whom humanity had yearned through the ages.

In the sacred drama Christ tells the suppliants that because he loved them, he concealed his glory — *τὴν δόξαν μου ἔκρυψα* (*ιβ'* 1). The sacred poet, however, discloses Christ's paradoxical glory. His

(102) In his answer Christ uses the same imagery as the suppliants. For example, *χρέους* (*ια'* 5) repeats the image of *θ'* 1 ; *λῦσαι* (*ια'* 5) echoes *λυτρωτής* (*ι'* 4).

(103) A universal image for a king, this also belongs to the Messianic vocabulary of the Old Testament. See MICAH, 5 : 3 ; EZEKIEL, 34 : 23-31. Romanos here is inspired by the extended allegory of JOHN, 10 : 7-18.

ikon of the divine king reveals Christ as God, enthroned on the Cherubim, invisible, awesome and distant, and simultaneously the Messiah on the donkey, humble, visible and approachable. King and savior, lord and servant, omnipotent and meek, Jesus is the perfect king, whose image shines in Romanos' verses. Romanos makes conceivable God's inconceivable glory.

Already by the sixth century Christendom celebrated royally the coming of the divine king. Romanos the Melodos provided the celebration with a *basilikos logos*, an encomium worthy of Christ, the king who came from heaven to give his life for the world.

Cincinnati, Ohio. Eva CATAFYGIOTU TOPPING.

LES COMMENTAIRES MYTHOLOGIQUES DU PS.-NONNOS SUR L'HOMÉLIE XLIII DE GRÉGOIRE DE NAZIANZE. ESSAI D'ÉDITION CRITIQUE.

Les éditions des *Histoires* du Ps.-Nonnos dont nous disposons à l'heure actuelle sont malheureusement très insuffisantes par rapport à la position unique que ce commentaire occupe dans l'exégèse des Pères grecs, en tant que source mythologique.

La presque-totalité des scolies à l'*Or.*, IV et V a été publiée par R. Montagu en 1610 (cf. *PG*, XXXVI, coll. 985-1058) : celui-ci a reconstitué à l'aide de quelques mss provenant de la bibliothèque de H. Savilius, un texte souvent défectueux et peu digne de confiance (1). Pour les *Histoires* relatives aux *Or.*, XXXIX et XLIII, la *Patrologie grecque* (2) ne donne qu'une sélection, empruntée à A. Mai (3), qui a omis les scolies qui se trouvent dans Cosmas (4).

S. Brock a récemment publié pour la première fois le texte grec complet des scolies à l'*Or.*, XXXIX, d'après le ms *Cambr. Trin. Coll. 209* (s. XI). Bien que ce ms présente un texte du type secondaire, Brock l'a choisi afin de mieux illustrer la relation entre les versions syriaque et arménienne d'une part et la tradition grecque d'autre part. En combinant le texte imprimé et les variantes fournies par 5 autres

(1) R. MONTAGU, *S. Gregorii Nazianzeni in Julianum invectivae duae cum scholiis Graecis nunc primum editis*. Omnia ex bibliotheca clariss. viri D Henrici Savilii edidit Montagu, Etonae, 1610.

(2) *PG*, XXXVI, col. 1058-1072.

(3) A. MAI, *Specilegium Romanum*, II, 2, pp. 374 sqq., Romae, 1839

(4) *PG*, XXXVIII, *col.*, 341-680.

mss dans l'apparat critique, on peut d'ailleurs reconstituer l'état le plus ancien du texte (5).

En 1817, F. Creuzer édita les *Histoires* relatives à l'*Or.*, XLIII, d'après 2 mss du XVIe siècle : le *Monac. Gr. 163* (B) et le *Monac. Gr. 132* (A) (6). Ces deux témoins sont d'une qualité nettement inférieure : le premier semble être un apographe du *Vind. Gr. 120* (s. XI) effectué très négligemment par A. Darmarius, tandis que l'autre est déparé par d'innombrables fautes de copiste. En plus Creuzer a présenté son texte d'une façon très confuse et embrouillée surtout par les citations du *Violarium* d'Eudocia, qui, selon nous, manque d'autorité et ne peut être consulté comme source secondaire.

En conséquence nous avons jugé utile de rééditer les scolies à l'*Or.*, XLIII à l'aide d'un choix de mss, qui pourra en même temps illustrer nos connaissances actuelles de la tradition manuscrite grecque. Cette tradition assez complexe a été discutée par Patzig et récemment par nous (7) ; nous nous contenterons donc ici d'un bref résumé.

Les mss se répartissent en deux grandes familles désignées par ν et μ. Les témoins de μ ont par un souci constant de concision changé et remanié le texte (surtout pour les commentaires sur les deux *Invectives*, IV et V) en constituant ainsi ce qu'on pourrait appeler une deuxième recension.

Au sein de la famille ν, qui contient donc l'état le plus ancien du texte, se distinguent deux groupes de mss, γ et δ, dont le premier est supérieur à l'autre.

Ces deux branches de la tradition, ν et μ, remontent pourtant à un hyparchétype commun (ω_I) puisqu'elles présentent une même lacune (l'hist. 36 à l'*Or.*, IV) et n'ont probablement pas conservé l'original de l'hist. 61 à l'*Or.*, IV. La version syriaque (a. 624), par contre, a conservé dans les deux cas cités le texte authentique. Elle fournit en

(5) S. Brock, *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia*. Cambridge, 1971, pp. 159-172.

(6) F. Creuzer, *Nonni narrationes viginti. Meletemata e disciplina Antiquitatis*, Pars I, Leipzig, 1817, pp. 60-97.

(7) E. Patzig, *De Nonnianis in IV orationes Gregorii Nazianzeni commentariis. Jahresbericht der Thomasschule in Leipzig über das Schuljahr 1889-1890*, Lipsiae, 1890, pp. 1-30 ; J. Declerck, *Contribution à l'étude de la tradition grecque des Histoires Mythologiques de Ps.-Nonne. Sacris Erudiri ...*

outre trois histoires supplémentaires à l'*Or.*, V, qui ne figurent ni dans ν ni dans μ, mais qui se trouvent confirmées par la traduction arménienne.

Il est donc évident que ces deux traductions remontent à un état de texte antérieur (ω_2) à celui que conservent les familles ν et μ et qu'elles se révèleront être des témoins de première importance pour la reconstitution du texte grec. Jusqu'à ce jour nous ne disposons que d'un seul fragment grec apparenté à ω_2 : les hist. 33-40 à l'*Or.*, V, ajoutées dans le *Vat. Gr. 437* par une seconde main (F_2) (8).

Notre texte est basé sur les témoins suivants :

A. *Pour la famille ν :*

Patm. 33 (P)	a. 941
ff. 178^r-179^r	20 hist.
Lond., BM Add. 18231 (B)	a. 972
ff. 319^v-321^r	20 hist.
Vat. Gr. 437 (F)	s. X-XI
ff. 177^r-181^v	20 hist.
Caes. Gr. XXXIX, 1 (C)	s. XII
ff. 436^r-438^v	20 hist.

Si l'on considère l'ensemble des variantes pour les « Histoires », les leçons de P et B (γ) se montrent indiscutablement supérieures à celles de F et C (δ). Nous devons cependant attirer l'attention sur le fait que P et B présentent parfois (et apparemment plus dans le commentaire à l'*Or.*, XLIII que dans les autres) des variantes propres, rejetées aussi bien par δ et μ que par les versions anciennes. Les mss de ν ont divisé l'hist. 9 (Alphée, la salamandre) en deux paragraphes 9 et 10. Cette division semble être secondaire puisqu'elle ne figure ni dans μ, ni dans les traductions.

Creuzer considéra la notice concernant la salamandre comme une interpolation provenant des scolies sur l'*Alexipharmaca* (v. 537) de Nicandre de Colophon (9). La présence de ce paragraphe dans les traductions rend cette hypothèse peu probable. La dernière histoire

(8) J. DECLERCK, *Five unedited Greek Scholia of Ps.-Nonnos*, dans *L'Antiquité Classique*, XLV, 1976, pp. 181-189.

(9) F. CREUZER, *Nonni narrationes* ..., p. 80, note 48.

(les Sept Merveilles du Monde) est divisée en deux paragraphes 19 et 20 par les mss de la famille ν.

B. *Pour la famille* μ :

Ven. Marc. Gr. 75 (e)	s. X
ff. 462^r-466^r	18 hist.
Vind. Theol. Gr. 126N (79L) (i)	s. X-XI
ff. 337^v-339^v	18 hist.

La «manus correctrix» du *Lond. BM Add.* 18231 (B_2) a. 972? : cette seconde main a inséré des leçons provenant d'un ms de la famille μ, mais aussi bon nombre de corrections «personnelles».

Bien que le texte de μ ait subi de profonds changements, il a parfois conservé la meilleure leçon : *e. g.* l'hist. 2 (l. 9-10), où le copiste à l'origine de ν, en lisant ἐώρον au lieu de εὑρόντες, a adapté le texte. L'hist. 8 à propos de Bellérophon nous fournit un autre exemple : les mss de ν contiennent ici une interpolation de la légende selon laquelle Bellérophon triompha de la Chimère en jetant du plomb dans la gueule du monstre : cette addition que l'on retrouve d'ailleurs dans l'hist. 50 ad *Or.*, IV, ne se lit ni dans μ ni dans les traductions.

C. *Les traductions* :

La version syriaque est maintenant accessible, accompagnée d'une traduction anglaise, grâce à l'édition de S. Brock, qui a également noté dans son apparat critique des variantes arméniennes (10). Pour les passages où les versions de ν et μ sont trop divergentes nous avons préféré présenter les deux textes en juxtaposition, ce qui procure le double avantage de simplifier l'appareil et de faciliter la comparaison des deux familles. Le texte authentique est signalé chaque fois par un astérisque (*).

Gand. José Declerck.

(10) S. Brock, *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnos Mythological Scholia*, Cambridge, 1971. La traduction arménienne a été éditée par A. Manandian, *Die Scholiën zu fünf Reden des Gregorius von Nazianz, Zeitschrift für Armenische Philologie*, I, 1902, pp. 220-302.

Sigles :

P	*Patm. 33*	a. 941
B	*Lond., BM Add.* 18231	a. 972
F	*Vat. Gr.* 437	s. X-XI
C	*Caes. Gr.* XXXIX, 1	s. XII
e	*Ven. Marc. Gr.* 75	s. X
i	*Vind. Theol. Gr.* 126N (79L)	s. X-XI
B_2	Manus secunda *Lond., BM Add* 18231	a. 972?
Syr	Versio Syriaca II vide Brock	
Arm	Versio Armeniaca vide Brock	

ΣΥΝΑΓΩΓΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΞΗΓΗΣΙΣ ΩΝ ΕΜΝΗΣΘΗ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΩΝ Ο ΕΝ ΑΓΙΟΙΣ ΓΡΗΓΟΡΙΟΣ ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΕΙΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΕΠΙΤΑΦΙΩΙ ΛΟΓΩΙ, ΟΥ Η ΑΡΧΗ · «ΕΜΕΛΛΕΝ ΑΡΑ»

I

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 3 (*PG*, 36, col. 497 C-500 A).

Πρώτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῶν Πελοπίδων καὶ Κεκροπίδων καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς ὀνομάτων ·

Οἱ τῶν ἔξω ῥήτορές τε καὶ σοφισταὶ βουλόμενοι τὸν ἐγκωμιαζόμενον παρ' αὐτῶν εὐγενέστατον δεῖξαι, λέγουσιν ὡς οὗτος τὸ γένος κατάγει, εἰ τύχοι, ἀπὸ Πέλοπος ἢ Κέκροπος ἢ Ἡρακλέους ἢ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν νομισθέντων ἡρώων ἢ καὶ ἄλλως πως ἀγαθῶν γενομένων ἀνδρῶν. Φησὶν οὖν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ὅτι οἱ τοῦ θειοτάτου Βασιλείου προπάτορες μείζους

Titulus : Ante *συναγωγή* add. *βίβλιον β'* PB ; *συναγωγή* PBCF om. e i ; *ὧν ἐμνήσθη ἱστοριῶν* PBCF Syr. *τῶν* (om. i) *ἱστοριῶν τῶν* e i ; *ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Γρηγόριος* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; *ἐν — λόγῳ* (*λόγῳ* om. P) PBCF Syr. *ἐν τῷ ἐπιταφίῳ τοῦ ἁγίου Βασιλείου* e i ; *οὗ ... ἄρα* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; post *ἄρα* add. *πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις* P

1. — *Lemma* : *Πρώτη — ὀνομάτων* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF om. Syr.

1 *ῥήτορές τε καὶ σοφισταὶ* PBCF *σοφισταί τε καὶ ῥήτορες* e i ; post *βουλόμενοι* add. *καὶ* PB // 2 *τὸ γένος κατάγει* PBCF *κατάγει τὸ γένος* e i ; *εἰ τύχοι* PBCF Syr. om. e i // 4 *γενομένων* PCF e i *γινομένων* B // 5 *θεῖος* PBCF Syr. *ἅγιος* e i ; *θειοτάτου* PBCF Arm. «godly» Syr. om. e i ; *προπάτορες* PBCF Syr. Arm. *πάτερες* e i

μ	ν (*)
καθ' ὅσον οἱ μῦθοι ἀλλ' ἀληθῆ πράγματα τὰ κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ πατέρας · εἴπωμεν δὲ τίνες οἱ Πελοπίδαι ·	καὶ εὐγενέστεροι ἦσαν τῶν νομιζομένων παρὰ τοῖς ἔξω εὐγενῶν. Καὶ ὁ μὲν νοῦς τοῦ ἁγίου Γρηγορίου τοῦτο βούλεται. Εἰπεῖν δὲ δεῖ τίνες οὗτοι οἷον, ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ ὁ Κέκροψ καὶ ὁ Ἀλκμαίων καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς · οἱ γὰρ τούτων ἀπόγονοι λέγονται λοιπὸν ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ Πέλοπος Πελοπίδαι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Κέκροπος Κεκροπίδαι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀλκμαίωνος Ἀλκμαιωνίδαι, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους Ἡρακλεῖδαι καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ Αἰακοῦ Αἰακίδαι. Εἴπωμεν οὖν πρῶτον τίς ὁ Πέλοψ.

μ (e i) — ν (PBCF) = Syr. ArM.

6 οἱ e οὐ i // 7 τὰ i om. e — 7 παρὰ CF om. PB // 10 ὁ PBF om. C

Ὁ Πέλοψ υἱὸς γέγονε Ταντάλου, Φρυγίας βασιλέως. Ὁ Τάνταλος δὲ οὗτος πόλεμον ἐσχηκὼς μετὰ Ἴλου τοῦ κτίσαντος τὸ ἐπὶ Τροίας Ἴλιον, καὶ φοβούμενος τὴν ἧτταν, ἐπέτρεψε τῷ Πέλοπι τῷ ἰδίῳ παιδί, λαβόντι χρήματα ἀπᾶραι ἐπὶ τὴν Ἤπειρον, εἰπὼν ταῦτα · «Ἐὰν μὲν νικήσω, ὑποστρέφεις πάλιν εἰς τὴν Φρυγίαν, ἐὰν δὲ ἡττηθῶμεν, μένε εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην». Λαβὼν οὖν ὁ Πέλοψ χρήματα ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐν χώρᾳ Ἀπίᾳ καλουμένῃ. Ἦτις Ἀπία χώρα βασιλέα εἶχε τὸν Οἰνόμαον, ἔχοντα θυγατέρα Ἱπποδάμειαν ὀνόματι. Εἶτα ἀγωνισάμενος ἐνταῦθα ὁ Πέλοψ ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα μετὰ τοῦ Οἰνομάου καὶ νικήσας ἔλαβε γυναῖκα τὴν Ἱπποδάμειαν καὶ κατέσχε τῆς χώρας. Καὶ ἀντὶ Ἀπίας ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὴν Πελοπόννησον, ὅ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ Πέλοπος νῆσος. Πάντες οὖν οἱ ἀπὸ τοῦ

21 ὁ[1] PBF e i om. C ; Ὁ Τάνταλος δὲ PBCF Syr. Arm. om. e i // 23 λαβόντι CF e i λαβὼν τὰ PB // 25 ὑποστρέφεις PB -ψεις CF -φης i -φει e ; ἡττηθῶμεν e Syr. Arm. ἡττηθῶ PBCF i ; μένε B i Syr. μένεις B_2 e μένη P // 26 Λαβὼν — Ἑλλάδα PBCF i Syr. Arm. Ἦλθεν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα μετὰ καὶ χρημάτων e // 29 τοῦ PBCF e i del. B_2 ; post τὴν add. τοῦ Οἰνομάου θυγατέρα PB (qui et τὴν add. post θυγ.) CF // 30 τῆς χώρας PB e i τὴν χώραν CF // 31 τοῦ[1] PCF i om. B (suppl. B_2) e

Πέλοπος καλοῦνται Πελοπίδαι οἷον Ἀτρεύς, Θυέστης, Ἀγαμέμνων καὶ Μενέλαος καὶ τελευταῖος Ὀρέστης. Καὶ περὶ μὲν τοῦ Πέλοπος τοσαῦτα, περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κέκροπος ἤδη λελέξεται.

Κέκροψ βασιλεὺς γέγονεν Ἀθηνῶν, ὃς μεγάλως τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατεκόσμησεν. Οὗτος δέ ἐστιν ὁ διφυὴς καλούμενος. Ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ διφυής, ὅτι δύο φωνὰς ἦν ἠσκημένος· μίαν μὲν τὴν τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ἑτέραν δὲ τὴν τῆς Αἰγύπτου. Λέγεται γὰρ ὅτι οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄποικοί εἰσιν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπὸ Σάεως πόλεως. Ἡγεμὼν οὖν τῆς ἀποικίας γέγονεν ὁ Κέκροψ οὗτος καὶ ἐλθὼν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἔμαθε καὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν, ἔχων καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίαν. Ὁ δὲ λόγος ὁ λέγων αὐτόχθονας εἶναι Ἀθηναίους, μῦθός ἐστι λαβὼν τὸ πλάσμα ἀπὸ τοῦ μηδέποτε μεταστῆναι, μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνασταθῆναι τοὺς οἰκήσαντας εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν. Λεπτόγεως γὰρ οὖσα ἡ χώρα, οὐ πάνυ ἦν ζηλωτήν, ὥστε τοὺς ὄντας ἐκδιωχθῆναι καὶ ἄλλους μετοικῆσαι. Καὶ περὶ μὲν Κέκροπος ἅλις.

Εἰπεῖν δὲ δεῖ καὶ περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνος· ὁ Ἀλκμαίων οὗτος Ἀθηναῖος ἦν τὸ γένος, ἐπίσημος λίαν, τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀεὶ φυλάττειν ἐθέλων τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. Τυραννηθείσης οὖν τῆς πόλεως ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου ἐξῆλθεν οὗτος μὴ φέρων ὁρᾶν δουλευούσας τὰς Ἀθήνας. Ἐξελθὼν οὖν ἐμηχανᾶτο καὶ σκοπὸν εἶχε πῶς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀποκαταστῆσαι Ἀθηναίοις. Ἀπελθὼν οὖν ἐν Δελφοῖς εἰς τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον ἱερόν, ἐκμισθοῦται παρὰ Δελφῶν τὸ ἱερὸν ἐπὶ μισθοφορᾷ. Ἐκμισθωσάμενος δὲ καὶ ἔχων λοιπὸν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν πάντας καὶ πάσας τούς τοῦ θεοῦ διακόνους, πείθει τὴν ἱέρειαν, τὴν Πυθίαν, ἵνα, εἰ ἔλθοι ποτὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος μαντευόμενος, μηδὲν ἄλλο λέγῃ αὐτῷ ἢ ὅτι «Ἐλευθεροῦν τὰς Ἀθήνας λέγει ὑμῖν ὁ θεός». Τούτου συνεχῶς καὶ πλειστάκις γινομένου, παρωρμήθησαν

33 ante *Ὀρέστης* add. *ὁ* PB (del. B_2) // 34 *περὶ — λελέξεται* (*λέξεται* e) PBCF e Syr. om. i // 35 ante *Κέκροψ* add. *ὁ δὲ* i // 36 *Οὗτος — καλούμενος* PBCF e Syr. om. i // 37 *μὲν* CF e i om. PB // 38 *ἑτέραν δὲ* PB *μίαν δὲ* CF *καὶ ἄλλην* e i // 39 *γέγονεν* PBF e i *ἐγένετο* C // 39-40 *ὁ Κέκροψ οὗτος* PB *οὗτος ὁ Κέκροψ* CF e i // 40-41 *Καὶ*[1] *— Αἰγυπτίαν* (post *Αἰγυπτίαν* add. *φωνήν* P) PBF e i om. C // 42 *μεταστῆναι* PB e i *ἀπωσθῆναι* CF // 43 *μᾶλλον δὲ ἀνασταθῆναι* BCF Syr. Arm. om. P e i; *ἀνασταθῆναι* CFB_2 *ἀναστῆναι* B; *εἰς* PBCF om. e i; *Λεπτόγεως* CF *λεπτόγαιος* PB e i // 45 *μετοικῆσαι* PB *εἰσοικῆσαι* CF *ἐνοικιστθῆναι* e i // 46 post *δὲ* add. *δὴ* C; *δεῖ* PBF e i *χρὴ* C; *καὶ* PBCF i om. e // 49 *φέρων* CF e i Syr. Arm. *θέλων* PB; *ἐμηχανᾶτο* e i *μηχανᾶται* PBCF // 50 *σκοπὸν εἶχε* (*ἔσχε* PB) PBCF Syr. *ἐσκόπει* e; *ἀποκαταστῆσαι* PB *ἀποκαταστήσει* CF ei // 51 *τὸ* PBF e om. C i // 51-52 *ἐκμισθοῦται — ἱερὸν* PBCF i Syr. om. e; *παρὰ Δελφῶν* BCF e i *παρ' ἀδέλφων* P // 52 *μισθοφορᾷ* CF e *μισθοφορίᾳ* PB i // 53 *ὑφ'* PB i *ἐφ'* CF e; *τοὺς* BCF e i *τὰς* P; post *τοὺς* add. *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος* PBCF // 54 *ἔλθοι* PBCF e *ἔλθῃ* i // 55 *λέγῃ* corr. Creuzer *λέγειν* codd. // 56 post *τούτου* add. *δὲ* BC; *πλειστάκις* PBCF *πολλάκις* e i

Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐξέβαλον ἀπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνῶν τοὺς τυράννους. Μέγα οὖν κλέος ἔσχεν ἔκτοτε ὁ Ἀλκμαίων, ἐλευθερώσας σοφίᾳ τὰς Ἀθήνας. Ἀλλὰ τοσαῦτα περὶ Ἀλκμαίωνος. Αἰακὸς δὲ τέταρτος ἡμῖν
60 *ὑποκείσθω. Αἰακὸς οὗτος υἱὸς ἐλέγετο εἶναι τοῦ Διός, δίκαιος τὰ μάλιστα. Διὸ ποτὲ ἀβροχίας γενομένης ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἦλθον πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ προεστῶτες τῶν πόλεων, παρακαλοῦντες εὔξασθαι τῷ ἰδίῳ πατρί, ἵνα γένηται ὑετός. Ὁ δὲ στὰς καὶ εὐξάμενος ἔλυσε διὰ τῆς εὐχῆς τοὺς αὐχ-*
65 *μοὺς καὶ κατερρύη ὕδωρ ποτίζον τὴν Ἑλλάδα. Μάλιστα οὖν καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἡ εὐσέβεια ἐδείχθη τοῦ Αἰακοῦ. Οὗτος οὖν γεννᾷ δύο υἱοὺς τὸν Πηλέα καὶ τὸν Τελαμῶνα, ὧν ὁ μὲν Πηλεὺς τίκτει τὸν Ἀχιλλέα, ὁ δὲ Τελαμὼν τὸν Αἴαντα, οἵτινες ἐκαλοῦντο Αἰακίδαι, τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ πάππου τιμὴν ἐκ τούτου προσφερόμενοι.*

Λοιπὸν τοίνυν ὑπολείπεται ἡμῖν Ἡρακλῆς. Ἡρακλῆς οὗτος λέγεται
70 *υἱὸς γεγονέναι τοῦ Διός. Ὁ γὰρ Ζεύς, ὁμοιωθεὶς τῷ Ἀμφιτρύωνι συνεγένετο τῇ Ἀλκμήνῃ καὶ ἐγεννήθη ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, ὃς καὶ τοὺς μεγάλους ἐκείνους ἄθλους διήνυσεν. Πολλοὶ οὖν γεγόνασιν ἀπὸ Ἡρακλέους ὧν πρῶτος καὶ ἔνδοξος ὁ Ὕλλος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ οἱ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς. Πάντες οὖν οἱ βασιλεῖς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων Ἡρακλεῖδαι ἐλέγοντο.*

2

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 8 (*PG*, 36, col. 504 B).

β΄ Δευτέρα ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῶν ἐλαφηβόλων καὶ Ὠρίωνος καὶ Ἀκταίωνος · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·

Τὴν Ἄρτεμιν λέγουσι τῆς κατὰ θήραν τοξείας εἶναι ἔφορον. Λέγεται οὖν αὕτη ἡ θεὸς βάλλειν εὐστόχως τὰς ἐλάφους ὥστε ἀκοῦσαι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν ἐλαφηβόλον θεόν. Ὁ δὲ Ὠρίων καὶ Ἀκταίων θηρευταὶ καὶ οὗτοι ὑπῆρ-

57 ante *Λακεδαιμόνιοι* add. *οἱ* i // 58 *σοφίᾳ* PBC e i om. F // 59 *Ἀλλὰ* (om. e) — *Ἀλκμαίωνος* PBCF e Syr. om. i // 59-60 *Αἰακὸς — ὑποκείσθω* PBCF e Syr om. i // 60 ante *Αἰακός* add. *ὁ δὲ* i // 61 *ποτὲ ἀβροχίας* CF e i *ἀβροχίας ποτέ* PB // 63 ante *ὑετός* add. *ὁ* P // 64 post *οὖν* add. *φησί* PB // 68 *προσφερόμενοι* e i *προφερόμενοι* PCF *φερόμενοι* B // 69 *Λοιπὸν — ἡμῖν* PBCF e Syr. om. i ; *ὑπολείπεται* PBCF *ὑποκεῖται* e ; *ἡμῖν Ἡρακλῆς* PB *Ἡρακλῆς ἡμῖν* CF e ; ante *Ἡρακλῆς* add. *ὁ* e, *ὁ δὲ* i // 70 post *υἱὸς* add. *καὶ αὐτός* PB ; *γὰρ* PBCF e *δὲ* i // 72 *ἐκείνους ἄθλους* PBCF *ἄθλους ἐκείνους* e i // 74 *οἱ* BCF e i om. P

2. — *Lemma* : *Δευτέρα* om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *ἐστὶ δὲ* (*δὲ* om. i) *αὕτη* PF i om. BC e Syr.

2 *τὰς* PCF e i *τοὺς* B (corr. B_2) // 3 ante *Ἀκταίων* add. *ὁ* C e

χον. Ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀκταίων κυνηγέτης ἦν καὶ εἶδε τὴν Ἄρτεμιν γυμνήν. Ἦν δὲ ἀθέμιτον τοῦτο τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς ἰδεῖν γυμνοὺς καὶ μάλιστα τὰς παρθένους θεάς. Χολωθεῖσα οὖν ἡ Ἄρτεμις μανῆναι ἐποίησε τοὺς κύνας αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἀκταίωνος.

μ (*)	ν
οἵτινες εὑρόντες αὐτὸν ἀνεῖλον	*καὶ ὡς ἔλαφον ἔχοντα κέρατα ἑώρων αὐτὸν καὶ λαβόμενοι ἀνεῖλον αὐτὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ κύνες*
μ (e i) = Syr. Arm.	ν (PBCF)

9 post *αὐτὸν* add. *οἱ κύνες* F ; post *λαβόμενοι* add. *αὐτοῦ* CF // 10 *αὐτοῦ* PB om. CF

οὕτως ὥστε λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἀκταίωνα ὑπὸ κυνῶν συρῆναι. Καὶ ὁ Ὠρίων δὲ οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ καταστηριχθείς. Ἐστὶ δὲ οὗτος ὁ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρῆσαι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν τῇ βύρσῃ τοῦ βοὸς τοῦ σφαγέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὑριέως τοῦ Θηβαίων βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ φιλοξενίᾳ τῶν θεῶν γεννηθείς.

μ	ν (*)
Διὸ καὶ Ὠρίων ἐκλήθη. Οὗτος ὁ Ὠρίων θηρολέτης ἦν · ὃς ἠράσθη τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. Ἡ δὲ θεὸς χολωθεῖσα ἀνῆκε σκορπίον κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κρουσθεὶς ἀπέθανεν.	*Γενόμενος δὲ οὗτος ὁ Ὠρίων καὶ ὢν θηρολέτης ἠράσθη τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος. Εἶτα ἡ θεὸς ὀργισθεῖσα ἀνῆκε σκορπίον κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ κρουσθεὶς οὗτος ἀπέθανε. Διὸ ἔστι ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μετὰ τοῦ σκορπίου.*
μ (e i)	ν (PBCF) = Syr. Arm.
19 *κρουσθεὶς* i *τροφθεὶς* e	19 *οὗτος* BCF *οὕτως* P // 20 post *οὐρανῷ* add. *ὡς οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσι* CF

4 *ἦν* PBC e i *ὑπῆρχε* F // 6 *θεάς* PBCF e i om. Syr. Arm. // 11 *τὸν Ἀκταίονα* PBCF e Syr. *αὐτὸν* i ; *συρῆναι* CF e i Syr. Arm. *συρέντα ἀποθανεῖν* PB // 12 *Ἐστὶ* FB_2 e i Syr. *λέγεται* PBC // 13 *τοῦ Ὑριέως* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; *Ὑριέως* correxi *ἱερέως* PB *Οἰνέως* CF «Oriens» Syr. ; *Θηβαίων* e i Syr. *Θηβῶν* PBCF

3

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 8 (*PG*, 36, col. 504 B).

γ' *Τρίτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῆς ἀντιδοθείσης ἐλάφου ὑπὲρ τῆς παρθένου — ἥτις κεῖται ἐν τῇ ἑβδόμῃ ἱστορίᾳ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ στηλιτευτικῷ λόγῳ Ἰουλιανοῦ · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

Ὅτε ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀπόπλους τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν ἐγίνετο, ἐν τῇ Αὐλίδι τῆς Βοιωτίας θυσίας γινομένης τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος τῆς Ἰφιγενείας ἐπιδοθείσης τυθῆναι, ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἐλεήσασα τὴν παρθένον, ἁρπάζει μὲν ταύτην καὶ ἀποφέρει παρὰ
5 *τοῖς Ταύροις ἐν Σκυθίᾳ, ἔλαφον δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς παρθένου φανῆναι ἐποίησεν. Ἥντινα λαβόντες ἔθυσαν οἱ Ἕλληνες · ἡ δὲ Ἰφιγένεια ἐν Σκύθαις ἱέρεια ἦν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος.*

4

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 12 (*Pg*, 36, col. 509 B).

δ' *Τετάρτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Θετταλικοῦ ἄντρου · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

Γεννηθεὶς ὁ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὑπὸ Θέτιδος παρεδόθη τῷ Χείρωνι τροφεῖ ἅμα καὶ διδασκάλῳ τῆς τοξείας χρησόμενος. Ἦν δὲ οὗτος ὁ Χείρων ἱπποκένταυρος οἰκῶν ἄντρον τι καὶ σπήλαιον ἐν Θετταλίᾳ. Ὁ οὖν Χείρων λαβὼν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ἐπικαθίσας ὄπισθεν ἑαυτοῦ κατὰ τοῦ ἱππείου
5 *μέρους, οὕτως ἐγύμναζεν καὶ ἐδίδαξε τὴν τοξικήν, τρέφων αὐτὸν οὐ γάλακτι καὶ ἄρτῳ ἀλλὰ μυελοῖς ἐλάφων καὶ ἄλλων ζῴων. Διὸ καὶ Ἀχιλλεὺς ὠνομάσθη ὡς μὴ μετασχὼν τοῦ χιλοῦ · χιλὸς γάρ ἡ τροφή.*

3. — *Lemma* : *Τρίτη* om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἥτις* PBCF om. e i ; *ἐν — λόγῳ* PBCF i *τοῦ πρώτου στηλιτευτικοῦ* e ; *Ἰουλιανοῦ* CF *Ἰουλιανῷ* PB om. e i ; *ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη* BCF e Syr. om. P i

1 Ante *ἀπόπλους* add. *ὁ* e i ; *ἐπὶ τὴν Τροίαν* PBCF Syr. om. e i // 2 *γινομένης* PB e i *γενομένης* CF // 3 post *τυθῆναι* add. *τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι* PB *καὶ* i // 3-4 *ἡ Ἄρτεμις* post *παρθένον* transp. PB // 4 *ταύτην* PBCF *αὐτὴν* e om. i // 5 *τοῖς* PBCF om. e i // 6 *Ἥντινα* PBCF *ἣν* e i // 6 *Σκύθαις* PBCF *Σκυθίᾳ ἦν* PBCF i *γίνεται* e

4. — *Lemma* : *Τετάρτη* om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PB e *ἱστορία ἐστὶ* CF ; *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *ἐστὶ δὲ* om. i

2 *χρησόμενος* PBCF Syr. om. e i // 3 *ἄντρον τι καὶ σπήλαιον* (*καὶ σπήλαιον* om. B [suppl. B_2] P) PBCF i Syr. *ἐν ἄντρῳ ἤτοι σπηλαίῳ τινί* e // 4 *ἐπικαθίσας* PBCF *καθίσας* e i ; *ἑαυτοῦ* PB e i *αὐτοῦ* CF // 5 *ἐδίδαξε* PBCF *ἐδίδασκε* e i ; post *ἐδίδαξε* add. *αὐτὸν* C // 5-6 *τρέφων — ἄρτῳ* PB e i Syr. Arm. *οὐ γάλακτι καὶ ἄρτῳ τρέφων αὐτὸν* CF // 7 post *τροφή* add. *ἡ ἀπογενημάτων* e i

5

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 21 (*PG*, 36, col. 524 B).

ε' *Πέμπτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῆς στροφῆς τῆς σφενδόνης τοῦ Γύγου · ταύτης τῆς ἱστορίας ἐμνήσθη καὶ ἐν τοῖς Στηλιτευτικοῖς ἐν τῇ πεντηκοστῇ πέμπτῃ ἱστορίᾳ · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

Πλάτων ἐν ταῖς Πολιτείαις λέγει ὡς ὁ Γύγης οὗτος ποιμὴν ἦν · καὶ ποιμαίνων εὗρεν κεχωσμένον ἵππον χαλκοῦν ἐν ᾧ ἵππῳ ἔνδοθεν εὗρεν ὄντα νεκρὸν ἄνθρωπον, φοροῦντα δακτύλιον καὶ λαβὼν τὸν δακτύλιον εἶχεν. Καὶ ὅτε μὲν ἔστρεφε τὴν σφενδόνην τοῦ δακτυλίου ἐγίνετο ἀφανής, ὅτε 5 *δὲ ἀνέστρεφε πάλιν ἐγίνετο ἐμφανὴς τοῖς οὖσι. Σφενδόνη δέ ἐστιν ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ δακτυλίου · ἦν δὲ αὕτη στρεπτή. Ἔχων οὖν τοῦτον τὸν δακτύλιον, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὰ βασίλεια τῶν Λυδῶν καὶ ἀντιστρέψας τὴν σφενδόνην ἐγένετο ἀφανὴς καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν βασίλειαν. Ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος ἄλλως ἱστορεῖ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Γύγην —* 10 *ὅτι ἐπιτροπῇ τῆς δεσποίνης ἀπέκτεινεν τὸν Κανδαύλην ὁ Γύγης καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν.*

6

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 21 (*PG*, 36, col. 524 B).

Ἕκτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ κατὰ τὸν Μίδαν · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·

Ὁ Μίδας οὗτος Φρυγίας ἦν βασιλεύς · ἦν δὲ φιλάργυρος καὶ χρυσομανής τις ὡς τὸ ἔργον ἐδήλωσεν. Ηὔξατο οὖν ἵν' οὗ ἂν ἅψηται χρυσὸς γένηται · εἰσηκούσθη οὖν οὗτος καὶ οὗ ἂν ἥψατο ἢ χειρὶ ἢ στόματι, χρυσὸς ἐγίνετο. Καὶ οὕτως πάντα μὲν ἦν αὐτῷ χρυσός

5. — *Lemma* : *Πέμπτη* om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBF e *ἱστορία ἐστὶ* C *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *τὴν στροφὴν* e ; *ἐν τοῖς Στηλιτευτικοῖς* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; post *ἱστορίᾳ* add. *ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ* P *τῶν Στηλιτευικῶν* e i ; *ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη* BCF e Syr. om. P i

2 *ὄντα* PB i *ἐνόντα* CF e // 4 post *ἀφανὴς* add. *τοῖς ἀνθρώποις* PB // 5 *ἐμφανὴς* PCF e i *ἀφανὴς* B (corr. B_2) // 8 ante *βασιλέα* add. *τὸν Κάνδαυλιν* e i // 9 post *βασίλειαν* add. *αὐτοῦ* e // 10 *ὁ Γύνης* PBCF Syr. om. e i // 11 post *ἐβασίλευσεν* add. *ἀντ' αὐτοῦ* e i

6. — *Lemma* : *Ἕκτη* om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *ἐστὶ δὲ* (*δὲ* om. i) *αὕτη* P i om. BCF e

2 *οὖν* PBCF *γὰρ οὗτος* e i ; *ἵν'* PBC e i om. F ; *ἂν* PB e *ἐὰν* CF i // 3 *γένηται* PBF e i *γίνηται* C ; *εἰσηκούσθη οὖν οὗτος* PBCF *καὶ ἀκουσθεὶς* e i ; *ἂν* i *ἐὰν* PBCF e // 4 *ἐγίνετο* PCF i *ἐγένετο* B e *ἐγεγόνει* B_2 ; *μὲν* PBCF om. e i

μ	ν (*)
Φαγεῖν οὖν μὴ δυνάμενος λιμῷ διεφθάρη · καὶ γὰρ ἡ διὰ στόματος διδομένη αὐτῷ τροφὴ ἀπεχρυσοῦτο καὶ οὕτως ἀπώλετο.	*φαγεῖν δὲ μὴ δυνάμενος ἀπώλετο. καὶ γὰρ ἡ τροφὴ ἡ διδομένη αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ στόματος ἀπεχρυσοῦτο · ἐφθάρη οὖν τῷ λιμῷ.*
μ (e i)	ν (PBCF) = Syr. Arm.

8 *τῷ* PBCF *τῇ* B_2

Ἱστοροῦσι δὲ ἄλλοι ὅτι χρησμὸν λαβὼν ἔζησεν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ χρησμὸς διελάσαι ἅρματι καὶ ὅπου δ' ἂν ἐπισχεθῇ τὸ ἅρμα στῆναι καὶ κτίσαι πόλιν. Καὶ ἐποίησεν οὕτως καὶ κτίζει τὴν Ἄγκυραν τῆς Γαλατίας · Ἄγκυρα γὰρ σιδήριον πλοίου ποταμείου ὃ ἐπισχὸν τὸ ἅρμα ἔστησε τὸν Μίδαν καὶ οὕτως ἐκτίσθη ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐκλήθη «Ἄγκυρα».

7

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 21 (*PG*, 36, col. 524 B).

ζ *Ἑβδόμη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Ἀβάριδος οἱστοῦ · ταύτης τῆς ἱστορίας μέμνηται Ἡρόδοτος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

Ἄβαρις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἦν ἄνθρωπός τις · οἱ δὲ Ὑπερβόρεοι ἀρκτικώτεροί εἰσιν καὶ ἐνδότεροι τῶν Σκυθῶν. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἄβαρις λέγεται ἔνθους γενόμενος περιϊέναι τὴν Ἑλλάδα κύκλῳ μετὰ βέλους καὶ χρησμούς τινας καὶ μαντείας λέγειν ὡς ἔνθους. Λυκοῦργος δὲ ὁ ῥήτωρ μέμνηται τοῦ Ἀβάριδος ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μενεσαίχμου λόγῳ, λέγων ὅτι λιμοῦ γενομένου ἐν τοῖς Ὑπερβορέοις ἦλθεν ὁ Ἄβαρις ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι καὶ ἐμισθώτευσε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ ἐδιδάχθη παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ χρησμολογεῖν.

9 *Ἱστοροῦσι δὲ ἄλλοι* PBCF *ἄλλοι δὲ ἱστοροῦσι* e i, post *ἄλλοι* add. *τινὲς* CF Arm. ; *Ἦν — χρησμός* PBCF *ὁ δὲ χρησμὸς ἦν* e i // 10 *διελάσαι* PBCF *ἐλάσαι* e i ; ante *ἅρματι* add. *ἐν* e i ; *δ'* PB om. CF e i // 12 *πλοίου* PBC e i om. F ; *ὃ* PB Syr om. CF e i Arm. ; *ἐπισχὸν* B i *ἐπισχών* P e *ἐπέσχεν* CF // 13 post *«Ἄγκυρα»* add. *καὶ ὁ Μίδας ἐθεραπεύθη* e i

7. — *Lemma* : *Ἑβδόμη* om. i, *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *ταύτης τῆς ἱστορίας μέμνηται* (*ἐμνήσθη* e) *Ἡρόδοτος* PBCF e *ταύτης καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἐμνήσθη* i ; post *τετάρτῃ* add. *βίβλῳ* PBCF ; *ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη* BCF e Syr. om. P i

1 *τις* PBCF e Syr. om. i ; *Ὑπερβόρεοι* PB i *ὑπερβοραῖοι* e *ὑπερβόριοι* CF // 3 ante *βέλους* add. *τοῦ* CF // 4 *δὲ* PBCF i *τε* e // 5 *Μενεσαίχμου* Creuzer *Μενεσεσχαίου* e i *Μενέσχου* CF *Μενεσχέου* PB «*M'm'skymos*» Syr. «Menesk'ios» Arm. // 6 *Ὑπερβορέοις* PB e i *ὑπερβορίοις* CF ; *ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι* PBCF i om e

Καὶ οὕτω κρατῶν τὸ βέλος ὡς σύμβολον τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος — τοξότης γὰρ οὗτος ὁ θεός περιῄει χρησμολογῶν πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑλλάδα.

8

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 21 (*PG*, 36, col. 524 B).

η' *Ὀγδόη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ κατὰ τὸν Πήγασον · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη σαφὴς ἡ κατὰ τὸν Βελλεροφόντην ·*

Τῆς γὰρ Παταρικῆς Χιμαίρας ἀναφανείσης — περὶ ἧς μέμνηται ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐν τοῖς Στηλιτευτικοῖς ἐν ἱστορίᾳ πεντηκοστῇ — καὶ λυμαινομένης τὴν χώραν τῶν Λυκίων καὶ τοῦ Προίτου βασιλεύοντος τῆς Λυκίας, προσετάχθη ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἀποκτεῖναι τὴν Χίμαιραν. Ἦν δὲ
5 *τὸ θηρίον, ὡς κἀκεῖσε παρεστήσαμεν, τοιοῦτον · πρόσθε μὲν λέων, ὄπισθε δὲ δράκων, μέση δὲ Χίμαιρα. Ἐξ ἧς Χιμαίρας πῦρ ἀνεδίδοτο καὶ ἦν δυσάλωτον τὸ θηρίον.*

Τὸν ἵππον οὖν τὸν Πήγασον ἐκ θεοῦ εὑρὼν ὁ Βελλεροφόντης

μ	*ν* (*)
ὃς ἐλέγετο ἵππος εἶναι πτερωτὸς	*— ὃς ἐλέγετο ἔχειν πτερὰ καὶ*
10 *καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνύχων ὕδωρ στάζειν, σύμμαχόν τε ἔχων τὴν τούτου πτῆ σιν καὶ τὸ ἀποστάζον ὕδωρ ἀπέκτεινε τὸ θηρίον.*	*ὕδωρ ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνύχων ἀποστάζειν — ἐλθών, σύμμαχον ἔχων τὴν πτῆσιν τοῦ ἵππου διὰ τὸ εἶναι πτερωτὸν ὡς εἶπον, [καὶ σφαῖραν περιθεὶς μολύβδου ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ τοῦ*
μ (e i)	*ν* (PBCF) = Syr. Arm.

11 post *ἐλθών* add. *οὖν* C ; *ἔχων* PB Syr. *εὑρών* CF ; [ ] seclusi cf. Syr. Arm. // 14 *περιθεὶς μολύβδου* PB *μ. π.* F *περιβαλὼν μ.* C

8. — *Lemma* : *Ὀγδόη* om. i ; *ἐστὶν* (post *ἐστὶν* add. *ἡ* C) *ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *ἐστὶ — ἡ* (*σαφὴς* P e *ἀσαφὴς* BCF) PBCF e *ἤτοι* i ; post *Βελλεροφόντην* add. *αὕτη* i

1 *γὰρ* PBCF e om. i ; *ἀναφανείσης* e i Syr. *ἀναφυείσης* PBCF Arm. ; *περὶ* PBCF i om. e ; post *ἧς* add. *καὶ* F e i // 3 *χώραν τῶν Λυκίων* F e i *τὴν Λυκίων χώραν* PBC , *καὶ* PBCF e om. i // 5 *ὡς — παρεστήσαμεν* PBF Syr. Arm. om. C e i ; *πρόσθε* PBCF i *ἔμπροσθε* e ; *μὲν* PBCF i om. e // 6 *δὲ*[1] PBCF i om. e ; ante *πῦρ* add. *τὸ* CF // 8 *Ἵππον* PBCF om. e i ; *τὸν*[2] PBCF om. e i

15 *δόρατος αὐτοῦ, ὁ Βελλεροφόντης ἐνέβαλεν εἰς τὸ στόμα τῆς Χιμαίρας καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διελύθη ὁ μόλυβδος καὶ] ἀνεῖλε τὴν Χίμαιραν.*

16 *ἐνέβαλεν* PBF *ἐνέβαλλεν* C

9

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 21 (*PG*, 36, col. 524 C).

θ' Ἐννάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Ἀλφειοῦ · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·

Ἀλφειὸς ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Ἀρκαδίας · Ἀρκαδία δὲ πόλις τῆς Πελοποννήσου. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ πηγὴ ἐν Σικελίᾳ τῇ νήσῳ Ἀρέθουσα ὀνόματι. Λέγεται οὖν ὅτι ὁ ποταμὸς οὗτος ἠράσθη τῆς Ἀρεθούσης πηγῆς καὶ ἐρασθεὶς διαδὺς τὸ πέλαγος ἀναδίδοται ἐν Σικελίᾳ παρὰ τὴν πηγὴν μὴ
5 *συναναμιχθεὶς τῇ ἁλμυρίδι τῆς θαλάσσης ἀλλὰ καθαρὸν τὸ νᾶμα διαφυλάττων πρὸς τὴν ἐρωμένην. Μετὰ ταύτην δὲ ἔστι καὶ ἡ περὶ σαλαμάνδρας ἱστορία · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη · ἡ σαλαμάνδρα ζῷόν ἐστι ὡσεὶ σαύρας τὸ μέγεθο ἢ μικροῦ κροκοδείλου χερσαίου. Ἔστὶ δὲ ψυχρότατον*
10 *ὑπερφυῶς τὸ ζῷον, ὥστε ἐν πυρὶ εἰσερχόμενον, τὴν μὲν φλόγα σβεννύναι, αὐτὸ δὲ μὴ κατακαῆναι.*

9. — *Lemma* : *Ἐννάτη* om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PF *ἱστορία ἐστὶν* BC *ἐστὶ* e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *δὲ* om. i

1 Ante *Ἀρκαδία* add. *ἡ δὲ* e i ; *δὲ* PBCF om. e i ; post *πόλις* add. *ἐστὶν* CF // 2 *καὶ* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; *ὀνόματι* PBCF *τοὔνομα* e i // 3 post *ὅτι* add. *Ἀλφειὸς* CF ; *ὁ* PBCF e om. i ; *τῆς Ἀρεθούσης πηγῆς* PB (*Ἀρεθούσης* om. e i) *τῆς πηγῆς τῆς Ἀρεθούσης* CF // 4 *ἐν Σικελίᾳ* PBCF *εἰς Σικελίαν* e i ; post *παρὰ* add. *τὴν Ἀρεθούσαν* PBCF ; *τὴν* CF e i om. PB // 5 *συναναμιχθεὶς* PBCF *συναναμιγνύμενος* e i ; *ἁλμυρίδι* PBCF *ἅλμῃ* e i // 6 *διαφυλάττων* PBCF *φυλάττων* e i // 6-7 *Μετὰ — ἱστορία* (*ταύτην* e i *ταῦτα* CF) CF ei Syr. Arm. om. PB // 7 ante *ἐστὶ* add. *ι' Δεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία* (*ἱστορία* om. CF) *ἡ περὶ τῆς σαλαμάνδρας* PBCF ; *ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη* PBCF Syr. om. i ; *Ἡ* — fin. e Scholiasta Nicandri (Ad Alexipharm. v. 537) posterius addita esse putavit Creuzer, habent autem Syr. Arm. ; *Ἡ* PBF e i om. C // 8 *ἢ — χερσαίου* PBCF Syr. Arm. om. e i ; post *χερσαίου* add. *τὸ μέγεθος* F // 8-9 *Ἔστὶ — ζῷον* PBCF Syr. Arm. *ὑπερφυῶς δὲ ψυχρότατον* e i // 9 *τὴν μὲν* (*μ.* om. C) *φλόγα σβεννύναι* (*σβεννύειν* C) PBCF Syr. Arm. *σβέννυναι τοῦτο* e i // 10 *κατακαῆναι* PB *κατακαίεσθαι* CF e i

10

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 22 (*PG*, 36, col. 525 A).

ι' *Δεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Λυδίου ἅρματος ·*

Ἔστι δὲ παροιμία αὕτη ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρίζειν ἐθελόντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων ἐφίκεσθαι · ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ παροιμία «Παρὰ Λύδιον ἅρμα θέει». Παρῆκται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἀπὸ τῶν Λυδίων ἁρμάτων ὡς ταχυτάτων ὄντων καὶ μὴ δυναμένων φθασθῆναι. Ἄλλοι δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ Πέλοπος ἅρματος ἤκουσεν
5 *ἡ παροιμία. Τινὲς γὰρ λέγουσιν ὅτι ὁ Πέλοψ Λύδιος ἦν καὶ οὐχὶ Φρύξ. Τῷ οὖν ἰδίῳ ἅρματι ἐνίκησε τὸν Οἰνόμαον καὶ ἔκτοτε ἡ παροιμία προῆλθεν «Παρὰ Λύδιον ἅρμα Θέειν».*

11

Ad. *Or.*, XLIII, 22 (*PG*, 36, col. 525 B).

ια' *Ἑνδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Ὀρέστου καὶ τοῦ Πυλάδου · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

Ὀρέστης οὗτός ἐστιν υἱὸς τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος. Φιλίαν δὲ τοσαύτην ἔσχε πρὸς τὸν Πυλάδην καὶ Πυλάδης πρὸς τὸν Ὀρέστην ὥστε καὶ ἀποθανόντος Πυλάδου συγκατελθεῖν τὸν Ὀρέστην μέχρι τοῦ Ἅιδου.

12

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 22 (*PG*, 36, col. 525 A).

ιβ' *Δωδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοὺς Μολιονίδας · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

10. — *Lemma* : *ι'* e i *ια'* PBCF ; *δεκάτη* e *ἐνδεκάτη* PBCF om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; post *ἅρματος* add. *αὕτη* i

1 *αὕτη* PB e i *τοιαύτη* CF // 2 *ἐφίκεσθαι* B e i *ἀφίκεσθα* PCF ; *ἐστὶ* — *θέει* (C)F e i om. PB // 2-3 *Παρὰ* — *παροιμία* F e i om. C // 2 *θέει* F *θεῖ* e i // 4 *ἤκουσεν* CF *ἠκούσθη* PB *ἐῤῥέθη* e i // 5 *γὰρ* PB e i Syr. om. CF ; *Λύδιος* PBC *Λύδος* F e i // 6 *ἔκτοτε* PBCF *ἐξ ἐκείνου* e i // 7 *προῆλθεν* e i Syr. *παρῆλθεν* CF *παρήχθη* PB ; *θέειν* PBCF *θεῖ* e i

11. — *Lemma* : *ια' Ἑνδεκάτη* e i *ιβ' δωδεκάτη* PBCF ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF e *ἡ δὲ* i ; *ἡ* om. i ; *τοῦ*[2] om. F ; *δὲ* om. i

1 Ante *Ὀρέστης* add. *ὁ* F ; ante *υἱὸς* add. *ὁ* F e ; *Φιλίαν* — *ἔσχε* PBCF *τοσαύτην δὲ ἔσχε φιλίαν* e i // 2 *ὥστε* PBCF *ὡς* e i ; *καὶ* PBCF om. e i

12. — *Lemma* : *ιβ'* e i *ιγ'* PBCF ; *Δωδεκάτη* e *Τρισκαιδεκάτη* PBCF om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF *ἡ δὲ* i om. e ; *ἡ* om. i ; *τῶν Μολιονίδων* F ; *ἐστὶ δὲ* (om. i) *αὕτη* PBCF e i «which is this» Syr.

Μολιόνη ἦν τις γυνὴ περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην οἰκοῦσα. Αὕτη ἔσχε δύο υἱούς, τὸν ἕνα Ὦτον καὶ τὸν δεύτερον Ἐφιάλτην. Οὗτοι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ηὐξάνοντο κατὰ μὲν τὸ μῆκος πῆχυν ἕνα, κατὰ δὲ τὸ πλάτος σπιθαμὴν μίαν. Γεγόνασι δὲ ὑβρισταὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὑπερήφανοι καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐφύβρισαν ὥστε βουλεύσασθαι ἀντᾶραι τοῖς οὐρανίοις θεοῖς. Τὴν οὖν Ὄσσαν τῷ Ἄθῳ ἐβουλεύσαντο ἐπιθεῖναι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἀνελθεῖν εἰς τὸν οὐρανον. Ἡ δὲ Ὄσσα καὶ ὁ Ἄθως δύο ὄρη περὶ τὴν Θρᾴκην. Ὁ οὖν Ζεὺς ὀργισθείς, κεραυνὸν ἐπαφεὶς ἐκεραύνωσεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἀπώλοντο. Ἦν δὲ πρότερον περὶ τῆς κεραυνώσεως αὐτῶν χρησμοδοθεὶς τῇ μητρὶ αὐτῶν ὅτι διὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν αὐτῶν κεραυνωθήσονται.

13

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 23 (*PG*, 36n col. 528 A).

ιγ' *Τρισκαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου· ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη·*

Ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ ἔστιν ὄρος ἐν ᾧ σπήλαιον ἀντρῶδες καὶ δύσκολον περὶ τὴν κάθοδον καὶ δυσχερὲς περὶ τὴν ἄνοδον. Ἐν ᾧ λέγεται ὁ Μινώταυρος ἐμβληθῆναι. Ἐπεὶ οὖν δυσχερὲς ἦν τὸ ἐκβῆναι τοῦ Λαβυρίνθου, νῦν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἔλαβεν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἀφύκτων, ὧν οὐδεὶς ἠδύνατο ἐκφυγεῖν ἀλλ' ἡλίσκετο. Ἐπιφέρει γὰρ καὶ τὰς ἄρκυς· ἄρκυς δέ ἐστιν εἶδος δικτύου παχυσχοίνου, ὃ ἱστᾶσι πρὸς θήραν λεόντων ἢ ἄρκων ἢ ἐλάφων ἢ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἰσχυροτέρων ζῴων.

1 post *αὕτη* add. *δὲ* C // 2 *ἕνα* PBCF Syr. om. e i, *δεύτερον* PBCF Syr om. e i // 3 *πλάτος* PB e i *πλάτων* CF // 5 ante *οὐρανίοις* add. *λεγομένοις* PB (del. B_2), *μὴ* CF // 7 *ὁ*[1] PBCF i om. e; *δύο* PBCF Syr. om. e i; post *ὄρη* add. *εἰσὶ* PBCF // 8 post *ὀργισθείς* add. *καὶ* i // 9 *δὲ* PBCF i *τε* e

13. — *Lemma* : *ιγ'* e i *ιδ'* PBCF ; *Τρισκαιδεκάτη* e *Τεσσαρακαιδεκάτη* PBCF om. i; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF *ἡ δὲ* i om. e; *ἡ* om. i; *τοῦ* i *τῆς* PBCF e

1 post *ἔστιν* add. *ἐν αὐτῇ* CF // 2 post *δυσχερὲς* add. *πάλιν* PBCF // 3 *ἐμβληθῆναι* CFB_2 e i *ἐκβληθῆναι* B *γεννηθῆναι* P, qui in marg. hab *ἐν ἄλλῳ ἐμβληθῆναι*, *ἦν* PB om. CF e i; *ἐκβῆναι* PBCF *ἐκβληθῆναι* e i; *τοῦ* PB i *τῆς* CF e // 4 ante *ὧν* add. *ἀφ'* e i // 5 *Ἐπιφέρει* — fin. Gc Arm. om. Syr. // 6 *δικτύου* PBF e i *σχοινίου* C, *παχυσχοίνου* correxi *πανυσχοίνου* PBCF e i; *ἱστᾶσι* PBCF i *ἱστῶσι* e // 7 *ἢ*[1] PBCF om. e i; *ἢ κατὰ* PBCF *καὶ* e i; *ἄλλων* PBCF *λοίπων* e i, post *ἄλλων* add. *τῶν* C, *ἰσχυροτέρων* PB e i *ἰσχυρῶν* CF

14

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 23 (*PG*, 36, col. 528 B).

δ' *Τεσσαρακαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ Μίνωος καὶ τοῦ Ῥαδαμάνθυος · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·*

Μίνως καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυς λέγονται υἱοὶ εἶναι τοῦ Διός, ὧν ὁ μὲν Μίνως ἦν νομοθέτης παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεξάμενος τὴν νομοθετικήν, ὁ δὲ Ῥαδάμανθυς δικαστὴς δίκαιος ὡς παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν δικαιοσύνην μαθών. Λέγουσιν οὖν περὶ τούτων οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ Πλάτων δὲ αὐτὸς ὅτι
5 *τούτους ἀποθανόντας οὐχὶ δέχεται σκότος, ἀλλ' αἱ μακάρων νῆσοι καὶ τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδίον. Ὄνομα δὲ τόπου τὸ Ἠλύσιον πεδίον, οἱονεὶ ἀλύσιον καὶ ἀπολύσιον, οὐ κολάσεως. Φησὶν οὖν · ἐν τούτοις οἱ παρ' αὐτῶν δίκαιοι μετὰ θάνατον αὐλισθήσονται. Τὸ δὲ τοῦ Ἀσφοδελοῦ ὄνομα · φυτοῦ ἐστιν ὄνομα, ἔχοντος ὀσμὴν οὐ φαύλην καὶ τὸ ἄνθος ἐπιτερπές.*

15

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 24 (*PG*, 36, col. 528 C).

Πεντεκαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῶν Γαδείρων ·

Γάδειρα τόπος ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ Ἑσπέρια μέρη. Ὁ τόπος δὲ οὗτος ἀποτελεύτησίς ἐστι θαλάσσης καὶ οἱονεὶ ἐκροή τις οὖσα ἀπὸ τῆς ὡς πρὸς ἡμᾶς θαλάσσης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀτλαντίδα θάλασσαν. Λέγεται οὖν μηκέτι μετὰ τὰ Γάδειρα πλέεσθαι τὴν θάλατταν ἐκείνην διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν βραχώδη καὶ σκοτεινήν. Γάδειρα δὲ ἤκουσε παρὰ τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν δειρήν · δειρὴ

14. — *Lemma* : ιδ' e i ιε' PBCF ; *Τεσσαρακαιδεκάτη* e *πεντεκαιδεκάτη* PBCF om. i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF *ἡ δὲ* i om. e ; *ἡ* om. i ; *δὲ* om. i

1 ante *Ῥαδαμάνθυς* add. *ὁ* F ; *Μίνως*[2] CF e i *μήνωος* PB // 2 *πατρὸς* PBC e i Syr. *Διὸς* F // 3 *ὡς παρὰ* PB e *ὥσπερ ἀπὸ* CF // 5 *τούτους* PBF *τοὺς* C e i ; *αἱ* PBF e i om. C // 6 *τόπου* post *Ἠλύσιον* transp. e i ; *πεδίον*[2] PBF e i om. C // 7 *καὶ* CF e i om. PB ; *οὐ* CF Syr. om. PB e i // 9 *φυτοῦ* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; post *φυτοῦ* add. ***βοτάνη*** PCF *βοτάνης* B ; *ἐστὶν ὄνομα* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; post *ἐπιτερπές* add. *καὶ ἡ* ***βίζα*** *ὠφελιμὸς* PBCF

15. — *Lemma* : ιε' e i ις' PBCF ; *Πεντεκαιδεκάτη* e *Ἑξκαιδεκάτη* PB om. CF i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF *ἡ δὲ* i om. e ; *ἡ* om. i ; post *Γαδείρων* add. *ἐστὶν αὕτη* i

1 *Ὁ — οὗτος* PBCF *Οὗτος δὲ ὁ τόπος* e i // 2 *Ἀτλαντίδα* PBCF *Ἀτλαντικὴν* e i // 4 *αὐτὴν* e i om. PBCF

δὲ καλεῖται ὁ τραχηλός. Παρὰ τὸ οὖν τῆς γῆς εἶναί τινα τράχηλον ἐκεῖσε, ἤκουσε Γάδειρα.

16

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 24 (*PG*, 36, col. 529 B).

Ἑξκαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τοῦ ἵππου τοῦ διαρρήξαντος τὸν δεσμόν · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·

Ὅμηρος ὁ ποιητὴς βουλόμενος τὴν Διομήδους ὀξύτητα καὶ θερμότητα περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἐκφράσαι, διὰ παραβολῆς εἰκάζει τὸν ἥρωα, ἐπειπὼν τόδε τὸ ἔπος.

«Ὡς δ' ὅτε τις στατὸς ἵππος, ἀκοστήσας ἐπὶ φάτνῃ»[1].

17

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 26 (*PG*, col. 532 A).

Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῶν σπαρέντων καὶ φυέντων αὐθημερὸν γιγάντων · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·

Ἐν Θήβαις ταῖς τῆς Βοιωτίας λέγεται ὅτι Κάδμος ἢ ἄλλος τις, λαβὼν τοὺς τοῦ δελφινίου δράκοντος ὀδόντας, ἔσπειρεν εἰς τὴν γῆν. Καὶ ἀνεδόθησαν ἔνοπλοι ἄνδρες · ἀνεδόθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ μηρῶν ἕως ἄνω καὶ οὕτως ἱστάμενοι ἐπολέμουν ἀλλήλους καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

6 ὁ PBF e i om. C ; τὸ (τὸ om. C) οὖν PBCF οὖν τὸ e i // 6-7 εἶναι — ἐκεῖσε (τινα om. e) CF e i Syr. Arm. ἐξοχήν τινα καὶ τράχηλον ὁ ἐκεῖσε τόπος PB

16. — *Lemma* : ις' e i ιζ' PBCF ; Ἑξκαιδεκάτη e Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη PB om. CF i ; ἐστὶν ἱστορία PBCF ἡ δὲ i om. e ; ἡ om. i ; ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη BCF e Syr. αὕτη i om. P

1 Διομήδους PBC e i Syr. Arm. Ἕκτορος F // 2 ἐπειπὼν PBCF i εἰπὼν e // 3 τὸ PBF e i om. C // 4 post φάτνῃ add. καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς e i

17. — *Lemma* : ιζ' e i ιη' PBCF ; Ἑπτακαιδεκάτη e Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη PB om. CF i ; ἐστὶν ἱστορία PBCF Syr. ἡ δὲ i om. e ; ἡ om. i ; ἐστὶ δὲ om. i

1 ταῖς PBCF e om. i ; ante Κάδμος add. ὁ B e i ; post Κάδμος add. ἢ Ἰάσων PB // 2 δελφινίου Creuzer δελφοινίου F δελφίνου PBC δελφικοῦ e τοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς i «Delphis» Syr. Arm. // 3 ἕως PBCF i μέχρι τῶν e // 4 post ἄλλους add. Εἴρηται δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίῳ ἡ ὑπόθεσις ἡ περὶ Ἰάσωνος PB

18

Ad *Or.*, XLIII, 63 (*PG*, 36, col. 580 A).

Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ τῶν ἑπταπύλων Θηβῶν καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων · ἐστὶ δὲ αὕτη ·

Ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος περὶ θεαμάτων βούλεται εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν ἐνταῦθα. Αἱ γὰρ ἑπτάπυλοι Θῆβαί εἰσι τῆς Ἑλλάδος αἱ ὑπὸ Ἀμφίονος καὶ Ζήθου κτισθεῖσαι διὰ κιθάρας, αἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιαι Θῆβαί εἰσιν ἑκατοντάπυλοι. Μεγίστη δὲ πάλαι γέγονε καὶ οὕτως μεγίστη ὥστε ἑκατὸν ἔχειν τὰς πύλας. Τὰ δὲ τείχη τὰ Βαβυλώνια λέγεται εἶναι ἰσχυρότατα — ἀπὸ γὰρ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς καὶ ἀσφάλτου λυομένης ἐκτίσθησαν — καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχοντα πολὺ καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντα πολὺ καὶ τὴν περιφέρειαν πολλήν. Ὁ τάφος Μαυσωλοῦ τοῦ Καρὸς μέγιστός ἐστι καὶ αὐτός. Μαυσωλὸς γὰρ Καρίας γέγονε τύραννος ὃς ἔκτισεν ἑαυτῷ τάφον πολυανάλωτον, ἐν χώματί τινι καὶ ἐν λιμναζούσῃ λίμνῃ ἔνδον κειμένου τοῦ τάφου. Γράφεται δὲ καὶ ὁ «Καρικὸς» τάφος ἵνα ᾖ κτητικός, γράφεται καὶ «Καρὸς» ἵνα ᾖ ἐθνικὸν Μαυσωλοῦ τοῦ Καρός.

Αἱ δὲ Πυραμῖδες καὶ αὐταὶ θεάματος ἄξιαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ εἰσὶν ἐκτισμέναι πολυανάλωτοι. Ἄστινας Χριστιανοὶ μὲν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὰ ὠρεῖα τοῦ Ἰωσήφ, Ἕλληνες δὲ τάφους βασιλέων τινῶν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ

18. — *Lemma* : *ιη'* e i *ιθ'* PBCF ; *Ὀκτωκαιδεκάτη* e *ἐννεακαιδεκάτη* PB om. CF i ; *ἐστὶν ἱστορία* PBCF *ἡ δὲ* i om. e ; *ἡ* om. i ; post *καὶ* add. *πολῶν* e i ; *δὲ* om. e i 1 *ἡμῖν* — *ἐνταῦθα* PBCF Syr. om. e i ; *γὰρ* PB *δὲ* CF *οὖν* e *μὲν* i // 2 *ἑπτάπυλοι Θῆβαι* e *ἑπτάπυλοι πύλαι* PB Syr. *πύλαι αἱ ἑπτάπυλοι* CF i ; *τῆς Ἑλλάδος* PBCF *ἐπὶ τῆς Ἑλλάδος* i om. e // 3 *κτισθεῖσαι* PBCF i post *αἱ* (l. 2) transp. e ; ante *ἑκατοντάπυλου* add. *αἱ* i // 4 *δὲ* BCF *γὰρ* e i om. P ; *πάλαι* PCF i *πάνυ* e *πόλις* B *πύλη* B_2 ; *ὥστε* PBCF e *ὡς* i ; *τὰς* CF e i om. PB // 5 *λέγεται εἶναι* PBCF e *εἶναι λέγεται* i // 6 *λυομένης* PBCF *λελυμένης* e i // 6-7 *καὶ*[2] — *πολλὴν* PB Syr. Arm. *καὶ τὸ πλάτος ἔχοντα πολὺ καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἔχοντα πολὺ* (*ἔχ.* *πολὺ* om. F) *καὶ τὴν περιφέρειαν πολλὴν* CF *πλάτος τε καὶ μῆκος πλεῖστον καὶ περιφέρειαν ἔχοντα* e i // 7 post *πολλὴν* add. *καὶ τὸ ὕψος ὁμοίως* PB ; ante *Ὁ* add. *κ' Εἰκοστὴ* (*Εἰκ.* om. CF) *ἐστὶν ἱστορία ἡ περὶ Μαυσωλοῦ τοῦ καρὸς τάφου* PBCF // 7-8 *Ὁ* — *αὐτὸς* PBCF *Ὁ δὲ Μαυσωλοῦ τοῦ Καρὸς τάφος καὶ αὐτὸς μέγιστος* e i // 10 *ἐν* — *τάφου* (*κειμένου* BCF *κειμένη* P) PBCF *ἔνδον ἐν λίμνῃ κειμένῳ* e i // 11 *Γράφεται*[1] PBCF *γέγραπται* e i ; *δὲ* PBF e i om. C ; *τάφος* PBCF om. e i ; *κτητικὸς* PBCF *κτητικὸν* e i ; *γράφεται*[2] PBCF *γέγραπται* e i // 14 *μὲν* PBF e i om. C ; *ὠρεῖα* F i *ὄρεια* e *ὄρια* PBC

Ἡρόδοτος. Περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κολοσσοῦ λέγει τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ ἀνακειμένου, ὅτι μέγιστός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνδριὰς καὶ ἀξιοθαύμαστος.

16 post *Ἡρόδοτος* add. *Ὡς δὲ εἰκὸς μετὰ τοὺς χρόνους τοῦ Ἰωσὴφ καὶ τὴν ἔξοδον τοῦ Ἰσραήλ, ἐποιήσαντο αὐτὰς τάφους βασιλέων οἱ Ἕλληνες* PBCF ; *τοῦ — ἀνακειμένου* PB e i *τοῦ ἀνακειμένου ἐν Ῥόδῳ* CF // 17 post *ἀνδριὰς* add. *χαλκὸν ἔχων πολύν* PBCF ; *ἀξιοθαύμαστος* e i Syr. Arm. *ἀξιοθαύμαστον* (+ *ἔχων* C) *θέαμα* PBCF ; in fine historiae haec leguntur in PB : *Τάχα οὖν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενα ἑπτὰ θαύματα ἀπαριθμούμενος, οὐδέν ἐστι, φησίν, πρὸς τοὺς ξενῶνας οὓς ὠκοδόμησεν ὁ ἐν ἁγίοις Βασίλειος. Εἰσέτι δὲ νῦν ἔξωθεν Καισαρείας τῆς πρὸς τὸ Ἄργεννον (Ἄργεννον* Sinko *τω Ἀργεω* PB) *φαίνονται Βασιλεῖαι ὀνομαζόμεναι περὶ ὧν φησιν ὁ θεῖος Γρηγόριος ἐν τῷ εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιταφίῳ : «Μικρὸν πρόελθε ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως καὶ θέασαι τὴν καινὴν πόλιν» καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.*

In fine collectionis historiarum ad or. XLIII leguntur in P : *Τέλος τῶν ἱστοριῶν τοῦ εἰς τὸν μέγαν Βασίλειον ἐπιταφίου οὗ ἡ ἀρχή · ἔμελλεν ἄρα πολλὰς ἡμῖν ὑποθέσεις τῶν λόγων ἀεὶ προθεὶς ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος βίβλιον β' Κεφάλαια κ̄ στίχοι ΡΟΓ*, in Syr «The historiae are ended».

LA LETTRE D'ALEXIS I COMNÈNE À ROBERT I LE FRISON

Une revision

La question des rapports entre Alexis Comnène et Robert le Frison [1] a déjà suscité de nombreuses recherches. Quelques-uns des plus grands savants de notre siècle ont traité de la question. C. Erdmann [2], puis E. Joranson [3] ont développé la thèse suivant laquelle la lettre d'Alexis à Robert le Frison serait un faux, forgé en Italie en 1105 comme moyen de propagande destiné à favoriser le recrutement pour la «croisade» que Bohémond de Tarente organisait alors contre Alexis. Un savant de l'envergure du professeur F. L. Ganshof a, en 1961, dans sa participation à l'hommage rendu à G. Ostrogorsky, donné son aval à cette théorie [4].

La thèse, que K. N. Ciggaar vient de défendre à l'Université de Leiden et dont elle nous avait déjà donné un aperçu en 1974, révèle et utilise des données nouvelles qui, quoique concernant essentiellement l'Angleterre, ne sont pas inintéressantes pour les contrées avoisinantes [5]. De l'ouvrage de Mlle Ciggaar, on retire l'impression qu'il y avait en Angleterre un intérêt, mais aussi une connaissance de

(1) F. Dolger, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des Oströmischen Reiches*, Abt. I, 2tes Teil, Munich, 1925, n° 1152 (a° 1088), p. 39.

(2) C. Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*, Stuttgart, 1935, p. 367, n. 7 (et p. 366).

(3) E. Joranson, *The problem of the spurious letter of emperor Alexius to the count of Flanders*, in *American Historical Review*, LV, 1950, pp. 811-832.

(4) F. L. Ganshof, *Over Robrecht de Fries en Alexios Comnenos*, dans *Handelingen der Koninklijke Zuidnederlandse Maatschappij voor Taal- en Letterkunde en Geschiedenis*, XIV, 1960, pp. 145-160 ; Id., *Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène*, dans *Byzantion*, XXX, 1, 1961, pp. 57-74.

(5) K. N. Ciggaar, *Byzance et l'Angleterre*, Thèse, Leiden, 1976 ; Id., *L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066*, dans *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, XXXII, 1974, pp. 306-342.

Byzance, qui se révèlent de loin supérieurs à ce que l'on avait pu imaginer jusqu'à présent. C'est ainsi que l'on souhaite voir ces recherches se poursuivre et préciser les rapports des textes découverts ainsi que leur dispersion.

Pour notre propos, il n'est pas inutile de rappeler les faits suivants. V. Laurent a publié en 1963 un sceau byzantin provenant des fouilles de Martin Biddle à Winchester. L'objet, parfaitement situé en stratigraphie, a pu être identifié comme appartenant à Jean Raphaël au moment où celui-ci exerçait les fonctions de protospathaire. Jean Raphaël est ἐκ προσώπου τοῦ πανθέου, c'est-à-dire l'officier commandant en second le corps des pantheôtai, troupe d'élite de la garde impériale. Sa titulature implique que le sceau ne soit pas postérieur à 1080. V. Laurent a très sagacement mis en relation la présence de ce sceau à Winchester avec une campagne de recrutement de mercenaires (6). Or, Dölger a prouvé de façon péremptoire la présence de troupes anglaises à Byzance dès 1080 (7) et le travail de Mlle Ciggaar a pleinement confirmé cette datation (8).

Un autre sceau, provenant lui aussi de Winchester (9), ainsi que les documents de la fin du XIe ou du début du XIIe siècle rappelés par Mlle Ciggaar, comme le récit du moine Joseph, la Vita de saint Augustin de Cantorbery, certains passages de Foucher de Chartres montrent à suffisance que les contacts entre l'Angleterre, Byzance et Jérusalem n'étaient pas si sporadiques que l'on pourrait croire (10). Si, dans le

(6) V. Laurent, *Byzance et l'Angleterre au lendemain de la conquête normande. A propos d'un sceau byzantin trouvé à Winchester*, dans *The Numismatic Circular*, mai, 1963, LXXI, 5, pp. 93-96.

(7) F. Dolger, c.r. de A. A. Vasiliev, *The opening states of the Anglo-Saxon immigration to Byzantium in the eleventh century*, Seminarium Kondakov, 9, 1937, pp. 39-70, in *B.Z.*, XXXVIII, 1938, pp. 235-236 ; cf. M. Goudas, *Βυζαντιανὰ ἔγγραφα τῆς ἱερᾶς Μόνης βατοπεδίου*, in *Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, III, 1926, p. 122, a° 1080 ; G. Rouillard, P. Collomp, *Actes de Lavra*, t. I, Paris, 1937, p. 100, n° 37, l. 34, ont publié un chrysobulle d'Alexis I Comnène qu'ils datent de 1081. L'acte a été republié avec plus de soin par P. Lemerle, A. Guillou, N. Svoronos, *Actes de Lavra*, I = *Archives de l'Athos*, V, Paris, 1970, n° 44, pp. 241-244, m. 26, et daté de mars 1082.

(8) K. N. Ciggaar, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-36.

(9) V. Laurent, *Un sceau inédit du patriarche de Jérusalem Sophrone II trouvé à Winchester*, dans *The Numismatic Circular*, janvier, 1964, LXXII, 1, pp. 49-50.

(10) K. N. Ciggaar, *op cit.*, pp. 31-36

cas de l'exode de membres de la noblesse anglo-saxonne, le trajet a pu se faire par mer en contournant l'Espagne (11), on sait cependant que le pèlerinage anglo-germanique de 1064-1065 suit la voie de terre et passe donc par la Flandre (12). C'est aussi la voie de terre que dut utiliser le comte de Flandre, Robert le Frison, pour se rendre à Constantinople et à Jérusalem (13).

L'empereur byzantin a donc recruté des mercenaires anglais. Il a également, probablement grâce à un contrat de fief-rente, obtenu du comte de Flandre, Robert le Frison, l'envoi de cinq cents chevaliers flamands à Constantinople. Cette convention, datant probablement de 1089-1090, fut suivie de l'envoi de troupes d'élite qui jouèrent un rôle absolument capital dans les opérations contre les Petchénègues et les Turcs en 1090, et en particulier dans la bataille de Lebounion, le 29 avril 1091 (14).

Le travail de Mlle Ciggaar attire l'attention sur un texte nouveau touchant l'Angleterre et qui permet de voir plus clair dans les rapports entre Alexis et Robert. Il s'agit du récit d'une ambassade envoyée par Alexis I Comnène à Henri I d'Angleterre et à sa femme Mathilde (15). L'ambassade n'est mentionnée que dans une seule chronique (16), ce qui doit nous inciter à ne pas interpréter trop rigoureusement le silence des chroniques flamandes. Sur les motifs de l'ambassade, le texte reste muet mais il mentionne d'abord que son chef est un Anglais, ensuite qu'il a apporté beaucoup de reliques. On ne peut assez déplorer de ne pas savoir ce que l'envoyé d'Alexis venait communiquer ou demander. La désignation d'un émigré anglais, que l'on peut raisonnablement supposer bilingue, nous semble très importante

(11) K. N. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-42-43, 55-57.

(12) V. LAURENT, *loc. cit.*, 1964, p. 49 ; E. JORANSON, *The great german Pilgrimage of 1064-1065*, dans *The Crusades and other Historical essays presented to D. C. Munro*, New York, 1928, pp. 3-43.

(13) C. VERLINDEN, *Robert Ier le Frison, comte de Flandre*, Universiteit te Gent, Werken uitgegeven door de Faculteit der Wijsbegeerte en Letteren, 72ste afl., Anvers, 1935, pp. 151-158.

(14) F. L. GANSHOF, dans *Byzantion*, XXX, 1, 1961, passim.

(15) K. N. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34 ; J. STEVENSON, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, Londres, 1858, Roll Series, 2, t. II, pp. 46-47.

(16) K. N. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.*, p. 34, cite un passage de Guillaume de Malmesbury qui confirme le témoignage de la chronique d'Abingdon.

pour comprendre certains passages de la lettre à Robert. Dans celle-ci, se trouvent aussi énumérées une série de reliques.

Ces documents permettent une revision du problème de la «lettre» d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert le Frison.

La lettre de l'empereur Alexis Comnène à Robert le Frison ne nous est connue que par une version latine sur laquelle les avis divergent considérablement (17). Riant et Kohler en font un faux intégral (18), tandis que Vasilievsky considère qu'il s'agit d'une traduction imparfaite d'un original grec (19). Gaston Paris et Hagenmeyer se prononcent pour la thèse du faux mais admettent que celui-ci procède d'un original vrai (20). C'est aussi l'avis de Chalandon (21), qui rejette certaines parties de la lettre mais en admet d'autres, et d'Henri Pirenne qui consacre un article à la question en 1907 (22). En 1935, C. Erdmann, dans une note de son ouvrage sur la naissance de l'idée de croisade, faisait du document un faux rédigé vers 1105-1106 pour soutenir la campagne de Bohémond de Tarente contre Alexis Comnène. Cette manière de voir a été depuis considérablement développée dans un travail d'E. Joranson paru en 1951 (21). L'expédition militaire de Bohémond s'est accompagnée d'une campagne de propagande nettement hostile à Alexis Comnène. La lettre devrait servir à démontrer définitivement la déloyauté d'Alexis qui aurait promis d'abdiquer au profit des Latins, sa négligence, sa responsabilité dans

(17) Il en existe deux éditions : Comte RIANT, *Alexii I Comneni Romanorum imperatoris ad Robertum I Flandriae Comitem epistola spuria*, Genève, 1897 ; H. HAGENMEYER, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088-1100*, Innsbruck, 1901, n° 1, pp. 129-136. Une version abrégée dans GUIBERT DE NOGENT, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Livre I, c.5, éd. C. THUROT, *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades. Historiens Occidentaux*, t. IV, Paris, 1879, pp. 131-133.

(18) RIANT, *op. cit.*, *passim* ; Ch. KOHLER, dans *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VIII, 1900-1901, pp. 566-567.

(19) Nous n'avons pu nous procurer le travail de VASILJEVSKI que nous citons d'après H. PIRENNE, *loc. cit.*, (n. 22), p. 218 et E. JORANSON, *loc. cit.*, p. 817, n. 27.

(20) H. HAGENMEYER, *Der Brief des Kaisers Alexios I Komnenos an den Grafen Robert I von Flandern*, dans *B.Z.*, VI, 1897, pp. 1-32 ; G. PARIS, c.r., H. HAGENMEYER, *loc. cit.*, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, V, 1897, pp. 255-256.

(21) F. CHALANDON, *Essai sur le règne d'Alexis Ier Comnène (1081-1148)*, Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société de l'Ecole des Chartes, IV, Paris, 1900, pp. 325-336.

les déboires de l'Empire et dans les conquêtes turques. La mention d'une liste de reliques ne contenant pas la sainte lance, les références aux richesses de Constantinople ne pourraient être authentiques et venir de l'empereur byzantin, de même que la phrase concernant la domination des Latins à Constantinople. Joranson ajoute à sa démonstration les propos très peu flatteurs de Guibert de Nogent qui cite comme moyen d'attraction utilisé par l'empereur non seulement les reliques et les trésors de Constantinople, mais aussi les charmes voluptueux de ses beautés féminines (24). M. Joranson a défendu sa thèse avec beaucoup de brillant et d'ingéniosité. Nous hésitons cependant à le suivre.

M. Joranson nous indique que l'on ne connaît pas de manuscrit de la lettre antérieur à 1105. De cette absence de manuscrit il se sert comme argument pour prouver que le faux a été composé vers cette date (25). Nous ne voyons pas pourquoi une lettre des environs de 1090, qui n'était pas en principe destinée à la publicité, devrait immédiatement être répandue et copiée. Récemment, M. Cahen a même, en se basant sur les dates des manuscrits, hasardé que la lettre aurait servi essentiellement les intérêts d'une politique flamande en Terre sainte au cours du XIIe siècle (26). Même si cette hypothèse, qui n'est guère démontrée, devait être un jour confirmée, il n'en demeure pas moins que l'existence de la lettre au début du XIIe siècle nous est bien connue tant par Guibert de Nogent que par trois manuscrits de la lettre où elle apparaît seule (27). On se gardera de suivre trop rapidement M. Cahen dans son raisonnement sur l'âge de la lettre à partir des

(22) H. PIRENNE, *La lettre d'Alexis Comnène à Robert le Frison*, dans *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, t. L, 1907, pp. 217-227.

(23) Voir nn. 2, 3.

(24) GUIBERT DE NOGENT, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, éd. citée, IV, p. 133 : *Infert denique et quiddam bonorum virorum frugalitati incompetens, ut videlicet, praeter haec universa, pulcherrimarum feminarum voluptate trahantur, quasi Graecarum mulierum species tanta esset, ut Gallicis modo quolibet praeferruntur : solaque earum causa Francorum exercitus in Thraciam ageretur.*

(25) E. JORANSON, *loc. cit.*, pp. 812-826.

(26) C. CAHEN, *La politique orientale des comtes de Flandre et la lettre d'Alexis Comnène*, dans *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Volume dédié à la mémoire de Armand Abel ...*, Leiden, 1974, pp. 84-90.

(27) H. HAGENMEYER, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, p. 42 ; Mss α, β, π.

manuscrits. Le nombre des *deperdita* nous interdit, en effet, d'être catégorique. M. Joranson a remarqué que dans 36 manuscrits sur 39, la lettre est jointe au texte de l'*Historia Iherosolimitana* (28). Mais, suivant Bréhier (29) et Krey (30), dont les vues ont depuis été remises en question par Witzel (31), Joranson considérait que l'ouvrage qui a servi à la propagande de Bohémond dans la campagne de recrutement contre Alexis Ier n'était pas l'œuvre de Robert de Reims, mais bien les anonymes *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanum* (32). La lettre servirait de complément à cette œuvre de propagande. M. Cahen a élevé contre ce raisonnement des objections fondamentales (33). Quant à nous, nous ne comprenons guère pourquoi, si la lettre a été forgée pour compléter l'argumentation des *Gesta*, le faux se retrouve toujours en annexe à Robert de Reims et non aux *Gesta*. Curieux destin pour une annexe à un dossier que d'en être toujours séparée! Ajoutons que le texte donné par Guibert de Nogent ne peut être considéré ni comme une copie de la lettre avec laquelle elle présente des variantes, ni comme un simple résumé de celle-ci, mais bien plutôt comme une paraphrase de son contenu destinée à soutenir la construction du livre introductif de Guibert et à faire endosser la responsabilité de la mauvaise situation en Orient à Alexis. M. Joranson, pour montrer que la lettre pouvait être interprétée dans un sens défavorable, cite et commente les passages de Guibert de Nogent relatifs à Alexis, ou encore l'*argumentum* qui précède souvent la lettre (34).

On ne saurait cependant utiliser ces arguments pour démontrer que la lettre est défavorable à Alexis, ni qu'elle a été fabriquée. Les com-

(28) Id., *ibid.*, p 812.

(29) L. Brehier, *Histoire anonyme de la première croisade*, Paris, 1924, pp. VIII, XVI-XVII.

(30) A. C. Krey, *A neglected passage in the «Gesta» and its bearing on the litterature of the first Crusade*, dans *The Crusader ..., D. C. Munro*, cf. n. 12, pp. 70-78.

(31) H. J. Witzel, *Le problème de l'auteur des «Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum»*, dans *Le Moyen Age*, LXI, 1955, 3-4, pp. 319-328, croit que «ce document est l'œuvre d'un auteur unique». Ceci n'exclut toutefois pas que l'ouvrage ait pu être remanié dans le sens indiqué par Krey, *loc. cit.*, n 30.

(32) E. Joranson, *loc cit.*, pp. 828-829.

(33) C. Cahen, *loc. cit.*, pp. 86-87.

(34) Id., *ibid.*, pp. 823-831.

mentaires, faits sur la lettre, se trouvent, en effet, beaucoup trop éloignés du but particulier de la missive pour être considérés autrement que comme l'expression d'une hostilité générale à Alexis. Que le texte de la lettre ait pu par lui seul déclencher pareille réaction nous semble nettement exagéré.

Riant et Chalandon ont aussi affirmé que le ton suppliant de la lettre convenait mal à un empereur byzantin (35). Cependant, en 1949, P. Charanis montrait qu'Alexis I Comnène avait envoyé entre 1071 et 1074, puis entre 1091 et 1095, plusieurs lettres et ambassades demandant du secours à l'Ouest. Le ton de certaines démarches semble, pour autant que l'on puisse se fier aux sources occidentales, ne pas être des plus arrogants sans toutefois se faire moins suppliant (36) que celui de notre document. Charanis mettait en parallèle deux textes, celui d'Ekkehard d'Aura (37) et celui de Bernold (38). Or, la teneur des propos des ambassadeurs rapportés par ces deux sources concorde parfaitement avec celle de la lettre à Robert : nous y trouvons également les allusions aux incursions des «Barbares» à la perte de territoires importants de l'empire byzantin, à la menace qui pèse sur Constantinople. Mais, surtout, Charanis a attiré l'attention sur un passage de la *Synopsis Chronike* de Théodore Skutariotes dont il a magistralement établi la valeur (39). Or, l'historien grec parle d'am-

(35) RIANT, *op. cit.*, p. XVIII ; F. CHALANDON, *op. cit.*, p. 330.

(36) P. CHARANIS, *Byzantium, the West and the Origin of the First Crusade*, dans *Byzantion*, XIX, 1949 (Actes du VIIe Congrès des Etudes Byzantines, Bruxelles, 1948, I), pp. 17-36.

(37) P. CHARANIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 28 et n. 1 ; H. HAGENMEYER, *Ekkehardi Uraugiensis Abbatis Hierosolymita*, Tubingen, 1877, pp. 81-83 : *Predictus etiam Alexius imperator Constantinopolitanus super eisdem barbaris predonibus, per maiorem jam regni sui partem diffusis, non paucas epistolas Urbano papae direxit, quibus in defensionem orientalium aecclasiarum se non sufficere deploravit, obtestans, totum si fieri posset occidentem, qui iam ex integro christiana professione censeretur, sibi in adiutorium advocari, promittens per se cuncta necessaria praeliaturis terra ministrari* = *M.G.H.*, SS., VI, 1844, p. 213.

(38) Bernold de Constance, *Chronicon*, dans *M.G.H.*, SS., V, 1844, p. 462 : *Item legatio Constantinopolitani imperatoris ad hanc sinodum pervenit, qui domnum papam omnesque Christi fideles suppliciter imploravit, ut aliquod auxilium sibi contra paganos pro defensione sanctae aecclesiae conferrent, quam pagani iam pene in illis partibus deleverant, qui partes illas usque ad muros Constantinopolitanae civitatis obtinuerant.* P. CHARANIS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 29-30 et n. 1, p. 29.

(39) P. CHARANIS, *loc. cit.*, pp. 30-36, texte cité, p. 34, n. 1.

bassades envoyées en Italie et ailleurs, aux rois et princes, destinées à obtenir des troupes qui devraient aider Alexis à débarrasser l'Empire de ses envahisseurs. Fin diplomate, l'empereur mettait en avant la situation de Jérusalem, dont l'occupation semblait intolérable aux Occidentaux, pour amener ceux-ci à intervenir (40). Or, la fin de la lettre à Robert constitue un appel à l'action pour ne pas perdre le Saint Sépulcre, ce qui entraînerait une punition au ciel (41). La formule employée est particulièrement frappante. On ne peut donc se servir de cette mention pour dater le texte après 1099 (42).

On s'est demandé pourquoi l'empereur s'adressait ainsi au comte de Flandre. Il est bien établi qu'au retour de son pèleringe probablement armé à Jérusalem, le comte Robert le Frison s'arrêta à Constantinople, y fit hommage à Alexis vraisemblablement contre une importante gratification. Le rôle des chevaliers flamands dans les opérations militaires de 1091 fut considérable (43). En 1095, le pape fait connaître, le 31 décembre, aux habitants du comté de Flandre la

(40) P. CHARANIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 34 et n. 1. Il n'est pas inutile de reproduire le texte, SATHAS, *Bibliotheca Graeca Medii Aevi*, VII, Paris, 1894, pp. 184-185 *Σκεψάμενος οὖν ὡς οὐχ οἷός τέ ἐστι μόνος τὴν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀναδέξασθαι μάχην, συμμάχους καὶ τοὺς Ἰταλοὺς δεῖν ἔγνωκε προσλαβεῖν, καὶ τοῦτο μετά τινος κρυψινοίας καὶ βαθυγνώμονος οἰκονομίας καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητος. Εὑρὼν γὰρ πρόφασιν ὡς τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος οὐκ ἀνεκτὸν ἤγηται τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις τῶν Περσῶν ἐπικράτησιν, καὶ τοῦ ζωοποιοῦ τάφου τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, τοῦτο ὡς ἔρμαιον εὑρηκώς, καὶ ἀποστολαῖς πρέσβεων πρός τε τὸν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Ῥώμης ὡς ἀρχιερέα προϊστάμενον, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τόπους ὡς ἂν οὗτοι φαῖεν ῥηγάδας καὶ ἄρχοντας, ἀξίοις λόγοις χρησάμενος, οὐκ ὀλίγους ἴσχυσε τούτων τῆς πατρίδος ἀπαναστῆσαι καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὁλοτρόπως ὑπαγαγεῖν. Ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ πολλοὶ τούτων ἐς χιλιοστύας καὶ μυριάδας κατ' ἀριθμόν κορυφούμενοι, τῇ Κωνσταντινουπόλει, οὐ διὰ χρόνου πεζεύοντες, ἐπιδεδημήκασι τὸν Ἰόνιον διαπεραιωθέντες · μεθ' ὧν καὶ πίστεις ἑνόρκους ἐκθέμενος, καὶ συμβάσεις συντεθεικώς, πρὸς ἕω χωρεῖ, καὶ δι' ὀλίγου συνάρσει θείᾳ καὶ συμμαχίᾳ τούτων, καὶ οἰκείαις σπουδαῖς ἴσχυσε τῶν Ῥωμαϊκῶν χωρῶν ἐξωθῆσαι τοὺς Πέρσας, καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθερῶσαι, καὶ τὴν τῆς ἕω διακράτησιν πάλιν εἰς τὴν πρὶν εὔκλειαν ἐπαναγαγεῖν. Τοιοῦτος ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος · μεγαλόβουλος καὶ μεγαλουργός*

(41) H. HAGENMEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 136 : *agite ergo, dum tempus habetis, ne Christianorum regnum et quod maius est, Domini perdatis Sepulcrum, et inde non iudicium sed mercedem habeatis in caelum.*

(42) C. ERDMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 365, n. 7 (et) p. 366) ; cf. H. HAGENMEYER, *op. cit.*, pp. 208-209 (n. 106), E. JORANSON, *loc. cit.*, p. 815, n. 20.

(43) F. L. GANSHOF, *loc. cit.*, *passim* et bibliographie.

décision de partir en croisade et fait appel aux volontaires (44). Les liens qui existaient entre Byzance, la Flandre et l'Angleterre peuvent justifier la mention spéciale de Robert. D'autre part, et suivant le texte même de Guibert de Nogent ainsi que le récit, postérieur certes, mais bien informé, de Gislebert de Mons, l'empereur *misit in Franciam scribens Roberto* (45). L'empereur envoie des ambassadeurs. Suivant Gislebert, en accord avec l'adresse de la lettre, Robert n'est pas le seul prince concerné. D'où la formule vague *Domino et glorioso comiti Flandrensium Rothberto et omnibus tocius regni principibus* (46). On trouve un écho d'une ambassade d'Alexis I à Henri I d'Angleterre entre 1100 et 1118. Si nous ne savons pas ce que l'empereur entendait obtenir de cette mission, nous connaissons du moins le nom du légat, un Anglais, Wulfric, et la manière utilisée pour influencer favorablement les souverains anglais : l'envoi de présents et de reliques dont une partie d'un bras de saint Jean Chrysostome (47). Par conséquent, le fait de voir citée dans la lettre au comte Robert une série de ces reliques que les Occidentaux appréciaient tant ne doit pas surprendre. Il s'inscrit bien dans la ligne de ce que nous connaissons des ambassades byzantines. D'autre part, la mention d'une ambassade en Angleterre entre 1100 et 1118 doit inciter à penser que les rapports entre l'empereur byzantin et certains princes occidentaux ne s'étaient pas détériorés comme ils l'avaient été avec Bohémond de Tarente (48).

C'est donc un Anglais qui conduit l'ambassade. Ceci est intéressant, car lorsqu'il avait fallu, avant 1081, traiter avec l'Angleterre, ce

(44) P. CHARANIS, *loc. cit.*, p. 32 ; H. HAGENMEYER, *Chronologie de la première croisade (1094-1100)*, Paris, 1902, p. 12, a° 15 ; F. DUNCALF, *The Councils of Piacenza and Clermont*, dans K. M. SETTON, *A History of the Crusades*, t. I, Madison, 1969, pp. 238, 241-244.

(45) GUIBERT DE NOGENT, éd. citée, t. IV, p. 131 ; L. VANDERKINDERE, *La Chronique de Gislebert de Mons*, Bruxelles, C.R.H., in-8°, 1904, ch. 23, p. 40, ch. 24, p. 41 ; cf. les remarques de Ch. VERLINDEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-164.

(46) H. HAGENMEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

(47) J. STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, II, p. 158 ; K. N. CIGGAAR, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34.

(48) Cf. le texte cité par K. N. CIGGAAR, p. 34, GUILLAUME DE MALMESBURY, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, éd. W. STUBBS (Roll Series), Londres, 1885, t. I, p. 276 : *Alexius ... astutia et fraudibus quam probitate notior, multa noxia in peregrinos sacri itineris machinatus; Anglorum tamen fidem suscipiens, praecipuis familiaritatibus suis eos applicabat, amorem eorum filio transcribens ...*

fut un haut gradé byzantin, d'origine grecque ou bulgare, qui fut envoyé comme ambassadeur. Après l'entrée d'Anglo-saxons au service de l'empereur, c'est à un de ces émigrés que l'on confie cette fois une mission semblable. On ne peut, en effet, croire que l'empereur eût chargé d'une mission diplomatique un pèlerin de passage qui n'eût pas alors joui du titre de familier de l'empereur (49). N'est-il pas raisonnable de croire que l'ambassade envoyée au comte de Flandre et à d'autres princes — n'oublions pas qu'en 1091, parmi les chevaliers servant Alexis, il n'y avait pas que des Flamands — fut également conduite par un Occidental? Si l'ambassadeur a possédé des lettres de créance particulières ou générales, ce que laisse supposer le protocole de la lettre, il est des plus probable que celles-ci aient été rédigées en grec et que le légat ait plaidé la cause impériale plus amplement que par la simple lecture du document impérial. Que devant un public occidental, il ait pu essayer, en dépeignant les richesses de Constantinople, de jouer sur la cupidité du comte de Flandre qui, ainsi que F. L. Ganshof l'a montré (50), avait prêté hommage pour un fief de bourse, qu'il ait pu faire ou laisser croire que l'empereur aurait, à la rigueur, pu préférer un pouvoir latin à celui des Turcs, il n'y a là rien de suspect dans un discours. On sait que Robert le Frison fut à la base de l'organisation de la chancellerie flamande (51). Un de ses notaires, ignorant du grec, a donc fort bien pu noter le discours de l'ambassadeur et nous en transmettre la version actuelle qui fut promise de par la Croisade à la diffusion que nous lui connaissons.

Il nous semble donc que les arguments utilisés pour condamner le fond et la forme du document perdent leur pertinence. Les éléments nouveaux, connus depuis 1963, permettent de considérer qu'il y eut bien une ambassade d'Alexis I auprès d'un Robert comte de Flandre et qu'elle fut probablement dirigée par un Occidental. Les références aux reliques (52), au Saint-Sépulcre, à la cruauté et au caractère

(49) J. STEVENSON, *op. cit.*, II, p. 158 : *Is* (ambassadeur) *plurimum familiaritatis usum circa eundem imperatorem habens* ...

(50) F. L. GANSHOF, *loc. cit.*, *passim.*

(51) Ch. VERLINDEN, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-142 ; F. VERCAUTEREN, *Actes des Comtes de Flandre 1071-1128*, C.R.H., in-4°, Recueil Actes Princes belges, Bruxelles, 1938, pp. XLIX-LXII ; H. PIRENNE, *La chancellerie et les notaires des comtes de Flandre avant le XIIIe siècle*, dans *Mélanges J. Havet*, Paris, 1896, pp. 733-748.

(52) Dans cet ordre d'idée, l'absence de la sainte Lance qui semble être con-

païen (53) des Turcs et même aux richesses de Constantinople et à l'éventuelle prise de pouvoir des Latins ne deviennent dès lors plus choquantes. Car, il est bien évident que l'on ne peut considérer notre texte comme la traduction pure et simple d'un original grec. C'est bien plutôt à l'adaptation latine du document lu et commenté que nous avons à faire. Mais, c'est précisément cela qui est intéressant. Car, si certains passages, et surtout celui qui concerne le pouvoir à Byzance, ont provoqué des réactions défavorables chez les érudits, ils montrent toute l'ambiguïté des relations entre les deux parties et constituent la contrepartie des intentions d'Alexis telles que Théodore Skutariotes les exprime. A la reconquête du territoire de l'Empire avec l'aide des Occidentaux, mais au profit des Byzantins, entrevue par Alexis, fait pendant une volonté de «conquête» de Constantinople ou d'exploitation de ses trésors par les Occidentaux qui, comme le comte de Flandre, avaient déjà vu ces richesses et en avaient profité.

Que par après, la lettre ait pu encore subir des retouches, notamment pour aboutir à la version de Guibert de Nogent, n'est pas impossible. Mais, on ne peut la tenir pour un faux fabriqué à l'occasion de la croisade de Bohémond.

La lettre n'est pas datée. Elle est considérée comme étant adressée à Robert le Frison sur la base du témoignage de Guibert de Nogent qui l'a incluse au livre I de ses *Gesta Dei per Francos*. Ce livre I cependant ne contient aucun ordre chronologique bien précis. Il veut narrer les origines de la question d'Orient, à savoir l'histoire du schisme de 1054, d'une part, et celle de Mahomet et de l'Islam, d'autre part. C'est dans cet exposé général qui, par moment, procède directement de la lettre d'Alexis à Robert, qu'il introduit la lettre avant de se lancer dans une vigoureuse attaque contre Alexis. Guibert de Nogent, et plus tard Gislebert de Mons, sont les seuls à indiquer que la lettre fut envoyée à *Roberto seniori* (54).

Robert le Frison dut séjourner à Constantinople à la fin de 1089

servée à Antioche plutôt qu'à Constantinople n'est plus gênante ; F. DOLGER, *op. cit.*, p. 39, n° 1152.

(53) *M.G.H.*, SS., V, p. 462 : ... *contra paganos* ..., ... *quam pagani* ..., ... *contra paganos* ...

(54) GUIBERT DE NOGENT, éd. citée, t. IV, pp. 131, 147 ; L. VANDERKINDERE, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

ou au début de 1090 comme l'admet F. L. Ganshof (55). Il est à nouveau en Flandre, au plus tard, le 27 avril 1090 (56). Anne Comnène mentionne l'arrivée des chevaliers flamands au cours d'opérations contre les Petchénègues et les Turcs (57). Le corps expéditionnaire flamand dut donc arriver pendant l'été de 1090 (58). Il était encore sur place fin avril 1091. Robert le Frison meurt le 12 ou le 13 octobre 1093 (59). L'envoi des chevaliers semble donc s'être effectué selon les conditions prévues et il nous apparaît dès lors que la date du début de 1090, proposée pour la lettre, n'est pas à l'abri de tout reproche. D'autre part, il semble d'après Chalandon et Charanis que l'empereur n'ait plus connu de difficultés avant 1095, année où il témoigne de velléités offensives qui se traduisent par des ambassades envoyées à l'Ouest (60). Nous nous demandons, dès lors, s'il ne faut pas plutôt mettre la lettre d'Alexis en relation avec celle d'Urbain II au comte Robert, qui serait alors Robert II.

Guibert de Nogent a pu commettre un erreur. Il a pu, dans sa haine d'Alexis, vouloir effacer tout rapport relativement cordial de l'empereur avec un prince occidental, tendant ainsi à dépeindre Alexis comme un homme isolé et méprisé de tous (61). La lettre d'Alexis sert à Guibert d'argument pour construire une importante partie de son livre I et présenter la préparation de la croisade comme une œuvre purement occidentale, due à l'activité d'Urbain II. Charanis a cependant montré que l'activité du pape, en 1095, avait été provoquée par des démarches d'Alexis (62). Dès lors, l'antidatation de la lettre ne serait pas la seule entorse à la vérité due à la plume de Guibert. Quoi qu'il en soit, une date proche de 1095 nous semble plus vraisemblable que 1090 ou 1091, mais elle demeure une hypothèse.

(55) F. Ganshof, *loc. cit.*, pp. 61, 63.

(56) Id., *ibid.*, p. 61.

(57) Id., *ibid.*, pp. 71-74, Anne Comnène, *Alexiade*, VII, 7, 4, éd. B. Leib, t. II, Paris, 1943, pp. 109-110.

(58) F. L. Ganshof, *loc. cit.*, pp. 73-74.

(59) Ch. Verlinden, *op. cit.*, p. 166 ; E. I. Strubbe, L. Voet, *De Chronologie van de Middeleeuwen en de Moderne Tijden in de Nederlanden*, Anvers, 1960, p. 392.

(60) F. Chalandon, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-136 ; P. Charanis, *loc. cit.*, pp. 23-36.

(61) Ce qui n'est pas le cas, voir texte cité n. 44.

(62) P. Charanis, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

Telles sont les remarques que nous croyons pouvoir émettre au sujet de la «lettre» d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert le Frison. Le fond du document nous semble vrai et sa forme celle d'une transcription prise pendant un exposé oral plutôt que la copie traduite d'un acte officiel.

Bruxelles, décembre 1976.

M. DE WAHA.
Aspirant F.N.R.S.

THE SECOND TEMPLE PERIOD IN BYZANTINE CHRONICLES

1. Introduction

When the literate public in the Greek-speaking Byzantine Empire wished to learn about the immediate or the remote past, the corpus of works known as "chronicles" were its textbooks and guides (1). These

The author wishes to thank Mrs. P. Karlin-Hayter of Brussels; Professor D. Flusser of The Hebrew University, Jerusalem; Professor E. de Strycker, S. J., St. Ignatius University, Antwerp; Dr. E. Bihain of Brussels and Professor E. Voordeckers, University of Ghent for their helpful suggestions and warm encouragement.

This article is part of a doctoral dissertation of the same title, in progress, at the Department of Comparative Religion, The Hebrew University, Jerusalem, under the direction of Professor David Flusser.

(1) The Byzantine chroniclers appear below in chronological order. Hereinafter they will be referred to by author. (I have used the English forms of their names in the text and in the notes). *Excerpta Barbari*, in *Chronica Minora*, ed. C. Frick (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 184-371; Ioannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf, *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (hereinafter, CSHB) (Bonn, 1831); *Chronicon Paschale*, 2 vols., ed. L. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1832); Georgius Syncellus, *'Eklogē Chronographias*, ed. G. Dindorf, CSHB (Bonn, 1829); Georgius Monachus, *Chronicon Syntomon*, ed. E. de Muralt (St. Petersburg, 1859); *Idem.*, 2 vols., ed. C. De Boor (Leipzig, 1904); Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1842); Georgius Cedrenus, *Synopsis Historiōn*, 2 vols., ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1839); Ioannes Zonaras, *'Epitomē*, 3 vols., ed. M. Pinder, CSHB (Bonn, 1841-1844); Constantine Manasses, *Synopsis Historikē*, ed. I. Bekker, ed. CSHB (Bonn, 1837); Michael Glycas, *Biblos Chronikē*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1836); Joel, *Chronographia en Synopsei*, ed. I. Bekker, CSHB (Bonn, 1837).

For general information, see the following: K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinische Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmische Reiches* (Munich, 1897), I, pp. 319-386; W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg, O. Pinz, eds., *Tusculum Lexicon: griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Hamburg, 1974), entries under authors' names; Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Enzyklopadie der classischen Altertums-Wissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1899-1931).

works, generally written by monks or churchmen, began with Adam and closed with contemporary events of the author's lifetime. Thus, one might find an account of all of world history by a writer who lived in the not too distant past. Often tendentious, inaccurate, or contradictory, they nevertheless describe the reign and personality of a Byzantine emperor, court intrigue, political and military conflict, or religious controversy. The investigation of Byzantine history is inconceivable without these sources. But how and why were the events of the distant past of interest to the chronicler? Particularly, what was the significance of the Jewish past in Byzantine chronography?

Most of the Byzantine chronicles devote much space to Jewish history of the Biblical (Old Testament) and Second Temple periods. Each work present this material in its own particular way, but, sharing a common body of sources, mutually interdependent, and using the same time span — from Adam to their own times, they can be considered as a single category and a unified form of expression. From the history which they conveyed the chroniclers drew their general view of the world as Orthodox Christians and their historical consciousness as heirs of the ancient Roman Empire. These two components which shaped the Byzantine self-image have their roots in the Second Temple period, when Rome rose to Imperial power, Jesus lived, and his disciples founded the early Christian community. The Byzantine chronicles brought this past to their public as part of a continuum of world history linked to the future and to the empire of the chronicler's own day.

To understand their interest and significance, the historian must avoid the pitfalls of looking solely at the sources adapted by the chroniclers or seeking the few minute points of new information on

entries: *"Chronicon Paschale"*, *"Excerpta Barbari"*, "Hieronymos", "Iulius Africanus", "Ioannes Malalas", "Synkellos", and "Suidas".

On the manuscripts, editions, and secondary bibliography, see: M. E. COLONNA, *Gli storici bizantini dal IV al XV Secolo*, I (Naples, 1956). The indispensable study of the sources and form of the Byzantine chronicles, particularly their treatment of the ancient period, remains: H. GELZER, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, I-III (Leipzig, 1885). The most recent general survey of chronographic literature is: H. G. BECK, *Zur byzantinischen Mönchschronik*, in *Speculum Historiale* (Freiburg-Munich, 1965), pp. 188-197. The dates of composition given in this study are based on Krumbacher.

the Second Temple period which might be presented in this literature (2). Instead, he must devote his attention to the impression made by the total body of information and discern the issues in their wider perspective. These include the content and proportion of the material devoted to the period in each chronicle, omissions of information, the arrangement of the sources, and the extent of a theological outlook. The organization of the material, the choice and emphasis of one source rather than another, and the omission or inclusion of given available information constitute basic differences between the different chronicles in their approaches to Rome, Christianity, and Jewish history.

Two aspects of the literature as a whole are particularly noteworthy: the measurement and organization of time and the general historical Imperial and Christian *Weltanschauung*. The measurement of time has a special significance in the Byzantine chronicles (3). All time is sacred and the course of human events divinely directed. The Second Temple period serves as the focal point for the organization and measurement of time in all of human history. The central event of the Incarnation marks a radical change in the conception of time and its organization. From this point, time is calculated in order to ascertain the age of the world and a new age is introduced. With the Incarnation, certain chroniclers recall previous events which lead up to this

(2) An example of such information, not conveyed in earlier sources is the description of Aelia Capitolina in the *Chronicon Paschale*, I, p. 474, lines 3-18. Such facts rarely occur in this literature. As A. Toynbee points out, "Byzantine Christian chronicles are a valuable source of historical information only for periods for which some better kind of source is not forthcoming" (A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London, 1973), p. 606 f.). I fully agree with R. W. THOMSON, *The Maccabees in Early Armenian Historiography*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, New Series, XXVI, 2 (October, 1975), pp. 329-342, who finds that in their search for the value of the texts for other disciplines, scholars frequently neglect the texts of the chronicles themselves and the total picture. I shall not discuss the historical accuracy of the material on the Second Temple period in the chronicles.

(3) As time is sacred, proceeding from Creation to the Incarnation, it assumes particular importance and holy events must be dated accurately. On the various calendars used by the chroniclers, see: V. GRUMEL, *La Chronologie: Traités d'études byzantines*, I (Paris, 1958), especially pp. 73-97, 222-225; and H. GELZER, *Africanus*, *passim*.

point, and count the years and affix the dates to past milestones (4). The sections on the Incarnation lend a Christian focus to each work and to this point in time in particular.

To the Second Temple period likewise belongs the Danielian theory of history whose origins are rooted in the political changes in Judea. All medieval chroniclers, Christian and Jewish, Western or Byzantine, followed the division of history into four kingdoms presented by the vision of the four beasts in the book of Daniel, chapters 7-11 (5). With the end of the Davidic kingdom, four empires ruling in succession : (Assyria)-Babylonia, Media, Persia, and Macedonia (Greece), rose to power. Jewish history is related under the Assyrian-Babylonian, Persian, and Greek rulers because Jewish sovereignty after the end of the House of David is questionable. Rome, however, frequently appears as the Fourth Kingdom in both Christian and Jewish interpretations. This does not contradict the fact that the collapse of the Greek-Selcucid and the pre-Imperial Roman regimes, Augustus' (Octavian) victory over the Greek-Ptolemaic dynasty at Actium, the birth of Jesus and the concurrent rise of the Roman Empire herald a new age.

With this division gleaned from Daniel, the framework of the chronicles becomes that of sacred history, particularly when combined with the millenial scheme. Daniel's four kingdoms come after the end of the Davidic house and therefore are not complete. The standard

(4) MALALAS, Book X, pp. 227-228 ; *Chronicon Paschale*, I, pp. 403-404 ; SYNCELLUS, pp. 590-592, 598, 609-619 ; LEO THE GRAMMARIAN, p. 57 ; CEDRENUS, I, pp. 332-333, 342 ; JOEL, p. 25.

(5) See chapter 2 of Daniel as well (the vision of the statue). On the origins and development of the Danielian theory, see : D. FLUSSER, *The Four Empires in the Fourth Sibyl and in the Book of Daniel*, in *Israel Oriental Studies*, II (1972), pp. 148-175. On the application of the Danielian theory in Jewish historical works, see: G. D. COHEN, *The Book of Tradition : Sefer ha-Qabbalah by Abraham Ibn Daud* (Philadephia, 1967), pp. 223-263 ; and in Christian works : J. DANIELOU, *The Christian Conception of History*, in *Journal of Religion*, 30 (1950), pp. 171-179 ; R. HANNING, *The Vision of History in Early Britain* (New York, 1966), pp. 20-23 ; and R. MILBURN, *Early Christian Interpretations of History* (London, 1954), p. 88 f. On the Byzantine interpretations : G. PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich, 1972), especially pp. 57-61, on the chronicles. The division of the four kingdoms is not stated in most of the chronicles, though it is implicit.

millenial organization (6) consists of six mellenia corresponding with the six days of creation. Within the fifth millenium, the Incarnation occurs. Its exact date varies in the different chronicles which attempted to synchronize the millenial calculations of the date with that of the reign of the Roman Emperor (mentioned in the New Testament), the years of Jesus' baptism and crucifixion, and the dates of the Exodus from Egypt (*i.e.*, the first Passover) according to the lunar calendar, and hence, to Creation. Major turning points in Biblical history, therefore, served as the transitions from one millenium to the next. Carefully structured, this pattern led to the Incarnation. Thus, pagan history was fitted into the framework of Jewish history of the Biblical (Old Testament) period ; and, overshadowed by foreign kingdoms, Rome, and Christianity, Jewish events of the Second Temple period fell under Gentile kings.

In spite of their orientation towards Jesus, the influence of these systems did not lead to an apocalyptic view of history (7). While the advent changes the organization of time, it takes place in the context of human history. The chronicles record events for themselves and do

(6) On the millenial system, see : R. MILBURN, *ibid.*, pp. 79-88, and V. GRUMEL, *Chronologie*, pp. 1-3, 22-24, 57-85. Both Grumel and Gelzer (*Africanus*) point out the differences between Clement, Hippolytus, Africanus, and Eusebius regarding the calculation of the year of the Incarnation and its synchronization with the various systems of time measurement and with dates and life spans given in the Bible, and with the milestones of Jesus' life. Both the *Chronicon Paschale* and Syncellus use the Alexandrian system ; the first month of the lunar Jewish year, Nissan, when the Passion occurs, is the beginning of a new year. The rest of the chronicles use the Constantinopolitan calendar, or the Antiochene system. See : P. RATKOS, *L'ère d'Antioche et l'ère de Constantinople dans quelques ouvrages vieux slaves*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, XXVII (1966), pp. 350-357. With the exceptions of George the Monk and Cedrenus, the chronicles after Syncellus devote much less space, if at all, to these labyrinthian calculations.

According to Milburn, the millenial turning points were based on the *Epistle of Barnabas*. A frequent structure appeared as follows : 1. Adam to Noah ; 2. Noah to Abraham ; 3. Abraham to David ; 4. David to the Babylonian Captivity ; 5. Cyrus to Jesus encompassing the entire Danielian scheme) ; 6. Jesus to Constantine or to the Second Coming. The Byzantine chroniclers do not use the Seleucid calendar commonly referred to by Jewish and Muslim chroniclers.

(7) G. PODSKALSKY, *op. cit.*, especially, pp. 51-57. For a discussion of apocalyptic historiography, see : P. ALEXANDER, *Medieval Apocalypses as Historical Sources*, in *American Historical Review*, 73, 4 (April, 1968), pp. 991-1018.

not present them as symbols to be interpreted (8). Indeed, there is no speculation as to the second coming of Jesus. Calculations are presented up to Jesus but not afterwards. The chronicles' attempt to order and organize history is the opposite of the apocalyptic and visionary view for which the meaning is more important than the event itself and for which obscurity is more characteristic than clarity.

II. The Second Temple Period

The basic events of the Second Temple period, which dates from c.538 B.C. to 135 C.E./A.D., are presented in the following schematic outline (9).

1. The restoration of Jews to Judea on the order of Cyrus of Persia.

2. The Persian period : the stories of Daniel, Esther, and Judith ; the reconstruction of the Temple in Jerusalem ; the establishment of

(8) G. Podskalsky, *ibid.*, pp. 57-60. Daniel's vision, if mentioned, and the Pythian predictions to Augustus which prophesy the Incarnation are the sole brief references to works of an apocalyptic nature in the chronicles.

(9) The period covered by the Hebrew Bible and generally referred to as the Old Testament period will be called "Biblical" hereinafter. The Second Temple period is considered that period of Jewish history which followed the return of the Jews (from Babylonia) to Jerusalem on the decree of Cyprus of Persia (538 B.C.) (The First Temple, constructed in Jerusalem by Solomon, was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar of Babylonia in 586 B.C.). Though part of the Old Testament and some of the Apocrypha, the period of Persian control of Judea comes after the Davidic monarchy and includes the construction of the Second Temple in 515 and subsequent history until Alexander's conquest. For purposes of this study, these events are considered part of the Second Temple period. Although the Romans commanded by Titus, destroyed the Second Temple in 70 C.E./A.D., the apparent end to Jewish hopes of its reconstruction and independence from Rome ensued as a result of Hadrian's measures in 135.

For a general knowledge of the period, see the following secondary works : F.-M. Abel, *Histoire de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1952) ; S. W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, II (Philadelphia, 1962) ; E. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees* (New York, 1962) ; *Idem.* and J. Goldin, in *The Jews : Their History, Culture, and Religion*, I, ed. L. Finkelstein (New York, 1971), pp. 88-189 ; S. Safrai, M. Stern, et al., *Compendia Rerum Judaicarum ad Novum Testamentum*, I : *The Jewish People in the First Century* (Assen, 1974) ; and E. Schürer and N. Glatzer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus* (New York, 1961) ; E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews Under Roman Rule* (Leiden, 1976).

authority in Judea under Zerubabbel, and subsequently, under Nehemiah, Ezra, and the high priests.

3. Alexander the Great's conquest of Judea in 332 and the Ptolemaic regime in Judea.

4. The Seleucid occupation and the background to the Maccabean rebellion. Enforced Hellenism, the martyrs under Antiochus IV, the victory of Judas Maccabeus in c.165 B.C., and the establishment of a new high priesthood in Jerusalem.

5. The Hasmonean kings and high priests. The collapse of Hasmonean rule in the civil war of the sixties and Pompey's invasion in 63 B.C.

6. The rise of Herod ([10]), his reign, and the rise of Rome.

7. Jesus' life, death, and disciples.

8. The Jews under the Roman procurators and the Herodian dynasty. The background of the Great Rebellion against Rome (66-70 C.E./A.D.). The siege of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple in 70. The aftermath ([11]). The rebellion against Hadrian led by Bar Cochba (132-135) and the construction of Aelia Capitolina on the ruins of Jerusalem.

This period is of utmost significance for the Christian as it includes the life of Jesus, the passion, crucifixion and resurrection, and the

(10) The Temple which Herod built, reputed to be an edifice of great beauty, does not commence a new period of Jewish history. It was an architectural improvement of the original Second Temple. For descriptions, see : Babylonian Talmud, Tractate Baba Bathra, 4a : "He who has not seen the Temple of Herod has never seen a beautiful building ..." *The Babylonian Talmud*, tr. I. Epstein (London, 1935) ; and JOSEPHUS, *The Jewish War*, tr. H. St. J. Thackeray, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1961), V, v. 1-8 (184-218) ; and *Idem*, in *Jewish Antiquities*, tr R. Marcus and A. Wikgren, The Loeb Classical Library, (London, 1969), XV, ix 3-7 (391-425).

(11) BARON, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-98 ; SCHURER-GLATZER, *op. cit.*, 276-308 ; Y YADIN, *Bar Kokhba* (Jerusalem, 1971). The aftermath of the Great Rebellion and the years preceding the Bar Cochba uprising are generally neglected in the Byzantine chronicles. On the post-rebellion period, including the siege at Massada in 73, see : ZONARAS, vol. I, VI, 29, pp. 551-562. Only two works mention to revolts of Diaspora communities against Trajan in 116-119 : SYNCELLUS, p 656, and ZONARAS, vol. II, XI, 22, p. 513. The chroniclers' treatment of the revolt against Hadrian is brief, with the exceptions of SYNCELLUS, pp. 660-661, and ZONARAS, vol. II, XI, 23, pp. 517-518, 522.

lives of John the Baptist, the apostles, the first martyrs and the early church. Moreover, these times marked radical political changes amongst the Jews (12). The demise of the Davidic house and the regime of high priests under Persian, Ptolemaic, and Seleucid rule ended in the rise of the independent Hasmonean kingdom whose rulers were both kings and priests. The collapse of the Hasmonean house led to Roman administration which introduced Herod and his successors, culminating ignominiously with the Roman procurators who provoked anarchy and rebellion among their Jewish subjects. Apart from this political upheaval and foreign domination, there was a proliferation of Diaspora communities. The Jewish religion underwent a basic transformation marked by the end of classical prophecy, the anticipation of the Messiah, the penetration of Hellenistic influence, and the interpretation of the Written Law by various sects such as the Sadducees, Pharisees, Essenes, and early Christians. The end of Jewish sovereignty after the Great Rebellion and later, following Hadrian's punitive actions, ultimately resulted in Jewish acceptance of foreign rule as divinely ordained (13).

If the Jews had acquiesced to their fate, the Christian world around them also had concurred with the idea of divine repudiation, albeit for its own reasons (14). Writing after the Bar Cochba rebellion, Justin

(12) Christian historiography generally has interpreted the crises in Judea as the signs of a Messianic age and as the background for the advent of Jesus.

(13) BARON, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-128 ; M. AVI-YONAH, *In the Days of Rome and Byzantium* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1970), pp. 44-73. There is, even in the Talmud, a passage which cites God's choice of Rome as a supreme power. (*Babylonian Talmud*, Tractate Avodah Zarah, 18a, "... and do you not know that this nation was crowned by God?"). Dissatisfaction with the Romans is also present, though without a call for revolution (*Ibid.*, Tractate Sabbath, 33b). The acceptance of foreign domination until Messianic times is voiced in the classical rabbinic prayer which states, "But on account of our sins we were exiled from our land, etc." in the Additional Service for festivals. (A. Z. IDELSOHN, *Jewish Liturgy and Its Development*, (New York, 1932), p. 191).

(14) On patristic attitudes towards the Jews, see : A. LUKYN WILLIAMS, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge, 1935) ; J. PARKES, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (London, 1934), pp. 95-182 ; M. SIMON, *Verus Israel : Etude sur les Relations entre Chrétiens et Juifs dans l'Empire Romain* (135-425) (Paris, 1948), pp. 245-274 ; and R. WILDE, *The Treatment of the Jews in the Greek Christian Writers of the First Three Centuries* (Washington, D.C , 1949), pp. 78-140 ; 181-232.

Martyr, in the *Dialogue with Trypho* (a Jew of Antioch) declared that with the defeat of that revolt Jewish history had come to an end and that Bar Cochba's defeat was divine retribution for the Jewish crucifixion of Jesus ([15]). Christians universally cited the passage of Genesis 49 : 10 : "The scepter will not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until he comes to whom it belongs and to him shall be the obedience of all peoples" ([16]). In their interpretation of the text, the scepter belonged to Jesus and departed from Judah during the reign of Herod, a king of foreign extraction.

Writing in the fourth century, both Eusebius and John Chrysostom stated that the destruction of the Temple several decades after the crucifixion of Jesus had proved that God abandoned the Jews ([17]). Moreover, the failure of the attempts to reconstruct the Temple under Hadrian and under Julian the Apostate clearly showed the passing of divine favor from the Jews to the Christians ([18]). Since Chrysostom

(15) BARON, *op. cit.*, p. 132. Justin MARTYR, *Dialogue with Trypho*, in J. P Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, VI, No. 9, p. 496, l. 8-15 ; No. 11, p. 504, l. 23-30 (on the predictions of Judea's calamities in the Bible) ; No. 16 and 17, pp. 510-514 (On the Jewish estrangement from Jerusalem and wretched fate because of their rejection of Christ) ; No. 131, pp. 780-781 (the election of the Gentiles and the rejection of the Jews) ; WILDE, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-130.

(16) I have referred to the Revised Standard Version which quotes the Septuagint version of Genesis 49 : 10, used by the chroniclers. The Hebrew Bible reads as follows : "The scepter shall not depart from Judah nor the ruler's staff from between his feet until Shiloh comes". See also : BARON, *op. cit.*,pp. 139-140 ; and A. POSNANSKI, *Schiloh : ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Messiaslehre* (Leipzig, 1904), especially, pp. 48-98. On the patristic position relating to this passage (in its Septuagint version) to Herod and the coming of Jesus, see : EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, tr. K. Lake, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1965), I, vi : 1-2 ; and, Augustine, *The City of God*, tr. W. C. Greene, The Loeb Classical Library (London, 1960), XVIII, xlv.

(17) John CHRYSOSTOM, *Against the Jews*, in *Patrologia Graeca*, 48, pp. 883-903, "Fifth Homily". The entire fifth homily is devoted to the theme of the prediction of the fall of the Temple in the New Testament and the Jewish failure to understand its meaning and similar citations in the Old Testament, thus explaining their rejection of Jesus. The "Sixth Homily against the Jews" continues in the same vein. (There are a total of eight homilies against the Jews). See especially, V, Nos. 1, 9, 12. On Chrysostom, see : PARKES, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-166. EUSEBIUS, *Ibid.*, II, v. 5-7 ; xi, 1.

(18) CHRYSOSTOM, *Against the Jews*, V, No. 11, pp. 900-901. BARON, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161 ; and, M SIMON, *op. cit.*, 143-144. The most comprehensive study of

held a place of special esteem and highest authority, and his work became standard texts, often quoted centuries later, this view of the Jews became that of the Church (19). According to Eusebius, Jewish supremacy among the nations was transferred to the Roman Empire on its adoption of Christianity, if not beforehand. He conceived of the Christians as a divinely elected nation whose greatness increased as they merged with the Romans (20). The great Jewish losses and suffering which Josephus related in *The Jewish War* clearly demonstrated to Eusebius that God had punished the Jews for their rejection of Christ (21). Given these historical-theological postulates, on the one hand, and the task of presenting a factual account, on the other, the Byzantine chronicler found it necessary either to blend theology and historical fact or to sacrifice one in favor of the other. Inevitably the chronicler had to make this choice in his description of the Second Temple period, the turning point for the Jews, the Christians, and the Romans.

III. Sources and Organization

In the chronicles, the Christian focus depends on the sources preferred by the authors in their descriptions of the Second Temple period, whose importance at times was conveyed impliictly and almost unconsciously, and on their organization of historical material. The information for this period derived from several basic sources : the

the attempt to reconstruct the Temple under Julian the Apostate in 352-353 is : H. Lewy, *Studies in Jewish Hellenism* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1969), pp. 221-225.

(19) On the continuous use of the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom by the Byzantine church and his exegesis and homilies, see : H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (Munich, 1959), pp. 242-243, 454-457, 595-596, and *passim*. On Chrysostom's place in Anastasius' polemic against the Jews, see, Lukyn Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-139, 175 ; and, on Chrysostom's ideas and influences, Simon, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-263.

(20) Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History*, X, 6-9 (on the Roman Imperial divine election under Constantine). For the implications of Eusebius' ideas, see : F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy, Dumbarton Oaks Studies*, vol. IX (Washington, D.C., 1966), II, pp. 614-622 ; Milburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70 ; and J. Sirinelli, *Les Vues Historiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée durant la période prénicéenne* (Paris, 1961), pp. 243-245, 390-397.

(21) Eusebius, *ibid.*, III, v. 4-6 ; vi, 1-28.

Chronicon, Praeparatio and *Demonstratio Evangelica*, and *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius, Josephus' *Jewish War* and *Jewish Antiquities*, Scripture, the Church Fathers, and pre-Byzantine world chronicles such as Hippolytus, Clement of Alexandria, and Africanus (22). Of this generally common body of sources, Eusebius often gave the subsequent works their Christian tone. Both his *Chronicon* and the pre-Byzantine Greek chronicles contribute to the geneaologies, tables, and pagan history in the Byzantine works. Almost every chronicle refers to the "most wise" Josephus Flavius (23). His eye witness account of the Great Rebellion against Rome, *The Jewish War*, and his lengthy history of the Jews from Abraham to the outbreak of the rebellion, *Jewish Antiquities*, served as unimpeachable authority for Christian thinkers and chroniclers (in whatever version used) because of their proximity in time to the actual events (24). In addition, *Antiquities* XVIII : 63-64, contains the famous *Testimonium Flavianum* (25), the brief account of the life, death and mission of

(22) This study will not discuss the problems of sources extensively, but rather, will attempt to present a survey of the Second Temple period in chronicles Gelzer's *Africanus* remains the authority on the sources, although further research is necessary.

(23) On references to Josephus in the Byzantine chronicles, see : H SCHREKENBURG, *Die Flavius Josephus Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden, 1972), pp 79-87, 104, 110-111, 119-120, 133-136, 152-154, and *passim*. The term "most wise" appears in Malalas, X, p 260, l. 13.

(24) See : G. BARDY, *Le Souvenir de Josèphe chez les Pères*, in *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique*, 43 (1948), pp. 179-191 ; and SCHREKENBURG, *ibid.* The fifth century Latin Christian version of Josephus' *Jewish War* is known by its author's pseudonym, Hegesippus. (HEGESIPPUS, *De Excidio Hierosolymtanae*, ed., V USSANI, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclasiasticorum Latinorum*, 46 (Vienna, 1932)

(25) The vast literature on the *Testimonium Flavianum* concerns its veracity. An acknowledgement of Jesus did exist in *Antiquities*, XVIII, iii, 3 (63-64). Its present form in the text is not likely to be the original. The most recent and complete discussion of the *Testimonium Flavianum* is Shlomo PINES, *An Arabic Version of the Testimonium Flavianum and Its Implications* (Jerusalem, 1971) Pines believes that the spirit of the *Testimonium* found in the tenth century work of the Melkite bishop AGAPIUS, the *Kitâb 'al-Unwân*, is closest to the original lost passage. On the *Testimonium*, see also : R. DRAGUET, *Le Juif Josèphe, Témoin du Christ?*, in *Revue d'histoire Ecclésiastique*, 26, 4 (1930), pp. 833-979 ; and C. MARTIN, *Le Testimonium Flavianum — Vers une solution définitive*, in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* (1941), pp. 409-465.

Jesus. Its citation is found in Eusebius and in most of the Byzantine chronicles (26). Considered the first non-Christian mention of Jesus, this statement was all the more important because of its Jewish origin and its presence in an objective, non-sacred source. Similarly, John the Baptist and James appear in a positive light (27). Eusebius cites long sections of *The Jewish War* which became standard descriptions of the siege of Jerusalem under Titus (28).

In addition to this corpus of ancient sources, the chronicles are interdependent, frequently to the extent of outright plagiarism, particularly noticeable in Cedrenus (29). For example, the graphic description of the Caesarean birth of Julius Caesar appears throughout chronographic literature in more or less the same version (30). Similarly,

(26) A version of the *Testimonium Flavianum* appears in the Byzantine chronicles as follows : (EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, I : xi, 7-xii, 1) ; MALALAS, X, p. 247, l. 20 - 248, l 4 ; GEORGE THE MONK : de Muralt, III, 116, p. 240, l. 9-15 ; De Boor, VIII, 3, p. 324, l. 18 - 325, l. 15 ; LEO THE GRAMMARIAN, p. 59, l. 12-26 ; ZONARAS, vol. I, VI, 4, p. 479, l. 1-15 ; GLYCAS, III, p. 436, l. 16-20.

(27) JOSEPHUS, *Antiquities*, XVIII, v, 2, 116-119 ; and, XX, xi, 197.

(28) On the siege of Jerusalem : EUSEBIUS, *Ecclesiastical History*, III, vi-vii, 1 ; GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 123, pp. 279-280 ; III, 128, pp. 285-289 ; De Boor, VIII, 10, pp. 383-386 ; CEDRENUS, I, pp. 373-377 ; ZONARAS, vol. I, VI, 18, pp. 523-560 (much longer, and directly from Josephus, *Jewish War*) ; GLYCAS, III, pp. 442-443 (highly abbreviated).

(29) KRUMBACHER, *op. cit.*, p. 369. A comparison of almost any part of the text with these works will be sufficient for the reader. From George the Monk, chronicles apparently shared a common source in various versions, known as the " 'Epitomé", for Imperial Roman history and possibly for other eras as well. For this intricate source criticism, see : C. DE BOOR, *Römische Kaisergeschichte in byzantinischer Fassung*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, I (1892), pp. 13-34 ; II (1893), pp. 1-21 ; D. SERRUYS, *Recherches sur l'Epitomé*, in *BZ*, XVI (1908), pp. 1-51. On Zonaras : Th. BUTTNER-WOBST, *Studien zur Textgeschichte des Zonaras*, in *BZ*, I (1892), pp. 202-244.

(30) MALALAS, IX, p. 214, l. 2-5 ; *Chronicon Paschale*, I, p. 353, l. 19, 354, l. 3 ; GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, II, 104, p. 212, l. 14-19 ; De Boor, VI, 2, p. 293, l. 1-6 ; LEO THE GRAMMARIAN, p. 53, l. 22-54, l. 3 ; CEDRENUS, I, p. 289, l. 11-15 ; CONSTANTINE MANASSES, p. 79, l. 1800-1806 (different wording) ; GLYCAS, III, p. 379, l. 1-6 ; JOEL, p. 24, l. 2-3. The description of Caesar's birth even manages to find its way into the tenth century Hebrew adaptation of JOSEPHUS' *Jewish War*, the *Sefer Josippon*, written in Byzantine Italy. See : *Sefer Josippon* (Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 1967), Constantinople version, Chapter 42, p. 143 ; *Idem.*, Mantua version, ed. D. Gunzburg (Berditschev, 1913), p. 231.

the Pythian oracle prophesying the Incarnation to Augustus is repeated in several works (31). Indeed, much of the more ancient material, *e.g.*, from Josephus, Clement, or Eusebius, was gleaned indirectly, through intermediate sources.

The use of a common body of sources and this interdependence have created the misconception that the treatment of the ancient period is either not relevant or nearly the same in each chronicle (32). The chronicles, however, make use of other materials which indicate the particular interests of the individual writers. Malalas' *Chronographia* (c.550), for example, faithfully conveys the traditions and records of his town of Antioch (33). After describing the return to Zion under Cyrus, the *Chronicon Paschale* (c.630) includes a version of the *Lives of the Prophets* (34), a patristic list of traditions on the prophets. Syncellus' *'Eklogē Chronographias* (c.800) introduces an entirely new host of sources : selections from Pseudepigrapha texts such as *Enoch* and the "Little Genesis" via pre-Byzantine chronicles for Biblical times, and whole sections of Julius Africanus which include either parts of the lost history of Justus of Tiberias or a variant version of Josephus. The latter make his description of the Second Temple period much fuller than either Malalas or the *Chronicon Paschale* (35). His inclusion of such sources into the body of the chronicle represents a new stage in chronicle writing.

(31) MALALAS, X, pp. 231, l. 12, 232, l. 6 ; LEO THE GRAMMARIAN, pp. 56, l. 18-57, l. 8 ; CEDRENUS, I, p. 320, l. 10-21.

(32) Examples of this view include : L. BRÉHIER, *La Civilisation Byzantine* (Paris, 1970), pp. 298-299 ; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus*, p. 606 ; A. A. VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1964), I, pp. 119,h183-184, 231, 292. A. PROUDFOOT, *The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty*, in *Byzantion*, XLIV (1974), pp. 367-440, however, refers to the importance of the calendar and measurement of time, in spite of the article's seventh-century theme.

(33) On Antioch in Malalas, see : W. WEBER, *Studien sur Chronik des Malalas*, in *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann* (Tubingen, 1927), pp. 45-64 ; and especially the major work of G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton, 1961), *passim*.

(34) *Chronicon Paschale*, I, pp. 275-302, l. 14. The *Chronicon Paschale* includes the version attributed to Dorotheus. See . T. SCHERMANN, ed., *Prophetarum Vitae Fabulosae* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 25-55 ; and C. C. TORREY, *The Lives of the Prophets* (Philadelphia, 1946).

(35) On Jewish chronology and the Apocrypha in Syncellus, see : GELZER,

George the Monks' *Chronicon Syntomon* (842-867) includes the works of several Church Fathers and books of the Apocrypha such as *Bel and the Dragon* (36). Zonaras' *'Epitomē Historiōn* (c.1118) relies on excerpts from Greek pagan historians, such as Herodotus, Xenophon, and Plutarch. Both he and Glycas (*Biblos Chronikè*, c.1180) cite Byzantine churchmen and scholars such as John Damascenus and Michael Psellus (37). Thus, in their choice of sources, the chroniclers add their individual selections to the common corpus.

Two basic patterns of organization of historical material may be discerned in the chronicles : synchronization or separation. Malalas, the author of the *Chronicon Paschale*, and Syncellus developed different methods of synchronizing the histories of the various ancient peoples (38). Both the sacred history of the Bible and the reigns of the Roman emperors serve as major time organizers. The Second Temple period poses a challenge to these two indicators as much of it falls between the Biblical and Roman eras. Time is measured and events are indicated according to the Greek Olympiads from their inception ; the reigns of Persian, Seleucid, or Ptolemaic kings ; the terms of Roman consuls, the *anno mundi*, the years from the Incarnation, the Roman indiction cycles and Imperial reigns. In the *Chronicon Paschale* and the *'Eklogē Chronographias* the same event may appear under several headings, making the reader aware of its place in different systems of time measurement (39).

Africanus, II, pp. 176-276 (especially pp. 230-276) ; on Justus' work in Syncellus, see : *Idem.*, I, 255-267, and T. RAJAK, *Justus of Tiberias*, in *The Classical Quarterly*, v. 23, no. 2 (November 1973), pp. 348-368.

(36) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, II, 92, p. 197, l. 14 - p. 198, l. 12 ; De Boor, VI, 5, p. 273, l. 9 - p. 274, l. 10. The citation is taken nearly verbatim from the Theodotion *Bel and the Dragon*. See both editions, *passim*, for the numerous references to the works of the Church Fathers.

(37) ZONARAS, vol. I, VI, 4, p. 479 (Damascenus). For selections from pagan historians in Zonaras, see : footnote no. 87 ; GLYCAS, I, p. 61, l. 12 - p. 63, l. 2 ; p. 128 (Damascenus) ; II, p. 321, l. 5 f. (Psellus).

(38) The works of Hippolytus (*Chronicon*), Clement (*Stromata*), Africanus (*Kestoi*), and Eusebius (*Chronicon*), and others form the basis of the synchronization systems, though each of the Byzantine chroniclers adapts the systems in his own way.

(39) An example of this technique in the *Chronicon Paschale* is the description of Pompey's invasion of Jerusalem which occurs in the 178th Olympiad and under

George the Monk, departing from synchronization, introduces a new system in chronicle composition, that of separation ([40]). The author separates all of Jewish history until Jesus from that of other peoples and integrates pagan events into the mainstream of Biblical history only occasionally ([41]). The Second Temple period thus falls in more than one part of the total work ([42]). The subsequent chronicles of Zonaras and Glycas follow the pattern of separation in varying degrees ([43]). Leo the Grammarian's *Chronographia* (c.1013) and

the consulships of Cicero and Antony. Subsequently the author recalls the consequences of the invasion, under the same Olympiad and under the consulships of Piso and Messala (*Chronicon Paschale*, I, p. 350, l. 13-17, 19 ; p. 351, l. 1-9).

(40) Krumbacher's (*op. cit.*, p. 352) division of the *Chronicon Syntomon* into four sections is based on de Muralt's edition.

Book I : Adam to Alexander, pp. 4-31 ; Book II : Alexander to Julius Caesar (Jewish History), pp. 32-212 ; Book III : Julius Caesar to Constantine, pp. 212-390 ; Books IV, V, VI, VII : Constantine to Michael III and Nicephorus ; various topics, pp. 390-921. The De Boor edition of the *Chronicon Syntomon* differs from the older version of de Muralt in organization, amount of patristic interpolations, and the division of the sections. Though both divide the chapters according to rulers, de Muralt further subdivides these sections according to subject. The following are the books of the De Boor edition which correspond to Books II and III of de Muralt's text. Book I is the same in both. II. Adam to Judges, pp. 43-145 ; III. Judges to Saul, pp. 145-166 ; IV. Saul to the end of the kings of Judah (Davidic house), pp. 166-251 ; V. Jeroboam I to the end of the kings of Israel, pp 251-264 ; VI. Babylonian and Persian kingdoms to Antiochus IV, pp. 264-286 ; VII. Antiochus IV to Julius Caesar, pp. 286-293 ; VIII. Julius Caesar to Constantine, pp. 293-489. The De Boor edition is divided into two volumes, the second beginning with page 389. As the pages are numbered consecutively, the volume number will not be cited hereafter.

(41) Examples of such synchronization and integration occur in the following places : de Muralt, II, 29, p. 104, l. 8-19 ; De Boor, III, 5, p. 147, l. 1-9 (on Barak and Orpheus and Ascalepius) ; and, de Muralt, II, 62, p. 174, l. 3-5 ; De Boor, IV, 16, p. 244, l. 1-2 (on the construction of Byzantium during the reign of Josiah)

(42) The Second Temple period is both pre-Imperial and Imperial. Therefore it is included in several books of both editions. De Muralt, II and III, pp. 197-327 ; De Boor, VI, VII and VIII, pp. 273-438.

(43) The CSHB or Bonn edition of Zonaras, *Epitomē* isolates Jewish history in the first volume (Books I-VII) ; Roman history in the second (Books VII-XII) ; and Byzantine, in the third (Books XIII-XVIII) Glycas' division of history is as follows : I. Creation, pp. 1-221 ; II Adam to Julius Caesar, pp. 221-378 ; III Caesar to Constantine, pp. 274-460 ; IV. Constantine to John Comnenus, pp. 460-625.

George Cedrenus' *Synopsis Historion* (1047) combine synchronization and separation by using synchronization for pre-Imperial history and by following George the Monk's division after Augustus (44). The approach of synchronization or separation seems to be related to the theological tendencies of the chronicler. With the exception of Zonaras, the "separators", who follow George the Monk's example tend to be more Christologically oriented than the "synchronizers", in their interpretations of Jewish history. The contrasts between the chronicles regarding both sources and organization are especially conspicuous in the treatments of the Second Temple period by Malalas, George the Monk, and Zonaras.

IV. The Second Temple Period in Three Chronicles

A. Malalas

The Second Temple period in Malalas' *Chronographia* gives the impression of being sparse, scanty, selective, and disjointed, spread throughout several *logoi* (books) of the edited text (45). Malalas presents pre-Imperial history according to nation and the Jews frequently appear in a single paragraph between two sets of events in the histories of other peoples (46). Following a version of the

(44) Leo the Grammarian relates the pre-Imperial history as a consecutive narrative (pp. 1-53, l. 21). Cedrenus combines the characteristics of Malalas (presentation by nation), Syncellus (inclusion of sources such as the "Little Genesis" and Africanus), and George the Monk (long selections from the Church fathers and a theological outlook).

(45) Jewish history of the Second Temple period appears in Malalas' *Chronographia* as follows : Book VI, pp. 150-152, 154, 156-161 ; VII, p. 188, l. 5 ; p. 190 ; VIII, pp. 206-207 ; IX, p. 215, l. 17-18 ; p. 223, l. 14-25 ; p. 224, l. 1-12 ; p. 226 ; X, pp. 227-261 ; XI, p. 279, l. 12-13. On Malalas' sources for the period beginning with Julius Caesar (from the end of Book IX), see the study of : A. Schenk, Graf von Stauffenberg, *Die Römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart, 1931), pp. 1-301.

(46) The "ethnic" divisions of pre-Imperial history in Malalas' *Chronographia* basically are organized as follows : Book I : Anonymous Chronicle : Genesis, division of peoples, pp. 1-22 ; Book II : Egyptians, mythology, origins of peoples, pp. 23-56 ; Books III : Hebrews (Patriarchs and Moses), pp. 56-67 ; Book IV : Greeks, pp. 68-90 ; Book V : Trojans, pp. 91-149, Israelite monarchy, pp. 143-149 ; Book VI : Assyrians (Babylonians), Persians, Aeneas, pp. 150-170 ; Book

Danielian theory, it is synchronized with and classified under the histories of other nations, under the Assyrians (*i.e.*, Babylonians and Persians), Macedonians, or Romans. This arrangement implies that the importance of the Jews had diminished long before Christ or the destruction of the Second Temple. In Malalas' account, much historical content is missing. The author prefers the more picquant stories of Judith, Antiochus IV, and Veronica ([47]) to a more general chronological narrative based on Eusebius' *Chronicon* and Josephus. The absence of lists of Jewish kings and high priests and of many events in Judea clearly affects the description of the Second Temple period ([48]).

Malalas records the restoration under Cyrus, some strange legends about Daniel, the reconstruction of the Temple and the story of Judith in the section entitled "Under the Assyrian Kings and Aeneas the Son of Ascanius" ([49]). After Alexander the Great and his successor, related in the part entitled "in the times of the Macedonians" (*i.e.*, the Seleucids, after Alexander of Macedon), the author presents an unusual account of the Maccabees. The traditional story of the Apocrypha is not told and no rebellion is recorded ([50]). Nothing ap-

VII : Pre-Republican Rome, pp. 171-191 ; Book VIII : Macedonians, pp. 192-213 ; Book IX : Roman Republic, pp. 214-227.

See also the Slavonic Malalas : *The Chronicle of John Malalas*, Books VIII-XVIII, tr. M. Spinka and G. Downey (Chicago, 1940), nos. VIII, IX, X.

(47) MALALAS, VI, p. 159, l. 5 - p. 160, l. 9 (on Judith) ; VIII, p. 205, l. 24 - p. 207, l. 16 (on Antiochus IV) ; X, p. 233, l. 3 - p. 239, l. 17 (Veronica).

(48) Only two high priests are recalled, from the restoration under the Persian to the Maccabees. MALALAS, VII, p. 188, l. 5 ; p. 190, l. 3-4.

(49) MALALAS, VI, pp. 150-152, 154, 156-161.

(50) MALALAS, VIII, p. 205, l. 24, p. 207, l. 16. On Malalas' unique account, see the analysis of E. BICKERMAN, *Les Maccabées de Malalas*, in *Byzantion*, XXI (1951), pp. 63-84. The treatment in Malalas is striking in light of the absence the traditional Christian praise of the example of the Maccabean martyrs, particularly strong in Antioch. Malalas stresses the local connection without the Christian focus. A. SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (New York, 1971), mentions that the veneration of the Maccabees and other Jewish practices were common among Antioch's Christian citizens into the sixth century (pp. 33-34). On the Christian view of the Maccabees, see : M. SIMON, *Verus Israel*, pp. 265, 428-429 ; and D. F. WINSLOW, *Maccabean Martyrs : Early Christian Attitudes*, in *Judaism*, No. 89, Vol. 23, No. 1 (Winter, 1974), pp. 78-86.

pears on the Jews under the Ptolemies. Neither the Hasmonean house, nor the Jewish sects, nor the complete Herodian dynasty are recalled. Indeed, Herod I and II are the only Jewish rulers of the period to grace these pages of Malalas in any substantial detail (51). The rest of the period in the lengthy forty-page book X ((In the times of the Emperor Augustus and the Incarnation of God", mostly describes Jesus, the Roman emperors, and events connected with early Christianity. Jewish history is relegated to the background, course and aftermath of the Great Rebellion (52) with the exception of a riot in Antioch. The *Chronographia* presents a Roman division of history, according to Imperial reigns. The uprising against Hadrian is mentioned but briefly in the subsequent section which commences with Trajan (53).

Several points of interest characteristic of the *Chronographia* as a whole are found in the presentation of the Second Temple as well. The Antiochene perspective particular to Malalas is more important to the chronicler than the history of the Jews in Judea or general political events and religious trends. Local traditions and town records serve as his sources. Malalas' focus on Antioch, for example; colors his treatment of the Maccabean martyrs. Their sole historical value lies in their shrine in the Jewish quarter of Antioch apparently venerated well into the sixth century into the author's times. His account also records a visit of Judas (Maccabeus is implied, though not explicitly written) (54). In addition, Herod constructs the main paved road from Antioch. Anti-Jewish outbreaks under Gaius Caligula occur there. Vespasian erects the gates of the city from the Temple treasures. Malalas also mentions the theatre on the site of the

(51) MALALAS, IX, p. 223, l. 15-17 ; A SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, *Kaisergeschichte*, pp. 179-180 (on Herod and his successor, Archelaus) ; and W. WEBER, *Studien*, pp. 21-31. MALALAS, X, p. 299, l. 17 ; p. 240, l. 2.

(52) MALALAS, X, pp. 227-261, is devoted mostly to Jesus. The rebellion against Rome appears on pp. 257, 259-261. A. SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, *ibid.*, pp. 223-230, for a discussion of the sources and description of the Great Rebellion in the *Chronographia*.

(53) MALALAS, XI, p. 179, l. 12-13. Book XI is entitled "In the times of Trajan the Emperor to the Third Passion of Antioch". For a commentary on the sources of this brief passage on the uprising against Hadrian, see : A. SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, *ibid.*, pp. 300-301.

(54) MALALAS, X, p. 207, l. 7-15 ; DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-111.

synagogue in nearby Daphne inscribed with the words "from Judea's spoils" after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem (55).

His loyalty and interest in Antioch, Malalas adds his love of architecture and sculpture, which include statues, monuments and buildings. This artistic theme, throughout the chronicle, introduces an interesting dimension to the treatment of the Second Temple period. Indeed, Herod, Augustus, Tiberius, and Vespasian owe a measure of their significance in the *Chronographia* to their various construction projects in Judea, Syria, and Asia Minor (56). Similarly, other monuments are noted in the Christian context such as Veronica's statue at Paneas in honor of Jesus and another monument erected by a Jewish convert to Christianity (57). The author also touches on the fate of the Temple objects and treasures after the destruction (58).

The Christian focus of the *Chronographia* is apparent in the section on Jesus and on the rebellion against Rome. Synchronized with the years of the Roman emperor and consuls, the section on Jesus includes calculations of some years prior to the advent and records the predictions of the coming of Christ in Scripture and in the Pythian oracle. John the Baptist is noted in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius and there is a lengthy digression on Veronica. With the exception of her words, Malalas does not dwell on the miracles, biography or parables of Jesus. The salient features of his life are the Incarnation, crucifixion and resurrection (59). (Perhaps Malalas as-

(55) MALALAS, IX, p. 223, l. 17-19 (Herod in Antioch), X, p 244, l. 21, p 245, l. 15 (anti-Jewish outbreaks); X, p. 260, l. 21, p. 261, l 12 (Temple treasures). Malalas does not convey the Antiochene Jewish history found in Josephus' *War*, VII, but relates unique episodes whose historical accuracy is questionable. See SMALLWOOD, *op. cit.*, p. 176 f.; Downey, 177-179, 192-195.

(56) MALALAS, IX, p. 222, l. 11, p. 223, l. 7 (Augustus); IX, p. 223, l. 17, p. 224, l. 2 (Herod); X, p. 232, l. 19, p. 234, l 14 (Tiberius); X, p. 261, l. 22, p. 262, l. 4 (Vespasian). On the construction projects in Malalas, see: A. SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, *op. cit.*, pp. 444-449, who holds that Malalas' source was a town list of public buildings. See also: W. WEBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-65.

(57) MALALAS, X, p. 239, m. 8-16; WEBER, *ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

(58) On the Temple objects, see: MALALAS, X, p. 260, l. 21 - p. 261, l. 12. The *Chronicon Paschale*, I, p. 462, l. 8 - p. 463, l. 2, includes a similar description. See A. SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-233; DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, p. 206

(59) MALALAS, X, p. 227, l. 10 - p. 229, l. 11 (On Jesus); X, p. 231, l. 12,

sumed that his readers were acquainted with the Gospels). The author, thus, set the pattern for most of the subsequent chronicles by focusing on the significance of the Incarnation as the basis of a Christian system of time measurement, rather than the deeds or words of Jesus.

Jewish history after Jesus follows with the misfortunes under Caligula and Claudius which Malalas interprets as signs of the imminent destruction of the Temple and resulsts of the Jewish role in the crucifixion (60). At this point, he inserts a version of the *Testimonium Flavianum* (61). Thus, in Malalas' arrangement of the sources, the works of Josephus present the tragic fate of the Jews which is linked with the rejection of Jesus. He further stresses this in his account of the Great Rebellion presented under the reign of Emperor Vespasian which he dates as being "thirty-eight years after the Ascension of the Savior". Here Malalas not only presents the Christological association but also reinforces a new factor of time measurement, the Christian calendar, which he had introduced at the start of Claudius' reign (62). A version of "Eusebius" is cited as stating that Titus' victory was the third capture of Jerusalem (the first being that of Nebuchadnezzar, and the second, of Antiochus IV) (63). The ultimate cause, according to Malalas, is the Jewish part in the crucifixion.

In spite of the presence of these standard explanations, their insertion in the *Chronographia* between Roman political events and various construction projects, as well as their lack of elaboration, shows that Malalas echoes what he has absorbed from his culture and that anti-Jewish expression does not play a major role in his

p. 232, l. 6 (Pythian Oracle) (See W. WEBER, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-36); X, p. 236, l. 2 - 242, l. 7 (Crucifixion and Resurrection).

(60) MALALAS, X, p. 247, l. 6-21. The explanation directly relates to events under Claudius; for Caligula, see p. 245, immediately preceding. See A. SCHENK VON STAUFFENBERG, *op. cit.*, pp. 199-203. The crucifixion is attributed to the Jews; X, p. 241, l. 1-6, and p. 242, l. 15-17.

(61) On the *Testimonium Flavianum* in Malalas, see PINES, *op. cit.*, p. 15, note no. 71. Pines thinks that perhaps Malalas is referring to another passage, closer to the Arabic *Testimonium* of the tenth century Melkite bishop Agapius' *Kitāb 'al-Unwān*.

(62) MALALAS, X, p. 246, l. 20-22; X, p. 260, l. 4-7.

(63) MALALAS, X, p. 260, l. 15-20. This does not seem to be included in our version of Eusebius' *Chronicon*. Malalas occasionally attributes statements erroneously or may have used a variant.

book (64). Facts are related in the common Christian idiom describing the fate of the Jews in the wars against Rome (65). The scant treatment of Jewish history in the *Chronographia* shows that the Jews held relatively little interest for Malalas. The author accepts as axiomatic that with Christ a new era had commenced, and with Augustus, the Imperial structure had been established. Both continued to flourish into Malalas' own day. Indeed, Malalas devotes much less space to Biblical history than to ancient Greece, Troy, and Rome — the Israelite judges and kings appearing as time indicators in his synchronization (66).

In Second Temple times, the Jews are under foreign domination. As Rome and Christianity become the pillars of history, Jews are viewed increasingly as a relatively minor and unimportant people. Jews appear in detail when they coincide with the more preferred topics of the chronicler, Malalas' indifference to the Jews is noticeable in light of the Antiochene focus which gives local events greater prominence than Jewish history. The emphasis on monuments shows that Malalals' ideas of greatness conformed with Roman Imperial aesthetics. Of these physical remains, the Jews only possessed the shrine of the Maccabees located in Antioch. As Malalas renewed the world-chronicle form, much of his factual material is repeated in later works, though the Antiochene records, monuments and the story of Veronica, remain his own. Subsequent writers discerned the major points from his individual predilections such as his numerous etiological refrences. They retained his Christian-Roman organization but gave Jewish history more serious attention.

(64) In the *Chronographia*, the Jews are blamed for participation in the Crucifixion of Jesus, at the time of the event itself (X, p. 240, l. 12-14) ; on the occasion of Pilate's death (X, p. 256, l. 16-20 and p. 257, l. 10-17) ; at the time of the hostilities in Judea under Claudius (p. 247, l. 16-21 ; p. 248, l. 4) ; and as the reason for the destruction of the Temple (p. 260, l. 15-20).

(65) MALALAS, XI, p. 279, l. 12-13. Malalas seems to initiate the general trend in Byzantine chronography which does not treat the rebellion against Hadrian in detail, unlike earlier Christian sources, such as Eusebius, who give it theological significance.

(66) See footnote no. 46.

B. George the Monk.

In the *Chronicon Syntomon* of George the Monk, the Jews are the central people of the ancient world until (and even after) the establishment of the Roman Empire. The Second Temple period in George the Monk's work appears in direct continuation of the Biblical history of the Jews (67). The first part of the work, a survey of pagan peoples prior to Alexander the Great includes Jewish events under Cyrus and Alexander and precedes the account of Biblical history (68). With those exceptions, Jewish history is isolated and set apart, hardly synchronized with pagan events. This separation serves several purposes. By virtue of this isolation the Jews are given a prominence not present in a work such as Malalas' *Chronographia*. Indeed, George the Monk presents only a few facts on pre-Imperial Rome, while all of Old Testament history is given (69).

Although with the end of Davidic monarchy, the Jews are classified under pagan kings, following the Danielian theory, they are linked definitely with their forebears, a fact enhanced by the proximity of the Second Temple period to solely Biblical material. Thus, though no longer sovereign, the Jews remain the center of human history. Indeed, George the Monk quickly dismisses kings who reigned briefly and played a small role in Jewish history and relates only little detail on the activities of Gentile rulers outside the Jewish sphere (70). The author's choice of sources, mostly sacred literature such as the Bible, the Apocrypha, and the Church Fathers, determines this picture. Jewish history clearly lies in the realm of the spiritual as well as the temporal; while the section on the pagans refers to historical rather than sacred works (71).

(67) See footnote no. 40.

(68) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, I, 12, pp. 13-14; 17, p. 18, l. 25 - p. 22, l. 6; De Boor, I, 12, pp. 18-20; 18, pp. 26-32.

(69) For pre-Imperial Rome, GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, I, 14, pp. 15-16; 15, pp. 16-17; De Boor, I, 15, pp. 21-23; 16, pp. 23-24. The Old Testament in George the Monk comprises the greater part of Book II of de Muralt's edition and Books II-VI of De Boor's text.

(70) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, II, 94, p. 200, l. 5; 96, p. 205, l. 10-19; 97, p. 205, l. 20 - p. 206, l. 9; De Boor, VI, 7, p. 276, l. 17-18; 9-10, p. 284, l. 5-15. (On the Persian kings Smerdis (called Sperdios by George the Monk), Artabanus, and Artaxerxes).

(71) The longer version of the biography of Alexander the Great appears in

When the Roman Empire is established, the role of the Jewish people undergoes a transformation. The reigns of the emperors begin to serve as the organizing principle for the *Chronicon Syntomon*, and Jesus and the Christians become the major themes (72). The priorities of the author change from the narrative of Jewish history to the signification of Jesus and the Jewish rejection of Christ. The Jewish people continue to be highly important but solely in a Christian context, as the spiritual antecedents of Christians, such as the Essenes (73), or as the target for criticism after the destruction of the Temple (74). Historical detail, a salient feature of George the Monk's Biblical history is not characteristic of Second Temple events after the Maccabean rebellion (75).

The arrangement of the work facilitates the expression of a strong Christian focus. Unlike previous chronicles, Christian projections are not presented through calculations but in excerpts from the Church Fathers (76). Both Biblical and Second Temple events are illuminated by patristic commentaries. These passages are just as, if not more, important than the historical facts which they explain. Often the events are inseparable from their patristic comment, and the *Chronicon Syntomon* reads like an anthology of Christological interpretations connected by a paragraph of historical facts. This is particularly conspicuous when extremely long excerpts from the Church Fathers break the continuum of history under the emperors Augustus, Claudius, and

Book I, pagan history, and includes the story of his meeting with the high priest of Jerusalem (de Muralt, I, 17-25, p. 18, l. 8 - p. 28, l. 15 ; De Boor, I, 19, pp. 25-36).

(72) After a brief passage on Julius Caesar, Imperial history begins with Augustus (de Muralt, III, 2, and De Boor, VIII, 2 ff.).

(73) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 118, p. 242, l. 10, 119, p 261, l. 4 . De Boor, VIII, 5, pp. 327-353, l. 10. Both editions continue in their praise of the monastic life with excerpts from the Church Fathers.

(74) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 128, l. 5 - p. 322, l. 7 ; De Boor, VIII, 10, p. 405, l. 9 - p 433, l. 21.

(75) The Maccabean rebellion ends in the middle with the end of the reign of Antiochus Eupator. GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, II, 99-103, pp. 208-212 ; De Boor, VII, 1-2, pp. 286-292.

(76) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 109, p. 218, l. 17-30 (Chrysostom) . 111, p. 225, l. 18 - p. 226, l. 25 (Cyril) ; De Boor, VIII, 2, p. 295, l 12 - p. 299, l. 5 (Theodoretus) ; p. 299, l. 6-21 (Chrysostom) ; p. 305, l 14 - p. 308, l. 3 (Cyril).

Vespasian (77). George the Monk places several patristic selections next to each other in succession after the mention of a single event or phenomenon. This method certainly affects the proportion of fact to commentary as chronology is subordinated to interpretation.

The tendentious purposes of George the Monk emphasize the decline of Judea and the destruction of the Temple as part of the divine pattern of history. Thus, when the Davidic line comes to an end under Darius, the author introduces a long piece from the Church Father Basil showing Jesus to be the final descendant of the Davidic house and delineating the "foreign" rule of Herod and the Roman procurators as the background for Jesus' advent (78). The history of Judea from the Maccabean rebellion to Jesus is not told in its chronological context but is placed in the long passage appearing under Vespasian which briefly reviews all of Second Temple history (79). The presence of the Hasmonean dynasty in the section of Vespasian, out of context, is the only indication of its existence. The Hasmoneans, as rulers of a sovereign state, both as kings and high priests, present a problem. They do not fit exactly into a Christian Danielian framework (80). The last "Greek" ruler, Antiochus Eupator, defeated by the Maccabees, is followed in the *Chronicon Syntomon* by Julius and Augustus Caesar. Neither the independent Jewish dynasty nor Herod appear as titles of chapters.

In the section headed by Vespasian, George the Monk lends theological finality to Jewish history. It contains a long excerpt from

(77) GEORGE THE MONK, De Muralt, III, 107-111, pp. 214-229 ; De Boor, VIII, 2, p. 293, l. 20 - p. 311, l. 13 (on Augustus) ; De Muralt, III, 117-120, p. 241, l. 21 - p. 268, l. 20 ; De Boor, VIII, 5, p. 326, l. 19 - p. 364, l. 11 (on Claudius) ; de Muralt, III, 127-130, pp. 285-327 ; De Boor, VIII, 10, p. 383, l. 11 - p. 437, l. 11 (on Vespasian ; the last section contains calculations relating the destruction of the Temple to previous events in Jewish history).

(78) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, II, 95, p. 203, l. 10, p. 205, l. 9 ; De Boor, VI, 8, p. 281, l. 10, p. 284, l. 5.

(79) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 129, p. 325, l. 5 - p. 327, l. 16 ; De Boor, VIII, 10, pp. 434-437.

(80) Lacking Davidic descent, the Hasmoneans never achieved the glory or status of their predecessors. The Christian interpretation of the house preferred the martyrdom of the Maccabees to the temporal power and strife of their descendants.

Chrysostom's "Fifth Homily against the Jews" which states that the Temple will never be reconstructed and condemns the Jews' continuous rejection of Christ in vitriolic language ([81]). The author then provides a description of the siege of Jerusalem and a summary of Jewish history to the destruction. The long anti-Jewish homily, however, gives the work its tone, as the subsequent uprising under Hadrian is mentioned in context without a Christian interpretation ([82]).

If Malalas displayed indifference or simple conventionality, George the Monk demonstrates his awareness of the Jews and devotes much of his chronicle to the description of Jewish history. From the outset, his marked Christian focus is apparent and the Jews never are presented outside of the context of Christian historiography. The author views Jewish history as a prediction of the coming of Christ or as a catastrophe caused by rejecting Him. The more detailed sections with their patristic interpretations clearly show that the Jews owe their importance only to the fact that they were superceded by the Christians, and, that Christiantiy must dominate and the Jews decline. After the Maccabean martyrdom and rebellion ([83]) Jewish history not only comes under the Imperial sway but is cut short by Christian events. George the Monk's orthodoxy and iconodulic bias allow no room for his enemies even in the past. This anti-Jewish outlook finds its way into the *Chronicon Syntomon* where theological interpretation overcomes historical fact. In the world of George the Monk, orthodox Christianity must triumph more than casually over heresy or over its ancient and durable opponent ([84]).

(81) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, p. 303, l. 11 - p. 314, l. 20 ; De Boor, VIII, 10, p. 405, l. 9 - p. 412, l. 22.

(82) GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 136, p. 340, l. 6-18 ; De Boor, VIII, 1-2, pp. 288-292.

(83) GEORGE THE MONK follows the patristic tradition of admiration for the Maccabean martyrs. GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, II, 99-103, pp. 208-212, l. 12 ; De Boor, VII, 1-2, pp. 288-292.

(84) H. BECK, *Zur byzantinischen Mönchschronik*, pp. 193-194 ; and VASILIEV, *History of the Byzantine Empire*, I, p. 292, designate George the Monk as the monkish chronicler par excellence because of his Orthodox tendencies.

C. Zonaras.

The twelfth-century *'Epitomē* of John Zonaras differs greatly from previous chronicles in several respects. Zonaras attributes to the Jews an independence and a prominence not found in the works of his predecessors or his successors. He isolates Jewish history into a single volume, the first section of a lengthy work (85). Unlike George the Monk, Zonaras prefers fact to commentary. He devotes equal space to the Biblical history of the patriarchs, Moses, the Judges and the kings of Israel and Judah, and to the Second Temple period. Zonaras departs from the pattern of synchronization and from placing Jewish history under Gentile kings and Roman emperors. With Zonaras' fuller text, Jewish history constitutes a long, solid, and substantial unit occupying the entire first volume of the edited version of his chronicle, while Roman history appears in the second, and Byzantine, the third. This division of the ancient world into the two major nations, the Jews and the Romans, shows the marked influence of Josephus (86). Only the salient features of other peoples' histories are recalled in long summarized excerpts from ancient Greek writers such as Herodotus, Xenophon and Plutarch (87).

Byzantine chronicles do not serve as his sources for ancient history and the rendition of *Jewish Antiquities*, even for the Biblical era, allows for his fuller and more extensive treatment (88). Zonaras faithfully transmits the last nine books of Josephus, from the return to Zion under Cyrus to the Great Rebellion (89). The Great Rebellion is

(85) The first volume may be divided as follows: Preface, pp. 8-16; I: Creation to David, pp. 16-121; II: David to the Babylonian Captivity, pp. 122-205; III: Babylonian and Persian periods in Judea, pp. 205-303; IV: Persian history, Macdeonian expansion, to the Maccabean rebellion, pp. 303-385; V: Hasmonean dynasty, Herod, pp. 385-465; VI: Herodian dynasty and rebellion against Rome, pp. 465-562. See footnote no. 43.

(86) JOSEPHUS, *The Jewish War*, I, i-xii (1-31).

(87) ZONARAS, vol. I, III, 15 - IV, 1, pp. 261-303 (from Xenophon); IV, 1, IV, 3, pp. 303-311 (Herodotus); IV, 8 - IV, 15, pp. 329-335 (Plutarch).

(88) ZONARAS, vol. I, I-III, pp. 10-215; IV, 5-IV, 7, pp. 317-327. Gelzer points out that Zonaras includes a small section of Syncellus' version of the "Book of Jubilees" in the first part (*Africanus*, II, p. 296).

(89) The Second Temple period commences in Book IV, 1, p. 303, and ends with Book VII which begins Roman history and the second volume, and its source is *Antiquities*.

gleaned from Josephus' *Jewish War* and the revolts against Trajan and Hadrian, taken from pagan sources, are related in the second Roman volume under the Emperors (90). Where Josephus appears insufficient, Zonaras supplements the history with material from the Apocrypha and from pagan sources (91).

The chronicler's technique lies in summarizing *Antiquities* and eliminating certain features such as lengthy speeches, documents, and letters ; character evaluations and philosophical digressions ; and certain episodes not directly connected with Judea. The sequence of *Antiquities* otherwise clearly is followed. Zonaras is the sole Byzantine chronicler to present a full treatment of both the Hasmonean and Herodian dynasties in their greatness and decline (92).

The most striking and unique feature is the minimal amount od Christian material and focus in both its Jewish and Roman volumes (93). Although Jewish history ends with the defeat and the aftermath of the Great Rebellion, Zonaras fully covers the subject on its own terms, with the aid of *Antiquities*. He does not break the continuum by calculations or commentaries, nor does he neglect its course of events with the advent of Jesus. He makes no anti-Jewish statements concerning the crucifixion. Zonaras refrains from reading Christian predictions into individual episodes and does not attribute any Christian significance to Herod's reign. Both Jesus and John the Baptist appear briefly in their historical context, the former ac-

(90) The rebellion against Rome is taken from *The Jewish War* and appears in ZONARAS, vol. I, VI, 18-29, pp. 523-561. See footnote no. 11 for references to the revolts against Trajan and Hadrian.

(91) Zonaras includes excerpts from the book of Tobit (vol. I, III, 13-14, pp. 253-260), and Judith (vol. I, III, 11-13, pp. 247-253) not found in *Jewish Antiquities*.

(92) SYNCELLUS, p. 544, l. 10 - p. 549, l. 10 ; p. 554, l. 16 - p. 555, l. 9 ; p. 555, l. 15 - p. 556, l. 16 ; pp. 558-577 ; pp. 579 ; 587, l. 9 ; pp. 588-589, on the Hasmonean house and Herod ; p 621, l. 8-12 , p. 625, l. 14 ; p. 629, l. 5 (Herodian house) also presents a fairly full description.

(93) ZONARAS, vol. I, 3-4, pp. 9-16, presents a survey of the contents of the first volume and designates Josephus as his major source for Jewish history. The preface mentions Jesus in historical context and proceeds to delineate the internal causes for Jewish rebellion against Rome. Zonaras cites the destruction of Jerusalem, "never to be rebuilt", without theological overtones.

companied by a short paragraph from John Damascenus (94). The relatively small amount of detail on the early Christians is classified under the reigns of individual Roman emperors (95). Zonaras inserts Daniel's vision (the four kingdoms based on the vision of the statue in Chapter 2) with the fifth-century patristic interpretation of Theodoretus of Cyr between the Biblical and Second Temple periods (96). The chronicle, however, neither adheres to the Danielian theory nor elaborates on its Christian commentary.

Zonaras, thus, is an anomaly among the chroniclers. He does not sacrifice the historical narrative gleaned from ancient sources to theological explanations and calculations. This feature represents a radical departure from all of the chroniclers for whom the Christian focus served to unify and explain history, and for whom Christian sources, such as Eusebius, were held in the highest esteem. For Zonaras, the Jews and the Romans were great peoples in their own right. The Christians later emerge as the most important people as they become Roman under Constantine and as Jewish history ceases to exist. Zonaras has created a new way of writing a world chronicle — without synchronization or separation accompanied by patristic interpretation. This method renders the Jews a people whose story is given in full detail. They are the most interesting and significant nation of the ancient world. Their history, however is finite, though not as a result of any deep Christian reasoning.

(94) ZONARAS, vol. I, VI, 4, pp. 479-480 ; VI, 6, pp. 485-486.

(95) ZONARAS, vol. II, X, 39, pp. 431-432 ; XI, 3, pp. 445-446 ; XI, 11, pp. 474-475 ; XI, 13, p. 479. The source is Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*.

(96) PODSKALSKY, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie*, pp. 59-60, contends that Zonaras' interpretation of Daniel 2 shows a prediction of the fall of the Roman, *i.e.*, Byzantine empire. ZONARAS, vol. I, III, 3-11, pp. 212-246, concentrates on Daniel's vision and presents the commentary of Theodoretus. Daniel appears in proper historical context. At this point, Zonaras inserts this Christian interpretation of the Four Kingdoms, designating them as Assyria, Persia, Macedonia and Rome. Similarly the fall of Judea is described in the Daniel context, III, 9, pp. 236-246, along with the triumph of Christ. Zonaras then proceeds to present Second Temple history after this theological digression. In contrast, George the Monk introduces a much briefer selection from Theodoretus' commentary in the section on Jesus (under Augustus) in a theological, rather than an historical context. (GEORGE THE MONK, de Muralt, III, 107, pp. 215-216 ; De Boor, VIII, 2, p. 302, l. 13 - p. 305, l. 12). The placement of this passage shows the difference between the approaches of the two chroniclers.

V. Conclusion

The chroniclers' varying accounts of the Second Temple period indicate that this medium is neither monolithic nor archaizing. The three examples of Malalas, George the Monk, and Zonaras show the variety of styles, approaches and sources for the Second Temple period (97). The other chronicles possess individual characteristics of expression and interpretation and share the features of the above. The Byzantine chronicles developed into anthologies of different sources arranged, edited and structured by their authors. As the Second Temple period is not of equal interest, length, and depth in all of the works, the conceptions of the Jewish past vary considerably. The relationship of the Biblical and Second Temple periods to the Jews of the chroniclers' own times, however, shows much more similarity.

The chroniclers give deep insight into the Byzantine attitudes towards Jewish history, and by implication, the Jews. Too often present day historians have relied on patristic homilies and Imperial legislation in order to determine the changing relationship of Byzantine state and society towards the Jews (98). The chroniclers deserve fuller appreciation because of their variety and popularity. The attempts to convey the past reflect the chroniclers' desire to put the Jews in what they considered their proper historical place. As part of the ancient world and the source of early Christianity, the Jews of the Biblical and Second Temple periods attracted the interest of most of

(97) The author has chosen these three chronicles not only because of their sharp contrasts in presenting the material but also because of the popularity of Malalas and George the Monk, attested by their translations into Slavonic, and the exceptional historical method of Zonaras.

(98) Neither A. Sharf, *Byzantine Jewry*, nor J. Starr, *A History of the Jews in the Byzantine Empire* (Athens, 1939) remark on the view of Jewish history or of the Jews in the Byzantine chronicles, in spite of their excellent use of the chronicles for isolated incidents in the history of Byzantine Jewry. For a survey of the generally neglected field of Byzantine polemics against the Jews, see: E. Voordeckers, *Johannes VI Kantakuzenos: Keizer en Monnik*, II (unpublished dissertation; University of Ghent, Belgium, 1968), pp. 328-364. Voordeckers treats the polemics preceding the major work of Kantakuzenos in the fourteenth century and discusses the sources and arguments of the latter. See also: J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition, II: The Spirit of Eastern Christendom* (Chicago, 1974), pp. 199-215.

the chroniclers. The synchronization of other peoples' histories into the Biblical and Second Temple periods or the isolation of Jewish history demonstrate the centrality of Jewish history in their consciousness of the past.

After the Great Rebellion, Jewish history — politically and ethnically separate — ceases to exist, with or without a Christian theological explanation. Events such as the rebellion against Hadrian or the attemped reconstruction of the Temple under Julian are viewed as isolated incidents without historical links with the past or with the future (99). The absence of a continuous post-Second Temple Jewish history may be understood as the chroniclers' statement on the Jews. The chroniclers' task was the presentation of an historical continuum. Without a continuous history in the universal Roman-Byzantine framework, a people's existence was at best, irrelevant, and at worst, an aberration. Ancient peoples such as the Persians appear in the literature with reference to their political relations with the Empire. The Egyptians and the Phoenicians completely cease to exist; the Bulgars come into being. It is the Jews, important in the past, who exist without historical continuity, and therefore, without significance or worth (100).

With the exceptions of George the Monk and Cedrenus, few indulge in gratuitous anti-Jewish diatribe. For most, it is not part of the historical outlook or style to condemn any people. The arrangement

(99) Post-Second Temple Jewish history appears in world chronicles, in works written only about the Byzantine Empire (*e.g.*, Theophanes), in ecclesiastical histories, and in the Syriac chronicles. Incidents are related, for the most part, in a pejorative context, such as anti-Jewish outbreaks, collaboration with enemies, or the Jewish background of iconoclasm. It is impossible to reconstruct the history of Byzantine Jewry from the chronicles. In contrast, one can get a total, though incomplete or one-sided view of the history of the Jews in the Second Temple period from the chronicles which present an organic unit for the ancient period.

(100) According to G. I. LANGMUIR, *Majority History and Post-Biblical Jews*, in *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol. XXVII, July-September, 1966, pp. 343-364, there is "still adherence to the Incarnation as the real division of history whether that cesura be seen providentially or secularly. Before the first century the Hebrews are of great importance, thereafter the Jews are of little significance". This conception persists even among non-religious historians in whose works "the critereon of success replaces the criterion of election". Perhaps Byzantine chronography anticipated modern historiography on this point.

of facts certainly speaks for itself. The truth of Jewish sources never is questioned and their importance never neglected. For the Byzantine chronicler, history is inconceivable without a strong Jewish component. The absence in the chroniclers of a post-Second Temple history sharply contrasts with the heightened interest and manifold descriptions of the role of the Jews in the ancient world.

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BYZANTINE IMPERIAL PROSOPOGRAPHY IN A MEDIEVAL HEBREW TEXT

In A. Neubauer's well-known collection of medieval Hebrew historical material there is a text which gives a list of Roman and Byzantine rulers, with brief annotations, from Julius Caesar down to the emperor Nicephorus II (xth century) [1]. S. Krauss has submitted the text to a useful, though by no means definitive, analysis [2], but it has otherwise attracted little attention [3]. In this paper some of the more noteworthy features of the last part of the material, which is concerned with Byzantine emperors from the seventh to the tenth century, will be pointed out and briefly discussed [4].

According to our text Constans II (641-68) died on the island of Crete (קריטרים) [5], whereas all the Greek sources say that he was

(1) *Medieval Jewish Chronicles and Chronological Notes*, vol. I (Oxford, 1887), pp. 185-6. The work is extant only in one MS (British Museum Add. 14763, fol. 4b-5a), dating from A.D. 1273 (*op. cit.*, p. xxi).

(2) *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte* (Vienna, 1914), pp. 140-3. For his comparative material in Byzantine secular history Krauss seemingly depends almost entirely on the scant information provided by H. GELZER's *Abriss der byzantinischen Kaisergeschichte*, published as an appendix to K. KRUMBACHER's *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, 2. Auflage (Munich, 1897), pp. 913 ff. As a result Krauss makes a number of egregious errors in simple factual matters (See notes 14, 15, 25) and is not aware of the value, or at least the noteworthiness, of several of the entries in the Hebrew text.

(3) There is a brief notice in M. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Die Geschichtslitteratur der Juden in Druckwerken und Handschriften I* (Frankfurt a.M., 1905), dismissing it as perhaps "eine einfache Copie, resp. Uebersetzung, aus einer nichtjüdische Quelle" (p. 22).

(4) This part of the text is found on p. 186 of Neubauer's edition ; henceforth only the line number will be given.

(5) Line 15. The spelling reflects the Greek genitive singular (*Κρήτης*) rather than, as Krauss states, the accusative plural (p. 141, n. 3). That the word indeed refers to Crete is made certain, as Krauss has already observed (p. 142, n. 6), by the identical spelling at a later point (line 24) when clearly the ninth-century Arab conquest of Crete and Sicily is registered.

murdered in Syracuse (6). The reign of Philippicus-Bardanes (פליפיקו וורדינאוס) is registered twice, purely by scribal error (7), whereas those of Leontius (695-8) and Tiberius-Apsimar (698-75) are entirely overlooked (8).

Leo III (717-41) is called אירסרו (9), i.e. *ὁ Ἴσαυρος*, "the Isaurian", a common but misleading epithet applied in the later Byzantine sources to this emperor of Syrian origin (10). The number of his regnal years is given as twenty-seven (שנים כ"ז)which is not quite correct. Leo's successor, his son Constantine V (741-75), is assigned thirty-five regnal years which is accurate. However Constantine is given the curious epithet הנירדף, "the persecuted one" (11), totally inappropriate for this victorious emperor, whose very name was terror to both the Arab and the Bulgarian enemies of the empire, and whose reign marks the high point of the "official" iconoclastic campaign against image worship. The explanation seems to be that the translator in fact misread the epithet *ὁ διώκτης*, "the persecutor" (12), as a

(6) E.g. THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1883), p. 351, lines 14-15 : *ἐδολοφονήθη ὁ βασιλεὺς Κώνστας ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἐν Συρακούσῃ ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ, ᾧ ὄνομα Δάφνη.*

(7) Ll. 16-17. Philippicus reigned 711-13. By contrast the two separate reigns of Justinian II (685-95, 705-11) are not both mentioned, only his second six-year reign (l. 16).

(8) As far as Leontius is concerned this lacuna *may* reflect more than just a scribal error, and could have a connection with the early confusion of information about Leontius and Leo III. There is a detailed study of this latter issue in my book, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III, With Particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (Louvain, 1973), pp. 72-78. (Henceforth abbreviated BI). In reproducing another extant fragmentary Hebrew list of emperors found in the Cairo Geniza, Krauss emends the last entry, after Justinian II, to read [ל]יאונטירוס, i.e. Leontius (*op. cit.*, p. 143). However, in view of the widespread oriental evidence (which includes the Christian Arabic chronicler Eutychius of Alexandria (xth cent.)), for Leontius' having had the *alias* Leo (BI, p. 77) it is also quite possible that the emendation should simply be [ל]יאון, "Leo." Leontius, to my knowledge, is not elsewhere mentioned in medieval Hebrew sources.

(9) L. 18.

(10) Cf. BI, pp. 1-12.

(11) L. 18.

(12) Cf. *Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ διώκτης ἔτη τριάκοντα πέντε. Chronographia Brevis*, in *Nicephori ... Opuscula Historica*, ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), p. 225, line 5. (Henceforth abbreviated *Opuscula*).

passive, i.e. *ὁ διωκτός*. The nest emperor, Leo IV (775-80) is given the strange title בזרו ([13]) which should definitely be corrected to כזרו ; Leo's nickname in the Byzantine tradition was "the Khazar" since his mother was a Khazar princess ([14]).

After mentions of Constantine VI, Irene, Nicephorus I and Stauracius ([15]), of great interest is the statement, couched in rather favorable terms, that Leo V (813-20) was an iconoclast: "Leo reigned seven years and destroyed the idolatrous images (והורס צורית [*sic*] שלֿ עבזדה זרות) of Constantinople and cast down the prince Nicephorus (ניקופורוס ה]נשיא)" ([16]). The expression "idolatrous

(13) Ll. 18-19. I shall cite the passage, which may well be corrupt, *in extenso*: לראנו בזארו מצוה לרומנים בעת שקרו לו המלד בא בביניבינטו ברמי ארגיסי השר ט"ו שנים.

(14) *Λέων ὁ Χάζαρις*, *Opuscula*, p. 100, l. 10 ; p. 225, l. 6 ; *Λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς Χαζάρας*, *Opuscula*, p. 232, l. 23. For the story of the Khazar princess see Theophanes, ed. de Boor, p. 401, lines 30 ff. and Nicephorus, *Breviarium*, ed. de Boor, *Opuscula*, p. 58. For Syriac accounts of the marriage (Michael the Syrian, Bar Hebraeus, the *Chronicon ad annum 1234*) see BI, p. 28, n. 17. Krauss apparently does not realize that Leo IV was called "the Khazar", and accordingly attempts to identify the non-existent Leo *Bazaro* as a Byzantine exarch of Ravenna, or else as bishop Leo of Ravenna — being forced to rewrite in the process בזארו as ראבנו ! (p. 141, n. 5). Admittedly there is a duplication here in the text, because it is the next entry (line 19) : לראון שנים ה that gives the correct number of regnal years for Leo. The number of regnal years (15) in the first entry may in fact refer to Duke Arichis II (ארגיסי) of Benevento ; however Arichis actually reigned for about thirty years (cf. T. HODGKIN, *Italy and Her Invaders*, vol. VIII (Oxford, 1899), pp. 60-71), though he bore the *title* of "Prince of Beneventum" only between 774 and 786 (HODGKIN, *Italy and the Invaders*, vol. VI (Oxford, 1895), p. 62) Krauss is quite right, however, in interpreting קרו לו as "Charlemagne", and the conquest in question as the final Frankish occupation of Benevento.

(15) אשטוראצירוס (line 21). Rather astonishingly, Krauss confuses this emperor, the son of Nicephorus I, with the eunuch Stauracius, a favorite of the empress Irene, and he indignantly exclaims: "Die Geschichte kennt aber dieser Staurakios als Eunuchen!" (p. 141). In fact Krauss has simply misread the sketchy account of this period given by Gelzer (pp. 965-6), which mentions the eunuchs Stauracius and Aetius, but strangely neglects even to note the brief reign of Stauracius (811). However the statement in our text that Stauracius reigned *together with his son* for three months (עם בנן חדש ג׳) contradicts the Greek sources, according to which the emperor was childless ; for this reason the accession devolved upon his brother-in-law, the *curopalates* Michael Rangabe.

(16) Ll. 22-23.

images" is seemingly the translator's explanation, *in malam partem* of course, of the significance of Christian icons; the whole phrase in question may simply stand for *Λέων ὁ εἰκονοκλάστης* or *ὁ εἰκονομάχος* (17). The *nasi* Nicephorus is the well-known iconophile patriarch of Constantinople who was deposed by Leo (18). This entry is the unique mention, to my knowledge, of Byzantine iconoclasm in medieval Jewish sources (19), and is a rather noteworthy pendant to the shrill accusations in the Byzantine accounts that the genesis of both Muslim and Christian iconoclasm in the eighth century should be traced to sinister Jewish influences (20).

The entries on Michael II, Theophilus and Michael III are routine. The title given to Basil I (בסילי), who reigned 867-86 (21), is at first sight strange, פארה צירומירנוס, but can be clearly recognized, as a corrupt rendering of *παρακοιμώμενος*, the office of trusted chief imperial chamberlain, which Basil held before the murder of Michael III and his own elevation to the throne (22). Leaving aside the rather

(17) E.g., in a list published by de Boor, *Opuscula*, p. 232. Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV (*ὁ ἐκ τῆς Χαζάρας*), Leo V, Michael II and Theophilus are all characterized as *εἰκονομάχος* whereas the iconophile emperors of the period bear the epithet *Χριστιανός*.

(18) Cf. P. J. ALEXANDER, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople: Ecclesiastical Policy and Image Worship in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford, 1958), pp. 132-34.

(19) Of course the general negative attitude of medieval Jews to the Christian cult of images can be documented from Jewish sources; thus in the Chronicle of Ahima'aṣ (xith cent.) the author, noting that the persecutions unleashed by Basil I providentially did not extend to Byzantine Italy, states that in this way God "saved his servants devotes to his commandments" from, *inter alia*, "the filthy waters", [of baptism] (ממים הזוהמים) and "prostrations to graven images and pictures" (מהשתחוות פסילים וצלמים) (*The Chronicle of Ahimaaz*, ed. M. Salzman (N.Y., 1924), p. 14, lines 24-25).

(20) On this whole subject cf. BI, pp. 59-84, 189-98, and additional comments in an article "Notes on Byzantine Iconoclasm in the Eighth Century", *Byzantion* 44 (1974), pp. 36-38. See also A. SHARF, *Byzantine Jewry from Justinian to the Fourth Crusade* (London, 1971), ch. IV, "The Jews and the Iconoclasts".

(21) Therefore the number of regnal years (י"א, i.e. eleven) assigned to Basil is clearly wrong (line 26).

(22) The office of *παρακοιμώμενος τοῦ δεσπότου* or *οἰκεῖος παρακοιμώμενος* is noted in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheus (ed. J. B. Bury, in *The Imperial Administrative System of the Ninth Century* (London, 1911), p. 145, l. 13; p. 176, l. 16). The office was normally reserved to a eunuch, which Basil decidedly was not (cf. R.

routine entries on Leo VI, Alexander, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, we should note some interesting statements about Romanus Lecapenus, regent and usurper during the minority of Constantine (920-44) (23). Our text notes that Romanus' *alias* was סיסיני (= *Σισίνιος*?), a piece of information which is not found in the Greek sources (24). Romanus is called שר הספינות, literally "commander of the ships", a not inaccurate rendering of his important post, which served as his springboard for seizing power, as *δρουγγάριος τῶν πλοΐμων*, admiral of the fleet (25). The text closes with the statement

GUILLAND, *Les eunuques dans l'Empire Byzantin : étude de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines*, in *Etudes byzantines*, I (1943), pp. 220-21). But the sources make it quite clear that Basil was designated *παρακοιμώμενος* ; e.g. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn, 1838), p. 235, l. 4-5 : *παρὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ἐλπίδα μετὰ καιρὸν οὐ πολὺν προβάλλεται παρακοιμώμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Βασίλειον τιμήσας αὐτὸν καὶ πατρίκιον*. (It is entirely credible that Michael would have broken with precedent in this minor matter ; we know that he delighted in outraging protocol in much more serious ways also (cf. e.g. A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London, 1973), pp. 3-5)). Krauss, incidentally, is not aware of this fact and, (though he renounces any attempt to interpret פארה), he identifies the second word, צרמרינוס, with an astonishing disregard for chronology, as "Comnenos" — as is Basil had been the progenitor of the imperial dynasty which ruled in the xith and xiith centuries (p. 142, n. 10). The rendering of Greek *κ* by צ is at first sight unusual, but it also occurs in the transcription of the name *Σταυράκιος* (see note 15). However, the orthography is not consistent : thus for the name Mauricius, where one would expect a like *κ*-צ equivalence, we have מבריקיו (line 13).

(23) On Romanus' origins and early career, see S. RUNCIMAN, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign : A Study of Tenth-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 63 ff.

(24) וגזל המלכות מידו סיסיני אשר רומנו קרוי שר הספינות (lines 28-29) ("And *Sysyny*, who is called Romanus, commander of the ships, seized the kingship from him [i.e. Constantine]". If Romanus, as is often argued, was of Armenian origin (cf. P. CHARANIS, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, n.d.), p. 36) *Sysyny* may well be a corruption of his original barbarian name — *exempli gratia Μιζίζιος*. But this is admittedly only a conjecture, and there is no supporting evidence from the Greek sources.

(25) E.g. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. Bekker, p. 391, line 2. On this title and its variants cf. R. GUILLAND, *Etude de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Les chefs de la marine byzantine : drongaire de la flotte, duc de la flotte, mégaduc*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 44 (1951), pp. 212-240. On Romanus as admiral, cf. also H. ANTONIADES-BIBICOU, *Etudes d'histoire maritime de Byzance, à propos du*

that Nicephorus II (963-69) at the time has been reigning for four years [26], which clearly indicates that the extant recension of the document dates from the tenth century.

The foregoing comments indicate, it is hoped, that though this Hebrew material does not demand a radical revision of the reconstruction of the history of this period based on the Greek sources, the text provides welcome additions to and confirmations of the latter. Though the text, as we have it, is with great likelihood of Italian origin [27], linguistically at least it belongs to that category of oriental sources which deserves closer study by modern Byzantinists, whose range of vision all too often does not extend beyond the Greek and Latin documentation.

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"Thème des Caravisiens" (Paris, 1966), p. 83, and H. AHRWEILER, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris, 1966), p. 113. Krauss, overlooking even Gelzer's mention that Romanus was admiral of the fleet (p. 979), denies the accuracy of the title שר הספינות — "in Wirklichkeit war es Gross-Hetaireiarchos, d.i. General der ausländischen Gardetruppe" (p. 142, n. 12). To be sure, as part of his rise to power Romanus did receive the title first of *μέγας ἑταιρειάρχης* and then that of *βασιλεοπάτωρ* (*Theoph. Cont.*, p. 394, lines 10, 23).

(26) ניקיפור ... במלכות ... היום ד' שנה (lines 30-31).

(27) This is shown by the "Italianate" spelling of several of the names, the attention devoted in the first part of the text to the emperors of the West in the fifth century, as well as the particular mention of the Frankish occupation of the Lombard duchy of Benevento. (See note 14).

BOGOMILISM IN CONSTANTINOPLE

I

In the Byzantine Empire, all aspects of society reflected the power and influence of the imperial orthodox religion, and social behavior was encouraged, condemned or discussed according to principles derived from Scripture and the Fathers. Since Christianity had become the official religion in the fourth century, it had remained public, and the body of Christians constituted a licit corporation of *utilitas publica* in Roman law (1). Political rivalry, strife between ecclesiastical and secular leaders, litigation over rights to revenue — all forms of confrontation, indeed, occurred in religious guise.

In the field of theology proper the issues seem often to a modern to have caused concern in direct proportion to their narrowness. The phenomenon of "Verschiebung auf das Kleinste", however — the arousing of violent feeling in regard to minute variations in proposed form or language — shows that Byzantine theologians accepted that these variations might represent the most serious moral problems (2).

Any question, then, of social status, responsibility or duties implied consideration of the religious import, and likewise all religious matters

(1) The nature and implications of the change are lucidly discussed by K. F. MORRISON, *Rome and the City of God*, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, n.s. 54, 1 (1964). See also Peter BROWN, *The World of Late Antiquity* (London, 1971), pp. 82-115.

(2) The writings of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite form a response to the spectacle of a personal, internalized religion suddenly becoming the basic form of spiritual expression of an entire culture. Christianity speaks to the individual, and the paradox of Christianity as a state religion elided the distinction between public and private. Hence the importance of the figure of S. Ambrose, who criticized the emperor's public acts on moral grounds, and of Justinian I, who legislated on the most personal beliefs of his subjects (the writer is grateful for insights in this matter provided by Prof. David B. Evans, of St. John's University, in a lecture at Cleveland, October 1975).

deeply affected social conditions. Consequently, a discussion of the problem of Bogomilism as it appeared and developed in the Byzantine capital must at all times keep this modern and artificial gap closed. Our direct sources speak of this heresy in religious terms, because the Byzantines took for granted an understanding of the intertwining of faith and all of daily life. From a modern standpoint, however, we must be willing to go beyond the literal wording and allusions of the texts to overcome the gap, but also the better to exploit our capacity for taking a wider perspective.

II

In the later eleventh century, Byzantium underwent social, economic and political changes with repercussions on the Empire's strategic position in the eastern Mediterranean. These changes were intermeshed with vigorous intellectual and religious ferment. A discussion of the problems concerning the analysis of these developments, as yet little understood, would be out-of-place here, but a few characteristic symptoms will be mentioned in an attempt to outline distinctive features of the society in which Bogomilism is first reported as an active danger to the religious and political order in Constantinople itself (3).

In ca. 1092 the framework of the imperial coinage was thoroughly overhauled, and a new basis of relations between coins was set up. It was suited to the new prevailing conditions and remained in force for more than a century (4). Archaeology also indicates that a marked urban revival was occurring in the twelfth century in Greece proper as well as in the rich, olive-growing river-valleys and coastlands of Anatolia (5).

(3) For the traditional views, see e.g. Georg OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. J. M. Hussey, 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, 1968), ch. VI, part 1 ; and Joan M. HUSSEY, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, in *History of the Crusades*, ed. K. M. Setton, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1969), 2 : 123-51. For the revisionist views, see nn. 5 and 7 below.

(4) Michael F. HENDY, *Coinage and Money in the Byzantine Empire 1081-1261*, Dumbarton Oaks Studies, 12 (New York, 1969).

(5) ID., *Byzantium 1081-1204 : An Economic Reappraisal*, in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 20 (1970), 31-52 ; a thorough critique of the traditional view. Archaeological evidence is discussed on pp. 45-52.

In 1081 the throne had been seized by Alexios Comnenus, a representative of a close-knit grouping of territorial magnates. Whatever, the significance of the power-struggles of the preceding decades, this success of one out of the many competing families had two consequences. The most striking is the revival of the prestige of the emperor. The personal ascendancy of the Comneni was unprecedented in Byzantium. Rebellions were few, and despite the threat of crisis upon the death of the reigning emperor, all of the first three Comnenians sat secure for remarkable spans of time — 99 years in all. In earlier centuries, individual rulers had occasionally achieved a large measure of personal prestige, but this never precluded the possibility of frequent revolts and violent assassinations (6).

The second, and related, consequence is the ending of the infighting between the noble houses which had bedevilled Byzantine politics in the middle and later eleventh century. The nobles either chose close association with the Comneni, giving up a distinctive personal policy, or withdrew from politics. On their country estates, those who close the latter course continued to cultivate mutual relationships which are largely unknown, but which came to light during the 1180's, a period reminiscent of that prior to the accession of Alexios I (7).

(6) John II may have been killed, see Robert BROWNING, *The Death of John II Comnenus*, in *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), 228-35. But the effect of the assassination, if such it was, cannot be compared to that of earlier times. The family prestige of the Comneni was strong enough to override minor discontinuities. A. P. KAŽDAN, *Sotsialnyi Sostav gospodstvuyushchego klassa Vizantii XI-XII vv.* (Moscow, 1974) is an in-depth analysis, based in part on unpublished manuscripts, of changes in leadership personnel in Byzantium ca. 1050-1200, which emphasizes the coherence of this period in contrast to both preceding and subsequent epochs.

(7) KAŽDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 170-78, 265 f. — Prof. John Teall of Mt. Holyoke College suggested in a Cleveland lecture (October 1975) on "The Problem of Byzantine decline: towards a new paradigm", that Byzantine social evolution, marked by institutional stability but subject to phases of discontinuity in leadership groups, was at a level comparable to that of Western Europe in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This lack of synchronization was a chief cause of the mutual ignorance or distrust which marred East-West relations. The calamity of 1204 was more an accident than the result of long planning, the weaknesses of Byzantium were temporary and the Venetians and their fellow-brigands were successful only because they arrived at an opportune time. See also B. EBELS-HOVING, *Byzantium in Westerse Ogen* (Assen, 1971); English summary on pp. 272-85.

Comnenian government, with its emphasis on close ties to the ruling house, had a "feudal" flavor foreign to Byzantine society. The resultant superficial resemblance to the contemporary West should not blind one to the underlying and continuing deep differences between the two cultures, but it undoubtedly aided Byzantine understanding of Western problems and eased individual contacts. By and large, though, East and West remained unfriendly to one another, insofar as each deigned to notice the other's existence at all, and the ease of communications is mentioned here chiefly to draw attention to the possibilities of the spread of Bogomilism to the West.

III

When the Byzantines encountered a new heretical movement, they were concerned to combat it, and thus were eager to find parallels to it in the past history of the Church. Similar symptoms were attributed to similar causes ; the new heresy was given a name of old standing and the writings against the old heresy of the church Fathers were used in battle against the new. The Byzantines found this procedure fully defensible. They lacked our post-romantic "sense of history", for which the interest of the past lies in its difference from the present, and which implies an interest in the past for its own sake. They beheld daily the re-enactment and memorial of Christ's salvific action in the perpetual liturgy of the Great Church in Constantinople or in the chanting of the hours by thousands of monks across the land. If Christ was the same now as at the time of His life on earth, so was his adversary : a heresy which seemed like Massalianism to a twelfth-century Byzantine, to all intents and purposes *was* Massalianism, and the writings of fifth-century Fathers were effective against it.

Consciousness of tradition without a definite sense of history was of course also a phenomenon of Western thought at the time. For both East and West in the Middle Ages, the relevance of history was in the present : its purpose was didactic, entertaining, edifying, informative or all at once. It confirmed the values of society by reassuring the reader or listener of the reality of the guarantee of tradition. Thus Anna Comnena, in describing the achievements of her father Alexios, the emperor, almost always calls them a "restoration" of a supposed past state of affairs. Alexios is presented not as a drastic innovator, but as a true Byzantine emperor in the hallowed meaning

of the phrase, and his only concern is to re-establish the divinely ordained balance of Church and State. Christianity proclaims the intertwining of matter and transcendent reality in the Christ-event ; divine action is outside time and may impinge on our four-dimensional experience in similar ways at moments far from one another in time and place. While the Incarnation radically shifted the basis of history and set up a new goal, it would be wrong to see a notion of material change and "progress" in the secular sense within this period of expectation and preparation for the Parousia (8).

IV

Anna as a source for the affair of Basil the Bogomil

These considerations affect our understanding of Anna's feelings in regard to Basil as well as of her treatment of the episode in the context of her work as a whole. The *Alexiad* is structurally dominated by the need to show Alexios I as the orthodox, competent emperor. In book 15, before describing his final illness and death, Anna provides two examples of his ability in the spheres of *ὅπλα* and *λόγοι* respectively.

15. 1-7 is an account of Alexios' last campaign against the Turks, intermingled with general remarks summing up his strategic and tactical abilities. Here we find the revealing remark : "I for my part consider it courage when victory is gained by cunning, for force of mind and energy are to be condemned if there is no process of reason to inform them, and become mere foolhardiness and not actual bravery" (9). Even in the sphere of *ὅπλα* with which we are here concerned, one cannot do without *λόγοι*. The balance is not equal, and the area of mind controls that which is normally attributed to sheer energy and activity, the *θυμοειδὲς τῆς ψυχῆς* of Platonic psychology (10). The superior man, the ideal Roman emperor, must spend his

(8) In Scripture the time between the Incarnation and the Parousia is called the "day of salvation", see 2 Cor 6 : 2 and its parallels. There can be no concept of change as long as the Parousia is though to be possible at any time ; Mt. 24 : 43, 1 Thes. 5 : 1-3.

(9) Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 15.3.2, ed. B. Leib (Paris, 1945).

(10) Anna was well grounded in Platonism, see *Alexiad*, proem 1.2, and for

forces with economy, since he knows that they are limited. Likewise, his thought must not be entirely abstract. If he is responsible, his thoughts should always be for his duties and his people.

Having summarized the military skills of Alexios, Anna shows us another facet of his omnipresent concern in 15.7, where she describes the founding of the great orphanage of Constantinople. This leads appropriately to the account of Basil the Bogomil.

The description of the orphanage "is not a mere digression, but rather something following naturally in the course of my narrative" ([11]). As a third example of imperial devotion to duty, then, Anna shows us a defeat of heretics and the spectacular destruction of Basil.

The date is missing from the text. Internal evidence, namely the mention of the emperor's brother Isaac, and of the patriarch Nicholas the Grammarian, makes a date ca. 1105 likely ([12]). After completing the account of Basil's death, Anna calls the event "the final deed and achievement of those great labors and works of reconstruction performed by the emperor" and soon after enters upon the story of the emperor's death in 1118 ([13]). This contradicts a dating as early as 1105, such as required by the internal evidence, but one may perhaps conclude that since her structural requirements had led her to place the affair of Basil at this culminating point of her work, and wishing to proceed to the end, Anna used the colorful phrasing somewhat metaphorically.

Her rhetoric in this last passage before the death-bed scene is quite bold. Momentarily she drops the consistent pretense that Alexios was a good old-fashioned emperor, and refers to his career as a *τολμὴ παράδοξος* ([14]). Here she hits the mark. The rise and success of the Comneni symbolized a penetrating social change in Byzantium, and its consequences should lead us to judge the twelfth century in the

Platonism in the middle Byzantine period generally, Hans W. HAUSSIG, *Byzantine Civilization*, trans. J. M. Hussey (London, 1971), pp 324-30.

(11) ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, 15.7.9.

(12) ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, 15.8.4, 5, 6, 10.1. Dmitri OBOLENSKY, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge, 1948), appendix III, pp. 275-76, argues for a date ca. 1110 without taking into account the reference to Isaac.

(13) ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, 15.10.5.

(14) *Ibid.*

East on its own criteria, not on those of the static eighth and ninth centuries.

Anna's language in the episode of Basil itself, to which we now turn, is unusually vehement by comparison with her other accounts of heretical outbreaks (15). Bogomilism is a congeries of the "impiety" (16) of the Manichees and the "turpitude" of the Massalians. The Bogomils are good at aping virtue ; their iniquity extends even to the simulation of goodness, and they are experts at disguising themselves. Basil himself, "a monk by dress", or simply "a monk", "that monk", is the "arch-satrap of Satanael", "possessed by demons", hence shamelessly confident (17).

Most importantly, the extraordinary penalty of death at the stake is invoked against him.

This was no unheard-of measure. In order to distinguish fanatical Bogomils from mere supporters, and to discover whether any of those who denied belonging to the movement secretly still favored it, the emperor resorted to a ruse (18) : two pyres, "seven times the usual size", are lit, and Alexios tells those who have been arrested that they shall all die, it only remains for them to choose death as Bogomils, on an unadorned pyre, or death as Christians, on a pyre surmounted by a Cross. Punishment by death at the stake must have been occasional, or else no one would have believed for a moment in the emperor's threat. Even so, the episode is a notable comment on his personal ascendancy : with seeming impunity and confidence he lets it be known that he will indiscriminately burn a large number of people on the chance that some of them are convinced heretics (19).

(15) The affairs of John Italos (ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, 5.8-9), the Manichees at Philippopolis (*ibid.*, 14.8), and of Nilos and Blachemites (*ibid.*, 10.1).

(16) *Ibid.*, 15.8.1.

(17) *Ibid.*, 15.8.3, 4, 6 ; 10.1-4.

(18) *Ibid.*, 15.9.3-5.

(19) Death at the stake for heresy was known in the early Byzantine period, as is shown by the apparent familiarity of the procedure implied by the wording in *Vita S. Danielis Stylitae*, 83, ed. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels, 1923) ; English translation in Elizabeth DAWES and N. H. BAYNES, *Three Byzantine Saints* (Oxford, 1948). In 1184, Andronicus I Comnenus burned a member of the Comnenus family for conspiracy, but was able to make his punishment seem more merited by having books of magic burned with him. The connection of heresy-

According to Anne, the emperor wished in fact to punish Basil only. The latter, however, remained steadfast in his beliefs, and the synod of the clergy of the capital and the monks demand his death by fire ([20]). The emperor tries at some length to convert Basil to orthodoxy, but fails and accepts the decision of the Church. This picture is at variance with that of the preceding account of the ruse, and can be attributed to Anna's stylistic requirements. The elegance of the ruse as an example of the emperor's cunning demanded its inclusion though it also stands out — for us — as a somewhat negative demonstration of his ruthless personal power.

If Anna is right in letting the synod determine the punishment, that shows that in Byzantium at this time the Chruch was regarded as having the right to impose penalties in its own sphere of interest, doctrine. It also gives us further grounds for assuming that death at the stake was a familiar penalty, since otherwise it would have been an unlikely demand for the synod to make.

Other relevant heretics in the ALEXIAD

In 14.8, Alexios disputes with the Manichees of Philippopolis in Thrace ; again an image of the orthodox emperor following the maxim "fides suadenda non imponenda". The episode shows Manichees (actually descendants of Armenian Paulicians) and Bogomils in possession of territory from which they waged war against the government ([21]). Anna relates these Bogomils to the followers of Basil, which indicates a connection of the latter with the social dissent of later Bulgarian Bogomilism. The occasion also allows Anna to provide a model summary of her father's excellence :

> "My father the emperor, opposing them with all his vast military experience, subjected some bloodlessly and enslaved others by force. What a truly apostolic labor 'did not this doughty hero do and dare' ... Did he neglect the art of war? East and West were filled with rumors

magic-subversive religious fanaticism and the penalty of death at the stake is clear. See Nicetas Choniates, pp. 401-406, Bonn (ed. J. A. van Dieten, as vol. 11 of *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 310-312).

(20) Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, 15.10.1.

(21) *Ibid.*, 14.8.3.

> of his tricks and ruses. Did he despise the power of words? Above all others he took care to study Sacred Scripture that he might sharpen his tongue against the heretics. He alone mingled weapons with words, and on the one hand he defeated the barbarians in war, and on the other he overthrew the foes of God in battles of words, as when he armed himself against the Manichees but in fact undertook an apostolic, and not a military struggle" (22).

If the background of Basil is to be found in Thrace or even Bulgaria, the distinction between the fighting Bogomilism found there in the later eleventh century and the ecstatic charisma of Basil himself must be explained. He appears as a monk gone overboard ; a product of excessive enthusiasm and a wrong-headed response to vocation. Anna, the theologian Euthymios Zigabenos and the summa known as the *Συνοδικὸν Ὀρθοδοξίας* all state that the dualist heretics were heretical before they took the tonsure. The charge of falsely assuming monastic garb is levelled at them by Euthymius and the *Συνοδικόν* (23). Anna does not explicitly accuse Basil himself of direct disguise, and he, for one, may have been a monk before he became a heretic.

His origins, the present writer believes, can be placed either in Constantinople itself or in western Anatolia, where the monk Euthymios *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου* reports widespread dualist activity early in the eleventh century. Zonaras (24) says that Basil underwent instruction in heretical doctrine for fifteen years and then himself taught others for fifty-two years, until he was arrested in Constantinople. That length of time puts his birth at ca. 1020, which accords with Euthymios *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου*'s information (25). Zonaras also calls Basil a doctor

(22) *Ibid.*, 14.8.8. Anna's quotation is of a Homeric hexameter, which could be either *Od.*, 4.242 or 4.271. The collocation of a line of heroic verse with the Christian term "most apostolic" (*ἀποστολικώτατος*) is typical of Anna's Byzantine culture.

(23) This charge is mentioned in the *Συνοδικόν*, lines 363-65, ed. Jean GOUILLARD, *Travaux et Mémoires* 1 (Paris, 1965), by Euthymios *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου*, *Invectiva*, MPG, 131 : 49a, 53d, and by EUTHYMIOS ZIGABENOS, *Πανόπλια Δογματική*, MPG, 130 : 1288. The custom can have had two purposes : disguise — to deceive outsiders and facilitate movement, and distinction — as a special mark of advanced status in the heretical community.

(24) P. 243 f. Bonn (18.23).

(25) EUTHYMIOS, *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου*, MPG, 131 : 49.

(ἰατρός). Euthymios Zigabenos tells us the same (26). The occupation of doctor was often found joined with a monastic vocation. If Basil, a wandering monk, had met with disapproval by the regular clergy, he might have chosen a doctor's work as a helpful camouflage.

In 10.1 and 10.6 Anna mentions two other monks, Nilos and Blachernites, who were caught by the emperor and delivered up to the Church for condemnation. Both arrived in Constantinople, became popular among members of the "great houses" (same phrase, ἐν μεγίσταις οἰκίαις 10.1.2, 6), and were then arrested. The sequence is the same as that in Basil's case. First the emperor, vigilant vindicator of orthodoxy, learns from his informants that a heretic is about. He than engages the machinery of government to arrest the person, attempts to convince him of his error, and only then turns to the Church authorities for action. Neither Nilos nor Blachernites are threatened with the death penalty, though : this feature is specific to Basil's case.

Indirect sources for the Bogomilism of Basil

In the *Πανόπλια Δογματική* of Euthymios Zigabenos, commissioned by Alexios after Basil's death, the titles 26 and 27 deal with Massalianism and Bogomilism, followed by the final title 28, dealing with Islam. This suggests that the two former heresies were thought of as being on the very verge of Christianity itself, and in a category different from the traditional Christological and other heresies.

Since later in the twelfth century, the heresy calles "Bogomil" shows traces of doctrine resembling that of the Massalians in Euthymios, as well as of regular Bogomil teaching, the two may be treated together. Euthymios himself calls Bogomilism "a part of Massalianism". The main difference is that the Bogomils, according to Euthymios, had a developed complex demonology and an intricate creation-legend, whereas the Massalians are of an antisacerdotal streak. The Bogomils are mystical and introverted, the Massalians concerned to criticize the Church in society, just as were the original Bulgarian Bogomils. In Bulgaria, Bogomilism to some extent became

(26) MPG, 130 : 1289.

a movement of dissent against and dissociation from the Byzantinized clergy of the tenth century. The demonology of Euthymios' Bogomilism seems to be a combination of Bulgarian pagan and primitive heretical traditions and impulses from Near Eastern popular beliefs (27).

Massalians deny the validity of baptism and claim that the demons inhabiting all men can only be exorcized through prayer (28). The Bogomils also say that all men, except those of their own sect who have received special treatment, are possessed by demons. Massalians also teach that all men have two souls, one common and earthly, one heavenly and spiritual (29). They allow themselves to be ordained priests under false pretenses, as they see this as a way of gaining influence and access to possible disciples, and they dress as monks for the same purposes of deception (30). As for the Bogomils, when they travel and visit orthodox Christians, they do not keep the fasts normally enjoined by their doctrine, lest they reveal themselves (31).

Significant features are common to the Bogomils and the Massalians in Euthymios, and these are all such as would case their movement throughout Byzantium and their access to hearers. Alexios does seem to have had some difficulty in actually laying hands on Basil (32). If we recall the following gained by the Bogomils "even in the greatest houses", two possible conclusions emerge regarding this episode of Byzantine Bogomilism.

It seemed to fill a need. The complex demonology, the intricate scriptural exegesis, the antisacerdotalism and reliance on secret ritual,

(27) OBOLENSKY, *Bogomils*, pp. 182-88. For the background of popular lore in Bulgaria and the Near East, see respectively Nullo MINISSI, *La tradizione apocrifa e le origini del bogomilismo*, in *Richerche Slavistiche*, 3 (1954), 97-113 and Salih H. ALIĆ, *Der Neumanichäismus und verwandte heterodoxe Bewegungen in Vorderasien*, in *Balcanica*, IV (1973), 95-111. The theory of Ivan Dujcev, that Bulgarian Bogomilism had a strong undercurrent of pagan dualist and mystical lore, strongly reinforced by the arrival of the Petchenegs, has so far as I know not found support : see I. DUJCEV, *Quelques observations à propos des courants dualistes*, in *Studi veneziani*, 12 (1970), 107-25.

(28) MPG, 130 : 1276-77.

(29) MPG, 130 : 1309.

(30) MPG, 130 : 1288, and see n. 23 above.

(31) MPG, 130 : 1320.

(32) ANNA COMNENA, *Alexiad*, 15.8.3.

spoke to requirements that the organized hierarchy and the monasteries were no longer fulfilling. The satires on monkish foibles of the later twelfth century, and Eustathius of Thessalonica's lament on the condition of monasticism corroborate this impression (33).

The social implications are important. Bogomilism and its sectarian developments represented a budding counterculture, a subversive alternative to the traditional channels of piety. Thus it was as severe a danger in Constantinople as it had been in Bulgaria. That danger was annulled when Bulgaria was conquered and Bogomilism there became part of the anti-Byzantine movement (34). But in Constantinople it remained serious, and the reaction of the authorities is seen in Anna's account. The social danger was not apparent to the Byzantines themselves, but they were certain that something was deeply wrong, and that the harshest measures were in order to fight it.

The second consideration concerns the reasons for the success of Bogomilism in Constantinople at that specific time, ca. 1100. Recalling the state of the formerly influential circles in the capital after the Comnenian takeover, we can see an immediate political reason for it (35). For the devout Byzantines who were not finding satisfaction, Bogomilism was an interesting alternative. For the political losers of the 1081 dénouement, members of other landed houses and the civil nobility which had come to the fore in the later eleventh century, Bogomilism was an avenue of dissent masked in a spiritual form, but with possible chances of a change at the top in its favor. Basil may have followed the emperor's agents meekly because he really believed that the emperor wished to hear his teaching : a convert on the throne would certainly ensure improvements in their own circumstances.

In discussing the fall of the patriarch Cosmas II Attikos in 1147 (see below), Nicetas Choniates alleges a fear on the part of leading personages in the emperor Manuel I's entourage that the patriarch belonged to a group that wished to depose Manuel and enthrone his

(33) HAUSSIG, *Byzantine Civilization*, pp. 324, 338. See also Hans-Georg BECK, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich, 1971), pp. 101-105. Eustathius' work can be found in his *Opuscula*, ed. Frider (Frankfurt am Main, 1832, repr. Amsterdam, 1964).

(34) OBOLENSKY, *Bogomils*, pp. 172 f., 188-92.

(35) KAŽDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 105-113.

elder brother Isaac (36). This fear apparently was plausible, and may provide a parallel to the construction of events around 1100 given above. Since, as mentioned at the outset of this paper, the Byzantines saw religion as the prime force in society, our documentation cannot directly throw light on this specualtion : we are left with Anna's vehemence and the sense of secrecy implied by Euthymios. Such traits seem to mean that the affair had deeper roots, but also warn against over-elaborate theories. Anna would not have wasted the opportunity to display her father's skill if there had been a fullblown plot in the making. The adoption of Bogomilism by disgruntled nobles in Constantinople was primarily a religious sign of dissociation from the regime. They may have hoped that advantages would come of it, but had they been really desperate they would have resorted to stronger measures.

V

After Basil's death Bogomilism goes underground until the 1140's, when we again possess direct records. Similarity in the teaching described implies that a body of oral or written testimony of Bogomil-Massalian theology survived, but nothing can be said of the nature and circumstances of this survival. Bogomilism also traveled to the West during this time, and is also active in Bulgaria. The activity of the 1140's may be the climax of its influence in Constantinople.

Constantine Chrysomallos

In 1140 a synod in Constantinople condemned the opinions of a certain Constantine Chrysomallos, ordered his writings to be burned and his followers dispersed. The condemnation is recorded in Mansi's collection (37), and is our only direct source for the event (38).

(36) Nicetas, pp. 106-109, Bonn, 79-82, van Dieten.

(37) *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* (Florence, 1758-98 ; repr. Paris, 1903), 21 : 551-60.

(38) At least until the relevant portions of Nicetas Choniates' revision of Euthymios Zigabenos' *Πανόπλια Δογματική* is edided. See J. A. van Dieten, *Zur Über-*

The teaching of Chrysomallos, insofar as it is correctly stated in the synodal decision, can be summarized as follows : For any act to be good, it must be informed by a *νοερὰ αἴσθησις* of the Holy Spirit. The collocation of two words derived from *νοῦς* and *αἴσθεσθαι* respectively is a paradox when seen under the angle of the traditional Byzantine separation of mind from matter, spirit from sensation (39). It does link up with the more recent trends in Byzantine mysticism. Chrysomallos claimed that conventional baptism was insufficient for salvation, and a baptism of the Spirit must also be conferred, bringing about this *νοερὰ αἴσθησις* and also an *αἰσθητὴ νοήσις, ἔκλαυψις* or *ἀποκάλυψις*. This mystical training would be confirmed by a laying-on of hands, a sign that the believer was now truly saved, and that his good acts would be truly good, being performed in the Holy Spirit *φυσικῶς τε καὶ ἀνωδυνῶς ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργοῦν τὸ ἀγαθόν*. Laying-on of hands also helped to exorcize evil demons, and might be carried out by so-called *ἐπισκευασταί* ; finally it conferred grace, which comes by faith, not works.

We do not hear of a large following, yet the teaching of Chrysomallos presumes a sizeable body of believers with a hierarchy of exorcists and ministers to confer the mystical sacraments described. His belief in two souls is also that of the Massalians ; likewise the exorcism. Chrysomallos, then, had access to the presumed tradition in Constantinople of Bogomil teaching, which he seems to have mingled with phraseology derived from orthodox mysticism, e.g. from S. Symeon the New Theologian, who distinguished between baptism by water and by the Spirit in a way which implied the possibility of a real distinction (40). A heterodox development of these ideas could lead to

lieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia Dogmatike des Niketas Choniates, Zetemata Byzantina, 3 (Amsterdam, 1970), which contains an edition of the table of contents of Nicetas' work.

(39) See Gervase MATHEW, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London, 1963 ; repr. New York, 1971), esp. chapter 3.

(40) The whole question of the echoes of S. Symeon in Chrysomallos is the subject of a fine article by Jean GOUILLARD, *Constantin Chrysomallos sous le masque de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, 5 (1973), 313-327, which touches on many aspects of heresy and mysticism during the twelfth century and opens new avenues of research. See also John MEYENDORFF, *Byzantine Theology* (New York, 1974), pp. 74 f.

the opinion that the two baptisms were separate in time and hence that both were necessary.

Chrysomallos in introducing the vocabulary of orthodox mysticism attempted a refinement of Bogomil teaching along the lines of that tradition. His connection to "real" Bogomilism is still very close (41). In Byzantium, Bogomilism had found strong intellectual competition, which might provoke an elaboration of doctrine to improve its chances of success. Some features of Bogomilism were also well fitted to be correlated with mainstream orthodox thought (42). In discussing the arrival of Bogomilism in Constantinople one must also bear in mind the impact of this on the sect itself and on its view of its own place and function in society. Joining in the regular theological tradition of dissent and debate was one possibility for Bogomils in the capital, the other being a decisive rejection of that tradition and the continuation of a subversive, countercultural position. Chrysomallos represents those who close the former.

Other heretics of the 1140's

There is no further evidence of a theological Bogomilism in Constantinople, and in Bulgaria, the movement maintained a decisive opposition to the established clergy and political authorities (43).

The existence of these choices may have caused a division in the movement in Constantinople. The heretics now to be discussed are of a very different stamp from Chrysomallos. They are rustic monks, with close ties to Cappadocia, propagating a mitigated dualism in the

(41) Milan Loos, *Certains aspects du bogomilisme byzantin des XIe et XIIe siècles*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, 28 (1967), 39-53, takes the opposite view.

(42) For the latter, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition* 2 (Chicago, 1974), pp. 31-34, 255-61. According to M. Loos, *The Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague, 1974), pp. 89-91, "no artificial philosophical system could come out of such a milieu", namely that of Basil with its "apocryphal legends and folk demonology, where idiosyncratic interpretations of biblical texts are the result of the meditation of simple minds". The present paper contends that the milieu of Basil contained followers of the half-pagan, primitive persuasion as well as more sophisticated individuals — the evidence of Zigabenos intermingles primitive and lurid mythology with notions derived from orthodox mysticism.

(43) Obolensky, *Bogomils*, ch. 6.

capital apparently with some success. It is not known how long they preached in the capital before being arrested, but Niphon the monk seems to have been active for about four years.

Two possibilities could explain this heretical outbreak : either an uninterrupted connection to Cappadocia, or to Anatolia in general, persisted from the early eleventh century and the time of Euthymios *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου*, or the heretical monks of the 1140's constitute a unique effort by sectarians of Cappadocia to gain a foothold in the capital.

If the former is true, we must explain the continuity of the connection through the upheavals of the Turkish raids and the beginning of permanent Turkish settlement in Asia Minor. The assumption of a steady stream of wandering preachers with roots eastward did allow us to place Basil in a context, namely that of Anatolian Bogomilism (44). Much of Bogomil demonology seems also to have roots in Near Eastern religious movements. Even the name given by Euthymios *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου* to the Phrygian dualists, the "Phundagiagitae", can be derived from that of an old Islamic dualist sect, the "Fida'i" (45). If such influence were present in Bogomilism in Constantinople, there may have grown up a split between the Western-oriented, Byzantine wing, developing its teaching along the accepted lines of theological debate, and an unregenerate Oriental wing, more totally opposed to society and representing a distinctively subversive approach. This wing would rely on eastward connections for support and for inflow of new teaching and adherents. The existence of such a wing is made plausible by the alleged strength of heretical sects in Cappadocia in the 1140's : a continuous traffic of people and information from the capital back east would help keep the movement vigorous and preserve ties between its members.

If there was no firm connection between dualist heresy in Cappadocia and Constantinople until shortly before 1143, the date of our evidence, the very presence of the monks as well as the involvement of the patriarch become difficult to explain. The certain connections between Bogomil dualism in Phrygia in the early eleventh century and

(44) Nina GARSOÏAN, *Byzantine Heresy : a Reinterpretation*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 25 (1971), 85-113. For Basil see pp. 89-93.

(45) ALIĆ, *Der Neumanichäismus*, pp. 105-109.

the capital is itself support of a kind for positing Cappadocia as a cultural zone in contact with heresy in Constantinople in the mid-twelfth century. The necessary conditions for this contact are a comparative ease of travel, of transmission of oral or written doctrinal matter or mythological teaching, and a good degree of cross-fertilization in the capital itself with other religious movements. These conditions accord with the external evidence (46).

In 1143, two monks, Clement of Sasima and Leontios of Balbissa, who had been uncanonically ordained bishops, were seized on charges of spreading Bogomilism. They had been propounding their teaching in Cappadocia, and had set it forth in a lengthy letter "to the clergy and all the lay leaders and governors of the metropolis of Tyana". They preached abstinence from sexual intercourse and the consumption of meat, fish, milk and wine for three years, after which all of the above right be enoyed without fear of perdition. As monks they taught that the tonsure was necessary for salvation, and they approved of marriage-partners taking vows without the consent of their spouses. Their followers dug "up the buried remains of Christians" in fanatical zeal, believing that unrepentant sinners, i.e. those who had not received the Bogomil teaching, were not fit to be buried. Leontios and Clement finally repudiated the worship of any Cross not inscribed "Jesus Christ the Son of God" as well as baptism by unfit priests. They allowed deaconesses to administer the Eucharist and to perform the office of Readings (47).

As a whole, these teachings resemble the extrovert, direct antisacerdotalism of Zigabenos' Massalians rather than the mystic Bogomilism with its demonology and allegorical exegesis. The demand for abstinence from bodily pleasures with the addition that after a specified time they may be enjoyed without restraint is a feature of original fifth-century Massalianism (but due to the convenience of the doctrine a direct transmission in any strong sense should probably not be assumed). The two-souls doctrine of

(46) There is an extensive literature on Cappadocia, of which much is cited by S. VRYONIS, Jr., *The Decline of Medieval Hellenism in Asia Minor* ... (Berkeley, 1971), see esp. pp. 194-215.

(47) The evidence in Mansi 21 : 584-88.

Chrysomallos, also found in Zigabenos and attributed there to the Massalians, is close to the idea of Clement and Leontios that the sinless soul would through three years' abstinence attain such a degree of dissociation from the body that no indulgence would endanger it.

The synodal acts do not refer to any large corpus of legendary material, but it is intrinsically unlikely that the points enumerated are the only areas of divergence from orthodoxy. The evidence for a large-scale religious movement in Cappadocia is incontrovertible.

The Monk Niphon was condemned by a synod on 6 October 1143 to deportation and imprisonment in the monastery *τοῦ Περιβλέπτου*. He had written a letter to the inhabitants of Cappadocia calling the local hierarchy heretical. He possessed an unidentified mass of heterodox writings which were ordered to be confiscated.

Despite his imprisonment, he continued to exercise influence and presently reappeared in the streets of the capital, denying the Real Presence in the Eucharist, cursing the Old Testament God and calling Clement and Leontios "orthodox and pious men". For this he was condemned again, probably in February of 1147, this time to confinement "in a more quiet place" (48).

Two contemporary historians have provided additional evidence that Cosmas II Attikos, patriarch of Constantiople, was a supporter and friend of Niphon and deeply involved in his heresy (49). Cosmas is presented by both Nicetas Choniates and John Cinnamus as a simple and holy man, well versed in Scripture but an innocent in the cruel world of Constantinopolitan power-politics. For some unexplained reason he fell in with Niphon, a mistake which was used by enemies as a pretext for slandering him to the emperor Manuel I, recently master of the throne and an eager theologian. The pious patriarch was removed from office, and departed after having cursed the empress with childlessness. She duly failed to bear sons, a consequence fraught with future danger for the Empire.

This evidence raises questions. Who were the powerful enemies of the patriarch, and, if he was as holy as the historians say, where

(48) IBID., 21 : 597-604.

(49) JOANNES CINNAMUS, *Historiae*, pp. 63-66, Bonn (2.10) ; there is a French translation by E. Rosenblum (Paris, 1972). See also NICETAS, pp. 106-109, Bonn.

would he get enemies at all ? What was the strong tie between him and Niphon which held up even when it was clear that the emperor was displeased by it? What, finally, were the arguments used against the patriarch to incur the imperial anger?

Nicetas mentions one enemy, the admiral John Contostephanos, a close associate of the emperor. At the scene of the patriarch's deposition, he showed great eagerness and even threatened Cosmas with physical violence. Nicetas interprets this as an attempt to win favor from the emperor, since it was assumed that such a gesture of righteous indignation or behelf of the empress (whom the patriarch had just cursed) would be well received. However, the emperor and his relatives who were present strongly reprimanded the admiral ([50]).

The patriarch, then, had enemies in the emperor's entourage who were able to bring a case against him which was strong enough to cause the emperor to take action. As to reasons for their hostility, we are told by Nicetas that the emperor's elder brother, the sebastokrator Isaac Comnenos, had been paying his respects to the patriarch and serving him in all matters. Isaac was at the same time supposed to have been plotting to get the throne, and the implication followed that the patriarch was involved. Nicetas does not say that Niphon was connected to any such plot but merely that Cosmas' ties to the heretical monk were used as a pretext to gain the emperor's attention.

Normally, the fact of a plot against the throne would be enough of a danger in itself to warrant action without the need of referring to an obscure heretic to convince the emperor. One may conclude (accepting the fact of a plot), that Niphon was himself involved, so that the patriarch's enemies might prefer this roundabout route. Direct action against a figure as respected as Cosmas might have involved the risk of civil unrest, playing into the hands of the plotters. Manuel, then, struck at Niphon believing that Cosmas would be bound to intervene and afford him an opportunity to overthrow him also. In the narrative of Cinnamus, Cosmas is shown trying to prevent Niphon's arrest : their mutual bond was close indeed.

The patriarch may have been as much of a harmless figurehead as anything else. His origin was the civil nobility, a fluid group interested in maintaining a hold on high office in Church and State, and

(50) NICETAS, *ibid.*

willing, if the risks were not too great, to oppose attempts by the Comnenian clan to monopolize positions of control (51). As in the case of Basil, the political possibilities of the time play an important part in the forming of any estimate of the significance of religious dissent.

The relations with Cappadocia must remain rather obscure. The conventional image of Anatolia in the twelfth century is of lands premanently lost and largely impenetrable to Byzantine cultural influences. The fact that Anatolia *was*, in the end, lost, has played too great a part in shaping this image (52). It seems that the importance attributed to Anatolia has exaggerated the actual value of the central plateau to Byzantium in the later eleventh century. Traditionally, Byzantine studies have tended to hold that Anatolia was the guarantee of political and strategic success, and that its loss must entail irreversible decline and weakness overall. However valid the idea of Anatolia as the heartland of the empire is for an assessment of the earlier centuries, when imperial control of European territory was exiguous at best, it should nevertheless be shunned as regards the time after ca. 1050. Byzantium was returning to Greece, both intellectually and materially ; the orientation of the empire became increasingly westward, and its economic and spiritual heartland was henceforth the provinces girding the Aegean, the cradle of classical Hellenic civilization (53).

The loss of Asia Minor was a slow process. The civilian population of Cappadocia in the mid-twelfth century was subject to the arbitrary impositions of ephemeral Turkish warlords, mutually jostling for

(51) Names of families formed from the names of large geographical areas occur both in the military and civil nobility ; see KAŽDAN, *Sostav*, pp. 185-95, 204.

(52) Claude CAHEN, *La première pénétration turque en Asie Mineure*, in *Byzantion*, 18 (1948), 5-67 ; ID., *The Turkish Invasion : the Selchükids*, in K. M. SETTON, ed., *History of the Crusades*, 2nd ed. (Madison, 1969), 1 : 135-76, esp. pp. 147-53, 159 f., 163 f.

(53) HENDY, *Byzantium 1081-1204*, (see n. 5), pp. 32-34 and passim. Until the mid-eleventh century Anatolia was largely agricultural. The dynamic growth economy of the twelfth century, however, relied on cities along the coast, i.e. in zones which the Comneni were in fact concerned to protect. The central plateau had ceased to be of importance, and Byzantine strategic and economic planning ignored it.

power and influence, but there was no consistent anti-Christian policy on their part. Churches were often the object of plunder by the Turks, but the Byzantines were sometimes able to force the Sultan of Iconion to guarantee the safety of his Christian subjects. These constituted a majority of the population, so to have driven them all off would have been suicidal for the Turks, as they would thereby have destroyed their own basis of existence.

The church administration suffered severely in this unstable situation. Often priests and bishops could not enter Turkish-dominated lands, and assistant, itinerant priests, called *περιοδευταί*, were commissioned to cater to urgent spiritual needs and to "watch over the mistakes of the soul" (an allusion to the prevalence of heresy?) (54).

In this context arose the movement to which Clement, Leontios and Niphon belonged. Inspired in their devotions by legends and other impulses from the east, the local leaders may well have developed a self-contained teaching, which made churches unnecessary and ignored formal sacraments in favor of tight-knit social groupings aimed at self-preservation. The general traffic of pilgrims, crusaders and Byzantine military units along the coast shows that routes of travel were open, and proponents of the local teaching would find it easy to get to the capital (55).

VI

The present paper has taken the view that Bogomilism underwent a significant change after the fall of the First Bulgarian Empire in the last years of the tenth century. In obtaining free access to Byzantine lands, it could not escape taking over some traditional appurtanances of Byzantine theological debate. In Anatolia, we find an anti-sacerdotal, secretive dualism in the early eleventh century, appearing

(54) Speros VRYONIS, Jr., *Decline of Medieval Hellenism*, pp. 157, 170 f., 184, 194-216, 501.

(55) "We are apt to forget how frequently men and woman travalled in the middle ages" — Sir Steven RUNCIMAN in the *Cambridge Medieval History*, 4, 2 (Cambridge, 1967), p. 360. Jonathan SUMPTION, *Pilgrimage* (London, 1975), is an interesting study of the religious and social importance of the phenomenon of pilgrimage, which was the foremost type of travel in the Middle Ages.

as a widespread, mystical doctrine based on a fixed and elaborate oral or written body of lore. It encountered and partly absorbed influences from the Near East as well as from the so-called Massalian heresy in Constantinople. A wandering doctor and monk, Basil (perhaps born in Anatolia ca. 1020), joins the movement and becomes its most efficient disciple until his capture and execution ca. 1105. In his time the heresy, hitherto primarily rustic, enters Constantinople and achieves success in disaffected noble circles, partly on account of its intrinsic appeal to mystically inclined persons and partly to the political circumstances of the late eleventh century.

Constantinople had been the scene of severe theological controversy, and some of the Bogomils joined this battle of words, adopting the vocabulary of traditional Byzantine mysticism. Another portion of the sectarians repudiated any close relations with established theology and pursued a more ecstatic, antisacerdotal teaching. Some of the latter group kept contact with lay and religious sects in Cappadocia, and even went so far as to attempt the institution of a heretical hierarchy (the "ordination" of Clement and Leontios).

The spread of the teaching occurred through itinerant monks and pilgrims. An oral rather than a written tradition probably prevailed since monks in general scorned learning, and the Bogomils in particular looked askance at orthodox theology with its heavy reliance on literary traditions. It is impossible to say what were the havens of refuge of these heretics, whether the houses of lay nobles as in Cathar Languedoc or hermitages and monasteries sympathetic to the movement.

Looking ahead, a remarkable proof of the vitality of dualist sectarianism in Byzantine territory is provided by the acts of the heretical council of St.-Félix-de-Caraman in the Lauragais region of Languedoc in 1167 ([56]). The document indicates a viable hierarchy in the heretical movement, with its main centers in Constantinople itself and in two locations in Slavonic territory. From Constantinople came the leader of the movement, a certain "papas" or priest with the Greek name of Nicetas, to ordain ministers of his teaching and generally organize the movement in the Languedoc-Lombardy area. If

(56) Loos, *Dualist Heresy*, ch. 7, discusses the document from the eastern point of view.

the document is reliable, it shows that individuals such as Clement, Leontios and Niphon were only single members of a much larger and well-organized grouping, and that they acted not so much on their own behalf as in the character of apostles of a fixed teaching. That hey, and not others, exposed themselves sufficiently to call forth a reaction from the official authorities, was largely a matter of chance. While this paper is not concerned to explore the ramifications of dualism in Western Europe, it may be noted that the authenticity of the acts of St.-Félix is strengthened by an examination of the antecedents of Byzantine Bogomilism, that those acts themselves provide added support for the theory of popularity and continuity of the movement in the east and that this in turn throws light on the whole question of religious interaction of East and West in the twelfth century. The very great degree of coincidence, even in matters of detail, between the teaching of the Byzantine Bogomils as recounted in Anna and the acts of condemnation, and what we know of Cathar teaching in Languedoc — independently of the acts of St.-Félix — constitutes added evidence in this regard (57)).

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(57) The writer wishes to thank Professor Charles Brand, in whose seminar on Medieval Heresy this paper originated, for invaluable comments and criticism of an earlier draft. Needless to say, this does not imply his agreement with any of the views expressed, or any responsibility on his part for its multiple imperfections.

ALEXIOS KOMNENOS AND THE ENGLISH

The two states of Byzantium and England, at opposite ends of the medieval Christian world, were seldom in close communication with each other, although there were occasional and sometimes very interesting contacts throughout the thousand years of Byzantine history. More than at any other period, it was in the late eleventh century that Anglo-Byzantine relations accelerated rapidly. A number of narratives and other documents relating to this era provide revealing insights as to how each group viewed the other. It is particularly interesting to see how English (and Anglo-Norman) sources portray the Emperor Alexios Komnenos who reigned through most of this period, 1081-1118.

The half-century just before Alexios seized the throne in 1081 is sometimes spoken of as the Byzantine Time of Troubles ; within fifty-six years, fourteen Emperors reigned, most of them very briefly, while only a few of them managed to die a natural death, still in power. In addition, there were several formidable pretenders to the throne who never reached Constantinople. Among these unsuccessful claimants was one George Maniakes, who rebelled against the Emperor Constantine Monomachos and was killed in battle in 1043. At this point, English contact with the Byzantine Empire was so limited that the false notion was circulated that "Maniches" was an authentic Emperor of the Greeks, and biographers of St. Edward the Confessor, drawing from a common source some years later, insist that "Maniches" was reigning in Constantinople in 1060 (1).

Although the name of the Emperor is wrong (for in 1060 Constantinople was securely in the hands of Constantine Doukas), it is

(1) Frank BARLOW, ed. and trans., *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster* (London, 1962), pp. 66 ff. including notes. See also, Christine FELL, *The Icelandic Saga of Edward the Confessor : The Hagiographic Sources*, in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 249-251.

interesting to consider whether there is some glimmer of truth in the story of St. Edward's embassy to the Byzantine court : if so, it is the earliest known official embassy from an English king to the Eastern Emperor.

St. Edward, his biographers report, once had a vision that the famous Seven Sleepers of Ephesus had turned over in their cave. Popular fancy in medieval times perpetrated the widespread legend of these seven youths. They had hidden in a cave, it was believed, to escape the persecutions of the Roman Emperor Decius ; there they fell asleep and when they awakened a century later, they found the Empire had become Christian. After that, they promptly died of old age, were buried in their cave in Ephesus, and even so often, they were reported to turn over, an omen of disasters to follow.

St. Edward must have known this story. When he informed three of his close friends of his vision, they decided to send envoys to the Emperor of the Greeks to see what was happening in Ephesus. In due time they reached Constantinople, were lavishly entertained by "Maniches", and then went on to Ephesus with letters from the Emperor. There, the church authorities showed them the relics of the sleepers and agreed that they had indeed all turned over recently.

While it is easy to dismiss the whole story as fantasy, it is also conceivable given the thinking of the times, that the Byzantine Emperor actually received such English envoys and that their glimpse of the holy relics in Ephesus was prompted by tactful diplomacy.

Once launched on the subject of Constantinople, the biographers of St. Edward add that Maniches was the first of "five who successively deposed each other, the other four being Diogenes, Michael, Butinacius and Alexis" (2). Suddenly the writers' knowledge of Byzantine affairs has become considerably more accurate. Romanos Diogenes, Michael Doukas, Nikephoros Botaneiates, and Alexios Komnenos follow in that order, and the first three were indeed dethroned by revolution. The great upheavals foreshadowed by the Seven Sleepers might seem to be fulfilled as Byzantium went through the worst of its Time of Troubles in the late 1060's and on into the 1070's.

For the English, too, these were uneasy decades. In the years that followed the Norman Conquest of 1066, many Anglo-Saxons,

(2) BARLOW, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

miserable under the new regime, left home to seek their fortunes elsewhere. Among these refugees were a considerable number who went to Constantinople, where mercenary soldiers of fortune from many lands were being recruited to follow the Byzantine banner in the Empire's struggle against external enemies : Turks, Patzinaks, and Sicilian Normans, to say nothing of the rival claimants to the throne's struggles against each other.

A question of considerable uncertainty is that of when English mercenaries first enlisted in the service of Byzantium, and it is one to which much scholarly attention has been devoted. Along with other peoples of northern Europe, Scandinavians and Russians, the Anglo-Saxons in the Byzantine army were often described as Varangians. It was the Emperor Basil II (976-1025) who organized the Varangians as a special unit, but the indications are that in Basil's day, the troop was largely if not entirely Russian (3). By the time of Michael IV (1034-1041), the Varangian guard also included many Scandinavians, and it is just possible that there were among them Anglo-Danes who had left England after the death of King Canute (4).

In the decades following Michael IV, scholars have found a number of slim clues and from them engendered hypotheses on the increasing presence of English mercenaries in Byzantium. As will be seen, there are indications that some arrived during the reign of Michael Doukas (1071-78) ; it has even been suggested that Michael wrote to William the Conqueror asking him for aid, although documentary evidence is lacking (5). The Byzantine sources disconcertingly continue to refer generally to mercenaries from Northern Europe as Varangians without clear distinction as to nationality.

One exception is found in a writing called "Admonition to the Emperor", ascribed to the Byzantine Kekaumenos. This is a work of uncertain date, although it is believed to come from Michael Doukas' reign. In one passage, the author warns the Emperor against

(3) B. S. Benedikz, *The Evolution of the Varangian Regiment in the Byzantine Army*, in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 62 (1969), 20-24.

(4) Alexander A. Vasiliev, *The Opening Stages of the Anglo-Saxon Immigration to Byzantium in the Eleventh Century*, in *Annales de l'Institut Kondakov*, 9 (1937), 45.

(5) Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *L'Émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066*, in *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 32 (1974), 309.

bestowing high office upon the foreigner who has come from England (6). While the reading of Kekaumenos' text at this point has been challenged (7), if it is authentic it gives us the first clear statement from the Byzantine side that Englishmen were enrolling in the imperial army, and rising to high position there.

Some years later, the Byzantine historian, Caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, gives another clue which may pertain to the matter of English mercenaries. The axe-bearing barbarians from the regions near the Ocean, he says, were "loyal to the Emperor from days of old" (8). Since at this point he is writing about events in the reign of Michael Doukas, it would be particularly helpful to know if he meant to include the English Varangians in this description, but Byzantine reluctance to mar fine rhetoric with barbaric names prevailed over accuracy of historical detail.

Fortunately, the English presence in the Byzantine army is better attested in the reign of Michael's successor, the Emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates. In a monastic exemption charter of 1080, Botaneiates specifically lists Ἄγγλινοι among the foreign mercenary troops whom the monastery would not be required to shelter (9).

These facts nothwithstanding, it was during the reign of the great Emperor Alexios Komnenos who came to the throne in 1081, restored order and reigned for nearly forty years, that the English won

(6) V. VASILIEVSKY and V. JERNSTADT, eds., *Cecaumeni Strategicon et incerti scriptores De officiis regiis libellii* (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 95.

(7) P. LEMERLE, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des Conseils et Récits de Kékauménos*, in *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*, 54 (Brussels, 1960), 6, 19-20, proposed that the text should not read ἐξ Ἀγγέλης but ἐξ ἀγέλης, "from the common herd". See also, CIGGAAR, *L'Émigration anglaise*, pp. 308-309 ; Jonathan SHEPARD, *The English and Byzantium : A Study of their Role in the Byzantine Army in the Later Eleventh Century*, in *Traditio*, 29 (1973), 64.

(8) Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, *Commentarii*, ed. Augustus Meineke (Bonn, 1836), p. 45 and Nicéphore BRYENNIOS, *Histoire*, Introduction, texte, traduction et notes par Paul Gautier (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, IX, series Bruxellensis), *Byzantion*, Bruxelles, 1975, p. 123, 13-14 et p. 122, note 4.

(9) Franz DOLGER, in a note reviewing Vasiliev's "Opening Stages", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 38 (1938), 235-236, was the first to point out the significance of the English in this charter. Prior to Dölger's discovery, the earliest noted mention of the English is such a charter dated from 1088 in a document issued by Alexios Komnenos to the Monastery of Patmos.

fame as particularly valuable troops. Meanwhile, Alexios secured a place in the English (and Anglo-Norman) lore of the time as a wise and generous Emperor and a brave soldier. Even the later hatred engendered by Western Crusaders who gained less pleasant impressions of Alexios did not entirely destroy the favorable traditions of him that must have originated with the English Varangians.

Before he became Emperor, Alexios Komnenos served with distinction as an officer in the Byzantine army under Michael Doukas and Nikephoros Botaneiates (10). During these years, Alexios had ample occasion to learn of the unreliability of certain Western mercenaries in imperial service, particularly Normans and Scandinavians. It has been suggested that these experiences made Alexios as Emperor more inclined than ever to seek help from another group and that the people he chose to favor in this way were the English (11).

It is unfortunate that the best Byzantine source for Alexios' reign tells us almost nothing about his English policy. This source is *The Alexiad*, the history of his reign written by his scholarly daughter, the Princess Anna Komnene. Like most educated Byzantines, including her husband and fellow historian Bryennios, Anna hated to spoil her Greek rhetoric by the use of barbaric foreign names. Consequently the few times the British do appear in her book, they are described by a term such as "men of far-famed Thule". Anna reports that such men of Thule were present in Constantinople, in Botaneiates' guard, when her father became Emperor in 1081 (12). While some of Anna's commentators have asserted that *Θούλη* could mean Scandinavia just as well as England (13), it is to be noticed that elsewhere she adds that "far-famed Thule" was one a part of the imperial domain (14). From

(10) Alexios' pre-imperial career is treated in most detail by his son-in-law, Caesar Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, *Commentarii*. See also Book I of Anna KOMNENE's *Alexias*, vol. I, ed. L. Schopen (Bonn, 1839), pp. 12-81. English translation, E. A. DAWES, *The Alexiad of the Princess Anna Comnena* (London, 1928 ; reprint New York, 1967), pp. 7-43.

(11) Steven RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. I (Cambridge, 1951), p. 67.

(12) *Alexias*, II, ix and xi (Bonn ed., I, 120 and 128 ; Dawes trans., pp. 63 and 68).

(13) See especially, Sigfús BLÖNDAL, *Nabites the Varangian*, in *Classica et Mediaevalia*, 2 (1939), 145-146.

(14) *Alexias*, VI, xi (Bonn ed., I, 312 ; Dawes trans., p. 159). Shepard,

this it seems evident that the Varangians she describes were Britishers. After all, Britannia, centuries before, had been a Roman province, while Scandinavia never was.

Anna's reluctance to discuss the role of the English mercenaries in Byzantium is not altogether a matter of rhtoric. Although she was a careful reporter and one who realized the importance of objectivity in history writing, Anna loved her father so deeply that she found it rather painful to admit that he ever had to depend extensively on "barbarians" for military aid. This fact notwithstanding, in her lengthy narratives of her father's wars against the Sicilian Norman Robert Guiscard, she reflects several times on the support rendered by the Varangians ([15]).

From Western sources, we learn that these troops were almost altogether Englishmen. Ordericus Vitalis, a Norman of Normandy, provides the most extensive details ([16]). Ordericus compiled his narrative between 1114 and 1125, and is thus not exactly a contemporary. Because his *Ecclesiastical History* contains several mentions of Anglo-Saxons in imperial service and because some of his data seem contradictory, his account has been subjected to considerable scholarly investigation.

Ordericus' first mention of Anglo-Saxons in the service of the Empire comes in connection with his report of William of Normandy's conquest of England. After 1066, he says, many discontended Anglo-Saxons

> fled into voluntary exile so that they might either find in banishment freedom from the power of the Normans or secure foreign help and come back to fight a war of vengeance. Some of them who were still in the flower of youth travelled into remote lands and bravely offered their arms to Alexius, emperor of Constantinople, a man of great wisdom and nobility ([17]).

"English and Byzantium", p. 66, strongly defends Anna's use of *Θούλη* to mean Britain, but neglects this important argument in behalf of the hypothesis. See also, VASILIEV, *Opening Stages*, pp. 55-56.

(15) *Alexias*, IV, v-vi (Bonn ed., I, 204-209 ; Dawes trans., pp. 106-109).

(16) ORDERICUS VITALIS, *The Ecclesiastical History*, Latin text and English trans. ed. Marjorie Chibnall, vols. II-V (Oxford, 1975). Hereinafter cited as O. V.

(17) O. V. (ed. Chibnall), II, 202-203.

Alexios, Ordericus adds, welcomed the English and used them in battle against Guiscard, as "the Norman forces were too powerful for the Greeks alone" (18).

At another point, Ordericus turns his attention to internal affairs in the Byzantine Empire and gives us another favorable glimpse of Alexios Komnenos, this time as a young officer prior to his accession: "He was a wise and upright man ... brave and generous and universally beloved" (19). There follows a rather garbled account of how Alexios seized the throne from Botaneiates (or Butinacius, or Ordericus calls him) (20). The section ends with a highly laudatory description of Alexios, who Ordericus Vitalis says:

> assumed the imperial scepter and diadem amid general rejoicing and reigned with firmness and dignity in prosperity and adversity for thirty years. He was a man of great wisdom, merciful to the poor, a brave and illustrious warrior who was genial to his soldiers, open handed in giving, and a most diligent servant of divine law (21).

Ordericus then returns to the matter of the English in the Emperor's service. "Alexius received into his trust the English who had left England after the slaughter of King Harold and the lords of the kingdom, and in their flight from King William had fled across the sea to Thrace" (22).

For all of this material, Ordericus seems to be relying upon oral sources; if he used any written source, it remains unidentified (23). It is notable that in both mentions of the Anglo-Saxon mercenaries' journey to Byzantium, he implies that it came about as a direct result

(18) *Ibid.*

(19) *Ibid.*, IV, 12-13.

(20) It is worth nothing that this curious misspelling of the Emperor's name occurs both in the biographies of St. Edward and in Ordericus Vitalis, sources apparently unrelated to each other. It is interesting, too, that while the Western sources invariably call Alexios' predecessor by his surname (misspelled though it is), Alexios is always known by his given name, never as Komnenos.

(21) O. V. (ed. Chibnall), IV, 12-13.

(22) O. V. (ed. Chibnall), IV, 16-17.

(23) Chibnall says (II, 202) that O. V. appears to be the original source for this information about the English among the Greeks. See also, SHEPARD, *English and Byzantium*, pp. 54-55, who believes that O. V. drew his material from an unidentified written source.

of the Norman Conquest of England. Modern scholars have been prompt to point out the fifteen year gap between 1066 and 1081 when Alexios became Emperor. Although Ordericus is very casual about dates, he certainly should have been aware of the gap himself. There are several possible explanations : one is the assumption that the migration Ordericus speaks of did in fact take place fairly soon after 1066, when the Emperor who welcomed the Anglo-Saxon volunteers could not possibly be Alexios, but one of his immediate predecessors, Romanos Diogenes, Michael Doukas, or Nikephoros Botaneiates. Alexios eventually became so famous as a patron of the English that his predecessors' role in employing them was forgotten. Viewing the matter in a different light are scholars who say that Ordericus is actually speaking of volunteers who enlisted in or shortly after 1081 ; that his mistake is in assuming that the migration came immediately after the Norman Conquest (24). A compromise solution, and certainly the most likely explanation of Ordericus' apparent confusion is that there were successive waves of Anglo-Saxon emigration to Byzantium. As noted elsewhere, some were almost certainly there in Michael Doukas' reign (1071-78), but other groups may well have followed in subsequent years as the situation in England grew progressively more uncomfortable for Anglo-Saxons in the later years of William the Conqueror.

In any case, Ordericus goes on to report how the English served Alexios in his struggle against Robert Guiscard ; later the Emperor planned for an English garrison at Civetot, a scheme that was foiled by the Turks (25). As a result, he recalled most of his English troops of Constantinople, where "he set them to guard his chief palace and royal treasures" (26). "He openly entrusted his principal palace and the royal treasures to their care, even making them guards of his own person and all his possessions", the repetitious historian adds elsewhere (27).

Clearly the Anglo-Saxons held a place of high honor at Alexios' court that would be virtually unknown if we had to depend on Byzantine sources alone.

(24) SHEPARD, *The English and Byzantium*, pp. 54-55.
(25) O. V. (ed. Chibnall), II, 202-203 ; V, 38-39.
(26) O. V. (ed. Chibnall), II, 202-203.
(27) O. V. (ed. Chibnall), IV, 16-17.

Several other interesting documents shed still further light on the English contingent in Alexios' service. In about 1090, an English monk, Joseph of Canterbury, visited Constantinople. In the short and fragmentary account of his travels, it is reported how in the imperial capital, Joseph met friends, fellow countrymen of his, now in "the Emperor's household" ([28]). *The Book of Miracles of St. Augustine* by Goscelin tells of a wealthy Englisman of about the same period who founded a church for his fellow countrymen in Constantinople ([29]). Finally, in the *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, we have notice of how Alexios sent an envoy to King Henry I and his Queen Matilda ([30]). The date, though unstated, has to be sometime between 1100 and 1118. Alexios' emmisary was an Englishman, Ulfric of Lincoln ; he returned to his homeland with a choice supply of holy relics including a part of the arm of St. John Chrysostom. Generous distribution of relics was a favorite device in Byzantine diplomacy, but plainly Alexios expected benefits in return.

Though the report of Ulfric's mission is not explicit, most likely Alexios hoped that he would bring him additional recruits for his Varangian guard. By this time, Alexios' terrible experiences with the Crusaders of 1096 were a thing of the past. His opinions of Western knighthood, never too high, had sunk far lower, while much of Western Europe, stirred by the propaganda of the returning Crusaders and particularly that of Alexios' most deadly enemy Bohemond, had learned to regard the Emperor of the East as a deceiver and a villain of the worst sort ([31]). That he still felt he could rely on the English to

(28) Charles H. HASKINS, *A Canterbury Monk at Constantinople, c. 1090*, in *English Historical Review*, 25 (1910), 293-295. There is an English translation of this text in VASILIEV, *Opening Stages*, pp. 62-63.

(29) *Miracula Sancti Augustini*, in *Acta Sanctorum, Maius*, vol. VI (Paris, 1866), p. 406. An English translation of the text in question may be found in VASILIEV, *Opening Stages*, pp. 60-61.

(30) *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Rolls Series, vol II, pt. ii ; London, 1858), pp. 46-47. See also, SHEPARD, *English and Byzantium*, p. 79 ; CIGGAAR, *L'Émigration anglaise*, p. 317.

(31) Anti-Alexian propaganda appears in sections of O. V. (ed. Chibnall), dealing with the Crusade. For example (V, 46-47), "He was wily and smooth-spoken, a prolific and ingenious master of the art of deception" ; and (V, 334-335) where he is described as "the worst of traitors", guilty of "deceit and evil machinations" against the Crusaders.

furnish him with loyal troops indicates that the Anglo-Saxons who served him were a class unto themselves, men who could be trusted where the vast majority of Westerners could not be.

William of Malmesbury, who wrote in 1125, not long after Alexios' death, recognizes this special role of the English at the Byzantine court. Unlike his contemporary Ordericus, William has very little good to say of Alexios. Rather, "he was more noted for cunning and deceit than for worth", he was "famed for duplicity", vengeful and treacherous. Nevertheless, William adds, "he venerated the fidelity of the English ... and transmitted his esteem for them to his son" (32).

Finally, in recent times, scholarly analysis of two very strange narratives has shed further light on the contacts between Alexios and the English, and raised further questions. These two sources are an early thirteenth-century manuscript, "Philipps 1880" (33), and the Icelandic *Edwardsaga* (34) which borrows from "Phillips" or more likely from an unknown common source, adding certain details and deleting others. Both narratives tell of a large band of Englishmen who sailed from their homeland a few years after the Norman Conquest. "Phillips 1880" gives the date of the voyage as 1075. After many adventures in the Mediterranean area, they learn that Constantinople is under siege and go there to offer aid to the Emperor. Although in 1075, this would have to be Michael Doukas, the anonymous author of "Phillips" calls the Emperor Alexios ; in the Icelandic version he is "Kirjalax the Tall". ("Kir" is easily explainable, a variant of *Κύριος*, lord, the title regularly used along with the given name in addressing Byzantine gentlemen, including the Em-

(32) WILLIAM OF MALMESBURY, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, ed. William Stubbs (Rolls Series, vol. XC ; London, 1887-89), p. 276. Compare English translation by J. A. GILES, *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England* (London, 1847), p. 251. Although one may search in vain in the extant writings of Alexios to his son John Komnenos for any reference to the British, the Byzantine chroniclers of the Emperor John's time attest their presence there more than once.

(33) The existence of this text was noted by VASILIEV, *Opening Stages*, p. 68, but was first subjected to minute critical analysis by CIGGAAR, *L'émigration anglaise*. Ciggaar's study contains a copy of the complete Latin text, pp. 320-323.

(34) The section of the *Edwardsaga* dealing with the English appears in *Icelandic Sagas*, ed. and trans. Sir G. W. Dasent (Rolls Series, vol. LXXXVIII, pt. iii ; London, 1894), pp. 424-428.

peror.) While the English Varangians very probably spoke of their Emperor as "Kyr Alex", it stretches the imagination considerably when the Saga writer calls him "the Tall", for even Anna Komnene admits he was a man of only moderate stature (35).

In any case, the problematical date, 1075, raises the same questions we found with Ordericus' chronology, and it has been answered in different ways. There was a siege of Constantinople at about this date ; there was another near blackade during Alexios' reign in 1090-91, and efforts have been made by different scholars to assign the English assistance in lifting the siege to both years (36).

A third possibility (hitherto unconsidered) would date the arrival of the English adventurers to 1081. "Kirjalax the Tall had just come to the throne", says the *Edwardsaga*, which would scarcely hold true ten years later. As for the date MLXXV in the Phillips manuscript, Roman numerals are easily miscopied. If 1081 should be the correct date, the storytellers' exaggeration lies in their having the Englishmen deliver Constantinople (Mickelgarth) itself from siege. That the Empire was engaged in naval warfare with the Turks at this date is however clear.

In *The Alexiad*, Anna tells how at the very outset of her father's reign, i. e. in 1081, he undertook a naval offensive against the Turks who had seized and occupied a number of Byzantine towns on the Asia Minor coast of the Sea of Marmara. Alexios, who did not take part in this campaign personnaly, instructed his men to sail along the coast and make a series of surprise landings at points where Turkish defenses seemed the weakest. The Emperor's plan was successful ; the Turks were beaten back and abandoned the coastal territory to the Byzantines (37).

The heroic exploits of the English emigrants in "Phillips 1880" and the *Edwardsaga* might well be viewed in this context, although the interpretation is not without difficulties. Unlike the Western sources under consideration, Anna does not report any actual fighting on

(35) *Alexias*, III, iii (Bonn ed., I, 143 ; Dawes trans., p. 76).

(36) CIGGAAR, *L'Emigration anglaise*, pp. 307, 332 decides in favor of a date in Michael Doukas' reign. SHEPARD, *English and Byzantium*, pp. 80 ff. makes a strong case for 1091, but appears to be unaware of "Phillips 1880".

(37) *Alexias*, III, xi (Bonn ed., I, 177-180 ; Dawes trans., pp. 93-94).

shipboard. Nor does she mention any foreign mercenaries' taking part in this campaign: her father's troops here consist of "Romans" (i. e. Byzantines) and men from Choma (*καί τινων ἀπὸ τοῦ Χώματος*). Since at this point she is describing events that took place before she was born, and since she is obviously in a hurry to get to her father's epic struggle with Robert Guiscard, she well may have omitted certain particulars.

In any case, the story continues with the Englismen helping to defeat the "heathens". The Phillips manuscript lists the names of some of the English leaders; all are typical Anglo-Saxon names of the period under question. Most interesting is Coleman, a "holy man" who founded a church in Constaninople; he is probably identical with the noble Englishman mentioned by Goscelin ([38]). In the *Edwardsaga*, these names are missing; in their place the English leader is called Sigurd, Earl of Gloucester, a character who lacks definite historical attestation, though an effort has been made to identify him with Siward Barn, a noted Anglo-Saxon rebel ([39]).

In both sources, the narrative goes on to report that after their victory, the English are brought before the Emperor who rewards them very generously and offers them permanent enrollment in his special troop of bodyguards. A while later, some of the Englishmen decide to leave Constantinople, and ask the Emperor for land elsewhere. He agrees to send them north to a land that he says was formerly Byzantine but now occupied by heathens; if they can take it, they can hold it, subject to his authority. Kyr Alex at this point sounds very much like he did in his dealings with the Crusaders, trying to convince them that whatever they took from the infidels was originally Byzantine land and was to be returned to him.

The English adventurers depart on their mission, subdue the heathens, and establish a New England in the strange territory some six days' journey north and east of Constantinople. Towns are founded with English names, including London and York. The English import Roman Catholic priests from Hungary (rather than Greek Orthodox from Byzantium, whom they consider schismatics). The colony flourishes.

(38) CIGGAAR, *L'Emigration anglaise*, p. 326.
(39) SHEPARD, *English and Byzantium*, pp. 81-83.

Scholars intrigued by these details have pondered the location of this medieval New England and placed it variously in the Crimea or at the mouth of the Danube, while the hunt for outside confirmation of such settlements has proved so far largely unrewarding (40).

In the Phillips manuscript, which carries the story further than does the *Edwardsaga*, the English at length become involved in a dispute with one of the imperial tax collectors. They send an envoy, Hardigt, back to Constantinople where he wins the enthusiastic support of the Emperor when he kills a lion that somehow manages to get loose. Hardigt stays on and rises to high rank in the Emperor's bodyguard, while we are left to wonder the fate of the colonists back in Byzantine New England.

Though this story contains elements of fancy, it is generally believed that it also reflects genuine data on one of the English migrations of the late eleventh century. The fact that it was still remembered and retold in Iceland many years later shows how far-famed was the memory of Kyr Alex and the men who served him, as does the fact that present day scholars are still intrigued by its mysteries. Anna Komnene herself could have scarcely wished for more (*).

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(40) CIGGAAR, *L'Émigration anglaise*, p. 335, locates the colony somewhere near the mouth of the Danube. SHEPARD, *English and Byzantium*, p. 92, n. 241, believes it was near the Sea of Azov, a theory he expands in interesting detail in his subsequent article, *Another New England? — Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black Sea*, in *Byzantine Studies*, 1 (1974), 18-39.

(*) An earlier draft of this paper was presented at the Carolinas Symposium for British Studies, Boone, N.C., U.S.A., October, 1976.

QUELQUES FRESQUES CARACTÉRISTIQUES DES ÉGLISES BYZANTINES DU MAGNE (*)

Particularités dans la représentation du thème de «*l'Annonciation*» et de la «*Trahison de Judas*». Comparaisons avec certaines de leurs variantes ailleurs.

Les églises byzantines du Magne (1) contiennent des fresques très intéressantes du point de vue stylistique et iconographique. Plusieurs de ces églises continuent à être inédites. Outre les caractéristiques propres à l'art byzantin officiel ou populaire, on rencontre dans le décor de ces églises a) de nombreuses versions locales qui se révèlent particulièrement enrichissantes ; b) quelques traits stylistiques et iconographiques importés de régions de l'empire qui, bien qu'éloignées des grands centres ont, tout au moins, pendant une certaine période fait preuve d'une activité artistique intense ; c) des influences occidentales. La coexistence de ces influences dans le décor d'une église ou dans le contexte d'une seule fresque n'implique point le pastiche. Elle révèle, tout au contraire, une assimilation fort réussie et par là-même très édifiante pour le spécialiste de l'art byzantin, qui découvre des motifs clefs. L'étude comparative de certaines fresques des églises du Magne nous aide également à formuler avec beaucoup plus

(*) Ce texte reproduit une communication faite au XVe Congrès international d'Etudes Byzantines, qui s'est tenu à Athènes du 5 au 11 septembre 1976.

(1) Région du Péloponnèse du Sud (au Sud de Sparte) située par les deux versants du Mont Taygète. L'architecture d'un grand nombre d'églises du Magne a été pour la première fois étudiée par R. TRAQUAIR (*Laconia : The Churches of Western Mani*, dans the *Annuary of the British School at Athens*, Vol. XV, 1908-1909, pp. 177-213) et par H. MEGAW, *The Byzantine Architecture in Mani*, dans *Annuary of the British School at Athens*, Vol. XXX, 1923-1933, pp. 138-153). Les fresques d'un certain nombre d'églises ont été pour la première fois décrites par N. DRANDAKIS, *Les Fresques Byzantines du Messa Mani*, Athènes, 1964 (en grec). Voir également, Th. ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN, *Fresques de deux Eglises Byzantines du Magne* (Thèse de Doctorat, Paris, 1970) et *Mani : History and Monuments*, Lycabettus Press, Athènes, 1974 (en anglais).

d'assurance qu'auparavant quelques hypothèses concernant les voies de propagation de certaines influences.

Notre article ne prétend point attirer l'attention sur les particularités iconographiques de la région qui sont les plus spectaculaires (2). Notre choix est dû au fait que dans les églises que nous avons pu étudier, nous avons rencontré des modes d'illustration caractéristiques des deux thèmes en question. D'ailleurs en comparant ces représentations avec certaines versions des mêmes thèmes ailleurs, nous voudrions attirer l'attention sur le fait que les églises de la région contiennent maintes fois des solutions iconographiques originales. Vu le très grand nombre des églises du Magne et les difficultés d'accès (3) qu'elles présentent, nous tenons à préciser que nous ne prétendons point avoir pu épuiser sur place toutes les possibilités de rencontrer des cas analogues à ceux que nous traitons ici.

La représentation de l'Annonciation dans deux églises (4) du Magne au moins — Saint-Georges à Vriki (5) et Trissakia (6) à Tsopaka — renferme une allusion à l'Incarnation qui se révèle beaucoup plus directe que dans le schéma habituel (7). Dans les deux cas, le Christ figure en buste dans un demi-cercle au centre de la partie supérieure de la fresque (8) (pl. I.). Il est représenté sous les traits de l'Ancien des

(2) Plus particulièrement on rencontre dans les églises du Magne quelques solutions iconographiques ingénieuses en ce qui concerne l'illustration de certaines notions essentielles de notre dogme : cf. la version du Mélismos dans l'abside de l'église des Saints Théodoros à Kafiona où le Christ est repréyenté en adulte dans une patène. Voir D. ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN, *Sur une fresque de la période des Paléologues*, dans *Byzantion*, t. XLI, 1971, pp. 109-121.

(3) Ces difficultés sont surtout d'ordre technique.

(4) Le décor des deux églises situées dans le Magne occidental date de la période des Paléologues.

(5) Voir N. DRANDAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 71 et Th. ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN, Thèse de Doctorat, *op. cit.*, p. 185, n. 82a. D. PALLAS, *Die Passion und die Bestattung Christi in Byzanz, Der Ritus, Das Bild*, dans *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, Munchen, 1965, pp. 136-137.

(6) N. DRANDAKIS, *op. cit*, p 165, et Th. ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN, *op. cit.*, p. 185 sqq.

(7) Celui-ci, à côté de la Vierge et de l'Archange, comprend parfois la Colombe du Saint Esprit et, dans des cas plus rares, la présence d'un ou de deux prophètes.

(8) La fresque de l'église de Saint-Georges étant fort endommagée on ne peut pas distinguer clairement la figure du Seigneur. Sur la fresque de Trissakia le Christ porte une barbe grise ; on remarque son monogramme. IC XC inscrits de part et

Jours. Cette particularité sans être unique dans l'iconographie byzantine est, tout au moins, assez rare (9). Profitant des exemples du Magne, nous dresserons l'inventaire des cas analogues aux nôtres, tout en présentant en même temps des comparaisons fécondes avec les variantes iconographiques les plus caractéristiques qui illustrent, dans le contexte de l'Annonciation, la notion de l'Incarnation et par extension celle de la Conception du Christ.

Comme l'illustration de l'Incarnation n'atteint que de loin et à des degrés différents la précision des textes (10), on examinera le pouvoir suggestif du mode iconographique adopté dans les deux églises du Magne et ailleurs par rapport à d'autres variantes iconographiques du thème de l'Incarnation (11). En effet, la colombe du Saint Esprit et,

d'autre du buste. De l'hémicycle festonné, qui entoure le Christ et qui représente le ciel, descend vers la partie inférieure de la fresque une bande verticale tenant lieu des rayons tombant du ciel. La fresque étant à cet endroit fort endommagée on ne peut se prononcer sur la présence éventuelle de la Colombe du Saint Esprit à cet endroit.

(9) Dans l'art occidental également la représentation du Christ en Ancien des Jours n'est point courante. Par contre celle de Dieu le Père et du Christ-Enfant devient très fréquente surtout à partir du XIVe siècle. Voir G. SCHILLER, *Iconographie des Christlichen Kunst*, Germany Cühershoher Verlagshaus Gerd, Bonn, 1966, Vol. I, p. 55, n. 44 et D. ROBB, *The Iconography of the Annunciation*, dans *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XVIII, Décembre, 1936, pp. 480-526.

(10) Les Evangiles et en particulier celui de Luc : I, 31-35 ; *Apocryphe Arménien* (sch. V, 4-9) ; *Hymne Acathiste* : *1os οἶκος : Βαρθολομαίου Κουτλουμουσιανοῦ τοῦ Ἰμβρίου : Ὡρολόγιον τὸ Μέγα*, Athènes, 1891, p. 397. Voir également E. KOURKOUNTIDOU-NICOLAÏDOU, *Remarques Iconographiques sur une Icône de l'Annonciation du Sinaï*, dans *Kernos*, Athènes, 1971, p. 80, note 3-4 (en grec). Aussi *Μηνιαῖον Μηνὸς Μαρτίου* (95). Les textes devenus au cours des siècles de plus en plus éloquents se sont enrichis surtout pendant la période des Paléologues de nouvelles nuances subtiles grâce à l'apport des humanistes.

(11) Toujours dans le contexte de l'Annonciation. Cependant on tient à énumérer ici à titre d'information quelques schémas iconographiques caractéristiques qui font allusion au dogme de l'Incarnation en dehors du contexte de l'Annonciation. Certains d'entre eux ont, bien que partiellement, servi de modèles à quelques-unes des versions iconographiques de l'Annonciation. Parmi les schémas les plus caractéristiques citons : a) la représentation de la Vierge accompagnée de l'inscription «Vierge de l'Incarnation» telle qu'on la rencontre dans l'église de Stanesti en Valachie (I. STEFANESCU, *La Peinture Religieuse en Valachie et Transylvanie*, Paris, 1930, pl. XXXIV, I, pp. 92-93 ; b) la Vierge du type de Vlachernitissa et du

parfois, la présence d'un ou de deux prophètes à côté de l'Archange et de la Vierge ne peuvent atteindre la force suggestive de la figure du Christ lui-même. La représentation du Seigneur se montre à son tour plus ou moins allusive selon : a) le mode iconographique particulier adopté : par exemple en adulte ou en enfant, en Ancien des Jours ou en nourrisson, et b) le cadre spécial dans lequel il figure ; en buste dans un demi-cercle représentant les cieux ; sur le Saint Mandylion ; en enfant sur la poitrine de sa mère. Toutes ces versions font, de manière plus ou moins frappante, allusion au dogme de l'Incarnation, le plus grand réalisme étant obtenu par la suggestion de la conception du Christ.

Nous commencerons notre analyse en énumérant tout d'abord des exemples analogues aux deux fresques du Magne. On rencontre la représentation du Christ en buste sous les traits de l'Ancien des

Signe (A. GRABAR, *L'Iconoclasme Byzantin : Dossier Archéologique*, Collège de France, Paris, 1957, p. 254, n. I. A. FROLOW a donné une explication différente en ce qui concerne le sens exact de la représentation de la Vierge du Signe dans la *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, XXV, 1949, p. 63 sqq.) ; c) Sabaoth portant l'Agneau (miniature de Scivias, Monuments Piot XIX, p. 148) ; d) une ampoule de Monza, où la Vierge figure debout en orante au-dessous de la représentation du Christ qui se trouve dans une auréole tenue par les personnifications du Soleil et de la Lune (A. GRABAR, *Christian Iconography : A Study of its Origins*, Bollingen, Series XXXV, 10, Princeton University Press, 1968, p. 132, fig. 319) ; e) le tympan de la Porte Impériale de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople où le type d'illustration du Christ trônant entre la Vierge en prière et l'Archange rappelle que le Seigneur fut conçu au moment même de l'Annonciation (A. GRABAR, *L'Iconoclasme* ..., p. 254) ; f) une miniature de la Bible Syriaque (*Syr.*, 341, Bibl. Nat.) représentant Salomon, la Vierge avec l'Enfant sur la poitrine et une personnification de la Sagesse (C. CECCHELLI et G. FURLANI, *The Rabbula Gospels URS*, Graf-Verlag-published et M. SALMI OLTEN, Lausanne, 1959, pl. 19) ; g) la scène intitulée le «Lit de Salomon» qui comprend sur le lit la représentation de la Vierge en buste avec l'Enfant sur la poitrine (d'après M. Eugenios qui appelle la Vierge «Lit vivant qui accueillit Dieu» : voir SOPHRONIOS EUSTRATIADIS, ex Metropolite de Léontopolis, *La Théotokos dans l'Hymnographie*, Paris, 1930). Voir aussi A. XYNGOPOULOS, *Au Sujet d'une Fresque de l'Eglise de Saint Clément d'Ochrid*, dans *Recueil des Travaux de l'Institut d'Etudes Byzantines*, n° VIII, Mélanges Ostrogorsky, I, pp. 301-306.

Des schémas décrits ci-dessus ceux qui ont le plus influencé l'conographie de l'Annonciation sont : la Vierge Vlachernitissa ; la Vierge du type du «Lit de Salomon» ; et de la miniature Syriaque : voir également p. 7, n. 1.

Jours [12] dans : a) l'église des Saints Anargyres de Théodore Limniotès à Kastoria [13] (pl. 2) ; b) l'église de la Vierge Hodigitria à Spilies [14] (Eubée) ; c) l'église de Sainte Marina à Karloukovo (Bulgarie) [15] ; d) sur un ivoire de Berlin [16] ; e) sur l'icône d'Ustuug [17] ; f) sur une mosaïque de Sainte Marie Majeure [18] ; g) sur une pièce de retable, œuvre de A. Lorenzetti [19]. Nous citerons encore l'église de Saint-Stéphanos Limniotès, à Kastoria, où l'Ancien des Jours est représenté non pas dans la scène de l'Annonciation mais à un emplacement contigu [20].

En ce qui concerne la clarté des allusions faites à l'Incarnation, le schéma iconographique le plus proche de la représentation du Christ

(12) Ou bien en général sous l'aspect d'un adulte : Vu l'état de conservation de certaines fresques il n'est pas toujours facile d'en discerner tous les détails.

(13) S. PÉLÉKANIDIS, *Kastoria, Société des Etudes Macédoniennes*, Salonique, 1953, pl. XIV ; d'après l'auteur la fresque dont il est ici question date du XIIIe siècle.

(14) T. VELMANS, *Eglise d'Hodigitria à Spiliès*, dans *Cahiers Archéologiques*, t. XVIII, 1968, p. 208, fig. 31-32. Le décor de l'église date du XIVe siècle.

(15) D. PANAYOTOVA, *Bulgarian Mural Paintings of the* XIV *th century*, Sofia, 1966, pp. 22-23.

(16) P. GOLDSCHMIDT, *Die Byzantinische Elfenbeinskulpturen des X-XIII Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1930-1936, Vol. II, S. 49. L'ivoire date du XIIe siècle. Au sujet du même ivoire G. SCHILLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-57 y voit la représentation du Christ-Enfant tandis que A. ROBB, *op. cit.*, p. 525 n'y voit qu'un motif décoratif.

(17) Cette icône du XIIe siècle, qui provient de la Cathédrale de la Dormition du Kremlin, fait actuellement partie de la collection de la galerie Trétyakov. D'après une tradition orale, elle fut transférée au Kremlin du Couvent de Saint-Georges, à Novgorod. Sur l'icône, l'Ancien des Jours n'est pas représenté en buste. Il figure assis sur un trône. On y voit également la représentation du Christ-Enfant sur la poitrine de sa mère.

(18) Oeuvre de J. Torriti vers 1290. Voir G. SCHILLER, *op. cit.*, pl. 97.

(19) XIV siècle (Arezzo, Pieve). Voir A. ROBB, *op. cit.*, fig. 6. Cependant à partir du XIVe siècle c'est la représentation du Christ en bébé bien potelé qui devient particulièrement fréquente dans l'iconographie occidentale de l'Annonciation. Le bébé est figuré descendant du ciel envoyé par Dieu le Père. Il est accompagné ou précédé de la Colombe du Saint Esprit ou des instruments de son martyre (Voir également G. SCHILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 55, note 44). D'après A. ROBB (*op. cit.*, p. 483) l'illustration de l'Arbre de vie de Pacino da Buonaguida (XIVe) est la première où l'on voir le Christ Bébé.

(20) S. PÉLÉKANIDIS, *op. cit.*, pl. 90.

en Ancien des Jours ou tout au moins en adulte dans le contexte de l'Annonciation est celui qui comprend le motif du Saint Mandylion. Ici, tout comme dans le cas précédent, on ne constate pas une référence qui du point de vue iconographique se révèlerait plus réaliste dans le rendu du thème de l'Incarnation et par extension dans celui de la Conception du Christ.

L'association du Saint Mandylion avec l'Annonciation devient assez fréquente (21) dans l'empire Byzantin surtout pendant la période des Paléologues. Dans le Magne, parmi les exemples les plus caractéristiques citons : la représentation de l'Annonciation dans l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Vriki (22), dans celle de Saint-Démétrius à Keria ainsi que dans une église du village de Polémita (23). Effectivement c'est pendant la période des Paléologues, sous l'influence des humanistes et du développement de l'iconographie de l'Hymne Acathiste, qu'on constate dans le répertoire iconographique de l'Annonciation, tout comme dans celui de certaines autres scènes, l'association de plusieurs thèmes. En ce qui concerne plus par-

(21) A titre d'exemple nous citons quelques-unes parmi les représentations les plus caractéristiques appartenant à cette catégorie. Notamment en Grèce, la Crète offre comparée à certaines autres régions un plus grand nombre d'exemples analogues : cf. église de Aghios Onouphrios à Genna ; de la Dormition de la Vierge à Alikampos ; de la Vierge à Samaria ; d'Aghios Antonios au village de Sainte Pélagie (pour ces églises voir : K. KALOKYRIS, *Les Peintures Murales de Crète*, Athènes, 1957 (en grec), pl. XLVII, pl. 59, 93, 94). Egalement on peut citer les églises de Sainte Paraskévi à Chondros et de Sainte Paraskévi à Kitirou (voir K LASSITHIOTAKIS, *Les Eglises de la Crète Occidentale*, dans *Kritika Chronika* KB', 1970, p. 170).

On doit également citer ici les représentations caractéristiques de l'Annonciation (associée au Saint Mandylion) dans a) la chapelle de Saint-Euthymios à Salonique (G. et M. SOTIRIOU, *La Basilique de Saint Démétrius à Salonique. Bibliothèque de la Société Archéologique de Grèce*, n. 34, Athènes, 1952, pl. 82a) ; b) l'église du Taxiarque à Kastoria (S. PÉLEKANIDIS, *op. cit.*, pl. 119-122) ; c) le Katholikon du Protaton au Mont Athos (G. MILLET, *Les Monuments de l'Athos*, Paris, 1927, pl. 581) ; d) l'église de Bérende en Bulgarie (A. BOSCHKOV, *Monumentale Wandmalerei Bulgariens*, Mayence, 1969, pl. 32).

Sur cette question de l'association de certains thèmes avec celui de l'Annonciation voir également D. PALLAS, *La Vierge Source de Vie*, dans *Archéologikon Deltion*, 1971, p. 210, note 37 (en grec).

(22) N. DRANDAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

(23) On ignore à quel saint est dédiée l'église.

ticulièrement la scène de l'Annonciation, cette dernière peut, outre le Saint Mandylion, être liée aussi avec le thème du Buisson Ardent (24), de la Vierge Source de Vie (25), etc.

Cependant dans le cas précis de l'association du Saint Mandylion avec la scène de l'Annonciation, celle-ci aurait pu être partiellement le résultat d'une mutation progressive due à son emplacement, l'Annonciation étant d'habitude représentée sur les piedroits de l'arc triomphal de l'abside et la Sainte Face au sommet. De là le rapprochement iconographique des deux thèmes et l'introduction de l'un dans l'autre. Ce rapprochement, tout en apportant à la scène de l'Annonciation une nuance doctrinale et théologique accentuée, se révèle en même temps particulièrement heureux du point de vue de la symbolique, la Sainte Face impliquant l'idée de l'Incarnation (26). L'association (27) des deux thèmes comprend, en ce qui concerne le schéma iconographique, au moins trois étapes différentes selon la façon de représenter la Sainte Face par rapport à l'Ange et à la Vierge. On note en premier lieu le cas où l'espace réservé au Saint Mandylion est nettement délimité par une démarcation spéciale (28), celui où cette

(24) Par exemple la représentation dans l'église de Saint-Théodore Stratilate à Novgorod (N. OKUNEV, 252, et D. PALLAS, *La Vierge*..., p. 209, note 35).

(25) Parmi d'autres cas on trouve ce thème représenté dans l'église de Saint-Jean à Mistras. Toutefois dans l'état actuel de la fresque on ne distingue pas la présence de la Vierge au-dessus de la fontaine (Voir D. PALLAS, *op. cit.*, Fig. 2).

(26) A. GRABAR, *La Sainte Face de Laon* ; *Le Mandylion dans l'Art Orthodoxe* ; *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, Prague, 1936, p. 26. Dans les églises ne disposant pas de coupole, le Saint Mandylion représenté au sommet de l'arc triomphal se réfère aussi bien à l'Eucharistie qu'à l'Incarnation. Cette symbolique dont il est ici question se trouve rehaussée de nuances plus subtiles par suite de l'association du thème avec celui de l'Annonciation. De ce fait il résulte que, même dans le cas où, malgré l'existence d'une coupole, le Saint-Mandylion occupe le sommet de l'arc de l'abside, en plus des allusions faites à l'Eucharistie il continue à suggérer avec à peu près le même degré d'intensité la notion de l'Incarnation.

(27) Dans certains cas la Sainte-Face est juxtaposée à la scène de l'Annonciation : par exemple à Goeremé Kilissé (M. RESTLÉ, *Die Byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, Recklinghausen, 1967, I, 103, II, pl. 21-24) ; de même dans l'Omorphi Ekklissia à Egine (A. KARAKATSANI, *Les Fresques d'Omorphi Ekklissia à Egine*, dans *Cahiers d'Archéologie et d'Art Chrétiens*, Athènes, 1971. Voir également D. PALLAS, *La Vierge* ..., p. 210, note 37.

(28) Dans plusieurs cas. Dans le Magne on rencontre, parmi d'autres, ce type de représentation dans l'église de Saint Nicolas à Vriki.

démarcation est beaucoup plus subtilement insinuée au moyen d'un prétexte iconographique, telle une muraille [29], ; et en dernier lieu, celui où il n'y a aucune trace de démarcation, la Sainte Face étant représentée au centre même de la scène de l'Annonciation [30].

Par rapport aux deux versions iconographiques qu'on vient de décrire — celle du Christ en buste soit en Ancien des Jours soit en adulte, et la Sainte Face — la représentation du Seigneur-enfant par anticipation sur la poitrine [31] de Sa mère, très rare dans l'iconographie byzantine [32] se révèle la plus explicite et la plus réaliste.

(29) Par exemple dans le Katholikon du Protaton (G. MILLET, *op. cit.*, p. 1581) ; dans l'église de Saint Onouphrios à Genna (K. KALOKYRIS, *op. cit.*, pl. XLVIII.

(30) A Saint-Euthymios de Salonique (SOTIRIOU, *op. cit.*, pl. 000) ; aux Taxiarques de Kastoria (PÉLÉKANIDIS, *op. cit.*, pl. 122).

(31) Ici on doit attirer l'attention sur le fait que le Christ n'est point représenté enfermé dans un médaillon. L'absence de ce dernier atténue le caractère doctrinal de la représentation au profit d'un sens plus réaliste. Ainsi le schéma iconographique qu'on est en train de décrire ici, diffère aussi bien du type de la Vierge Vlachernitissa que de celui rencontré sur certains sceaux byzantins où la Vierge tient le Christ comme sur un bouclier (voir : A. GRABAR, *L'Iconoclasme ...*, *op. cit.*, p. 254). On doit également se souvenir de la miniature de la Bible Syriaque (voir ci-dessus p. 3, note 2) qui à son tour se réfère d'une façon très caractéristique à la symbolique de l'Incarnation et même à celle de la conception. L'aspect que revêt ici la mandorle qui entoure le Christ — telle une ouverture effectuée dans les entrailles de la Vierge — suggère d'une manière subtile la conception du Seigneur dans le corps de sa mère.

On rencontre le schéma iconographique d'après lequel l'Enfant est représenté par anticipation sur la poitrine de sa mère également dans le répertoire de la scène de la Visitation. Parmi les exemples les plus caractéristiques on citera la fresque de l'église de Timios Stavros à Pelendri (XVe siècle Chypre) où aussi bien le Christ que Jean sont représentés respectivement dans le sein de la Vierge et d'Elisabeth (A. STYLIANOU, *L'Eglise de Timios Stavros à Pelendri, Chypre*, dans les *Actes du XIIe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines*, III, Belgrade, 1964, pl. VIII). On citera également la miniature de l'Evangile Serbe de Prizren (XIIIe) où c'est uniquement Jean qui est représenté dans le sein d'Elisabeth (A. GRABAR, *Recherches sur les Influences Orientales de l'Art Byzantin*, Paris, 1928, pl. VI, 3).

(32) Dans l'iconographie occidentale de l'Annonciation le Christ ne figure jamais par anticipation sur la poitrine de sa mère. Il est représenté en bébé potelé descendant du Ciel. Particulièrement caractéristique est l'illustration de l'arbre de Vie de P. da Buonaguida (A. ROBB, *op. cit.*, fig. 44), où le Christ bébé figure deux fois : la première, descendant du Ciel et la deuxième, non pas sur la poitrine de la Vierge, mais sur son cou. C'est uniquement dans le répertoire iconographique de la

Par réalisme on entend ici non pas le rendu de la figure du Christ lui-même (33), mais le pouvoir suggestif de l'allusion faite au dogme de l'Incarnation. Plus particulièrement, la représentation du Christ sur la poitrine de Sa mère constitue par rapport à tout autre schéma iconographique l'allusion la plus directe, non pas d'emblée à la notion de l'Incarnation, mais au moment précis de la conception du Seigneur, cette dernière constituant le premier moment de l'Incarnation (34). On rencontre ce schéma iconographique sur : a) l'Icône d'Ustuug (35) (XIIe siècle) ; b) sur une icône du Sinaï (XIIe) décrite par K. Weitzmann (36) ; c) sur une icône russe du XVIe siècle (37) ; d) sur un tissu liturgique du Monastère d'Iviron (38).

Une fois terminée cette revue sommaire des schémas iconographiques les plus caractéristiques se référant dans le contexte de l'Annonciation à l'Idée de l'Incarnation et de la Conception, nous sommes plus à même de situer, aussi bien du point de vue théologique qu'iconographique, le pouvoir allusif du schéma adopté par les fresques du Magne. Ce dernier n'évoque pas d'une manière précise le moment de la conception lui-même comme c'est le cas dans la

Vierge de la Miséricorde qu'on rencontre en Occident le Christ représenté sur la poitrine de sa mère (G. SCILLER, *op. cit.*, p. 55 et P. PERDRIZET, *La Vierge de la Miséricorde*, Paris, 1908, p. 192).

(33) Dans l'art byzantin Il revêt toujours l'expression austère d'un adulte.

(34) A. GRABAR, *L'Iconoclasme*, p. 255. Dans le contexte de l'Annonciation, la Conception du Christ est également suggérée par le schéma iconographique d'après lequel la Vierge est soutenue par deux jeunes filles (fresques de Saint-Clément d'Ochrid et de Susica en Macédoine : G. BABIĆ, *Fresques de Susica en Macédoine et Iconographie originale de leurs images de la Vie de la Vierge*, dans les *Cahiers Archéologiques*, XII, 1962, p. 327.

(35) Voir ci-dessus p. 4, note 6.

(36) K. WEITZMANN, *Eine Spätkomnenische Verkündigungsikone des Sinaï und die zweite Byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrunderts*, dans *Festschrift Herbert von Einem*, Berlin, 1965, s. 299. Voir également E. KOURKOUNTIDOU-NICOLAÏDOU (*op. cit.*, pp. 80-83), qui signale une distinction entre le schéma iconographique de l'icône d'Ustuug où l'Enfant apparaît nettement sur la poitrine de la Vierge et celui de l'icône du Sinaï où sa représentation plutôt estompée insinue l'idée de la conception avec un réalisme accentué.

(37) POKROVSKIJ, *Evangile*, Petrograd, 1892, pp. 29-30, fig. B et ADAMANTIOU, Ἁγνείας πεῖρα Λαογραφία, vol. B, 1910, p. 525.

(38) G. MILLET, *Broderies Religieuses de Style Byzantin*, Paris, 1947, pl. CXVI, 1

représentation de l'Enfant par anticipation sur la poitrine de la Vierge. Il n'atteint pas non plus la subtilité doctrinale et humaniste des schémas iconographiques qu'implique l'association avec la Sainte Face, le Buisson Ardent, la Vierge source de Vie. Il se distingue, toutefois, par rapport au schéma iconographique courant, qui comprenait la représentation de la Vierge, de l'Archange et tout au moins de la Colombe du Saint Esprit. Le mode iconographique adopté entre autres par les deux églises du Magne constitue, ainsi, un des premiers chaînons intermédiaires entre le schéma iconographique habituel et ceux plus riches en nuances suggestives décrits plus haut (39). Vu la rareté de l'apparition du Christ dans la scène de l'Annonciation nous avons été impressionnée par le fait que nous avons rencontré ce mode iconographique par deux fois dans le Magne.

C'est dans l'église de Trissakia (40) qu'on trouve également le deuxième thème dont nous traitons ici les particularités iconographiques. Il s'agit de la «Trahison de Judas». Sur cette fresque (pl. 3), un soldat entraîne le Christ avec une corde attachée autour du cou. Le Seigneur est entraîné au moment même où il reçoit le baiser du traître (41). Ce n'est pas uniquement l'aspect «brutal» de la scène qui doit retenir notre attention en tant que tel. C'est le schéma iconographique inhabituel d'après lequel le Christ n'est pas seulement trahi et arrêté ; il est également «emmené».

On peut se demander s'il s'agit d'une solution iconographique fortuite due à l'imagination inventive de l'artiste local ou bien d'un schéma prémédité dû à une association heureuse de plusieurs thèmes en un seul : de la représentation du Christ emmené du Jardin de

(39) Parmi ces derniers ceux qui impliquent en particulier l'association du thème de l'Annonciation avec ceux du Buisson Ardent, de la Vierge Source de Vie, etc. se sont surtout formés pendant la période des Paléologues sous l'influence des subtilités doctrinales des humanistes.

(40) N. DRANDAKIS, *op. cit.*, p. 73 et Th. ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-199.

(41) Le scène se déroule de gauche à droite : le centre est occupé par les deux protagonistes — le Seigneur et Judas — le soldat qui entraîne le Christ et deux apôtres. A l'extrémité droite, figure un soldat qui semble faire signe au groupe d'avancer. A l'extrémité gauche, derrière le traître figure un groupe de soldats dont l'un brandit une épée. Toujours à l'extrémité gauche, mais au premier plan on voit représenté l'épisode de Malchus.

Gethsémané, du Christ conduit au Jugement, du Seigneur sur le Chemin du Golgotha. Dans ce cas il s'agirait plutôt d'une «somme» subtile qui se réfère aux divers moments du Cycle de la Passion. Dans les monuments byzantins on connaît de nombreuses variantes iconographiques proches de la nôtre, mais on n'en connaît guère d'identiques. C'est dans l'Enkleistra de Néophytos (42), à Paphos (Chypre) qu'on rencontre la «Trahison de Judas» (pl. 4) qui se rapproche le plus de la nôtre. Malgré certaines différences (43), on y trouve en ce qui concerne la représentation du Christ la même particularité iconographique : la corde attachée autour du cou du Seigneur et le soldat qui l'entraîne. Notre fresque présente également des analogies avec la scène de la Trahison telle qu'elle apparaît dans le Tétraévangile de Djroutchi (44). Ici, le Christ est entraîné par un soldat qui l'empoigne par les mains et non point avec une corde attachée au cou. En outre, à l'opposé de la fresque de Trissakia, le traître n'est point représenté embrassant le Seigneur. Il se tient à une certaine distance à la tête de la cohorte qu'il emmène derrière lui (pl. 5).

Afin de mieux pouvoir situer du point de vue iconographique la fresque de Trissakia on doit en premier lieu se référer à certaines représentations du Cycle de la Passion telles qu'elles figuraient sur les monuments du ve et du vi^{e} siècle (45). Sur ces derniers les références iconographiques aux divers moments de la Passion se succèdent dans l'ordre et d'une manière complète, suivant presque à la lettre les Synoptiques et, surtout Matthieu (26, 45-57). On voit ainsi figurées séparément et chaque fois dans les cadres qui leur sont spécialement réservés, la Trahison, l'Arrestation, le Christ emmené du Jardin de Gethsémané, le Christ conduit au Jugement, le Seigneur montant au Golgotha. Par la suite, dans l'iconographie byzantine, quelques-unes

(42) K. Tsiknopoulos, *L'Enkleistra de Saint Néophytos*, Nicosie, 1965, p. 17, fig. 15. La fresque date, d'après l'auteur, du xiie siècle.

(43) La scène se déroule de la droite vers la gauche (au sens inverse de la nôtre). On ne distingue pas l'apôtre ; on croit cependant reconnaître parmi les soldats un Juif (la fresque est endommagée à cet endroit). La représentation d'un Juif fait défaut à Trissakia.

(44) G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile*, Paris, 1960 (deuxième édition), p. 328, fig. 329.

(45) G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie*, *op. cit.*, p. 330, n. 4 et A. Grabar, *La Peinture Religieuse en Bulgarie*, Paris, 1928, p. 195, n. 5.

de ces scènes, telles la Trahison et l'Arrestation, se fondirent en une seule ; d'autres devinrent de plus en plus rares en tant que représentations indépendantes ou bien leur identification prêta à confusion.

La scène dont la représentation devint de plus en plus rare fut le «Christ emmené du Jardin de Gethsémani». Rencontrée dans le Copte-Arabe n. I (46), l'ivoire du Kaiser Friedrich Museum (47), etc. où elle fait encore suite à la Trahison, elle ne se rencontre par la suite que rarement et, plus particulièrement, dans les monuments qu'on a caractérisés comme de tradition archaïque (Zemen) ou orientalisante (48). Quant à la confusion entre certaines scènes, elle résulta du fait que, déjà sur les monuments du ve et du vi^e^ siècles, quelques-unes d'entre elles dépourvues de leurs particularités les plus caractéristiques étaient aisément prises l'une pour l'autre. Les scènes qui, parfois, prêtaient à confusion, furent, d'une part, le Christ emmené du Jardin de Gethsémané et le Christ conduit au Jugement et, de l'autre, cette dernière et le Christ montant au Golgotha. Entre les deux premières la confusion apparaît quand il manque à la scène du Jugement (49) le détail du reniement de Pierre ou bien le groupe des Juifs. Entre les deux autres la confusion résulte de l'omission de Simon portant la Croix et du groupe des Femmes (50). Une solution heureuse adoptée, en Cappadoce : l'inscription *καὶ δήσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγον εἰς τὸ σταυρωθῆναι*, telle qu'on la rencontre à l'église d'Elmalé Kilissé (51) sert à distinguer ces deux dernières scènes où tout élément iconographique particulier faisait défaut.

C'est également la Cappadoce qui nous offre deux autres exemples particulièrement caractéristiques en ce qui concerne la représentation du Christ trahi, emmené et conduit au Jugement. Dans les églises de

(46) G. MILLET, *op. cit.*, fig. 336-337.

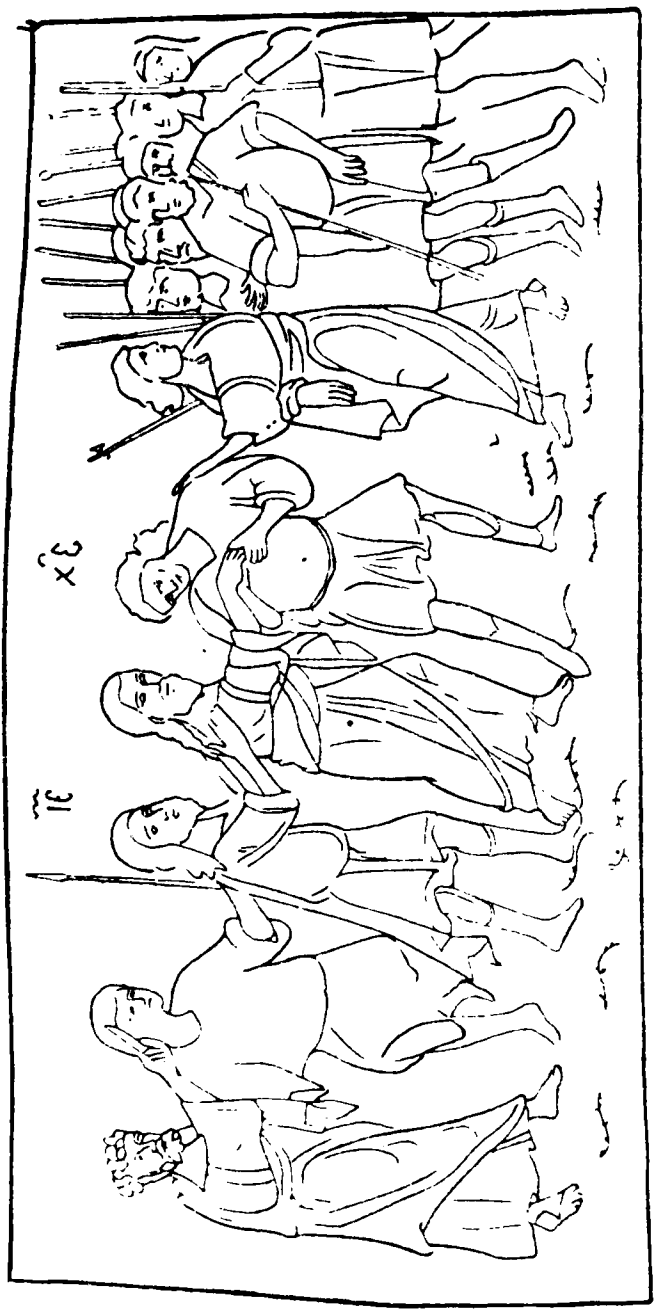
(47) G. MILLET, *op. cit.*, p. 333, fig. 327. Egalement dans l'œuvre d'un quattrocentiste dans l'Ambros. L. 58 sup. (MILLET, p. 334, note 1).

(48) Voir V. COTTAS, *L'Evolution Iconographique dans la Représentation du Christ Elkomenos*, dans *l'Art Chrétien*, dans *Byz. Neuegr. Jahrbucher*, Athènes, Avril, 1938, pp. 258-259 ; et A. GRABAR, *Bulgarie*, *op. cit.*, p. 195. D'après Cottas il s'agit du Christ conduit au Jugement ; d'après Grabar du Seigneur emmené du Jardin de Gethsémani.

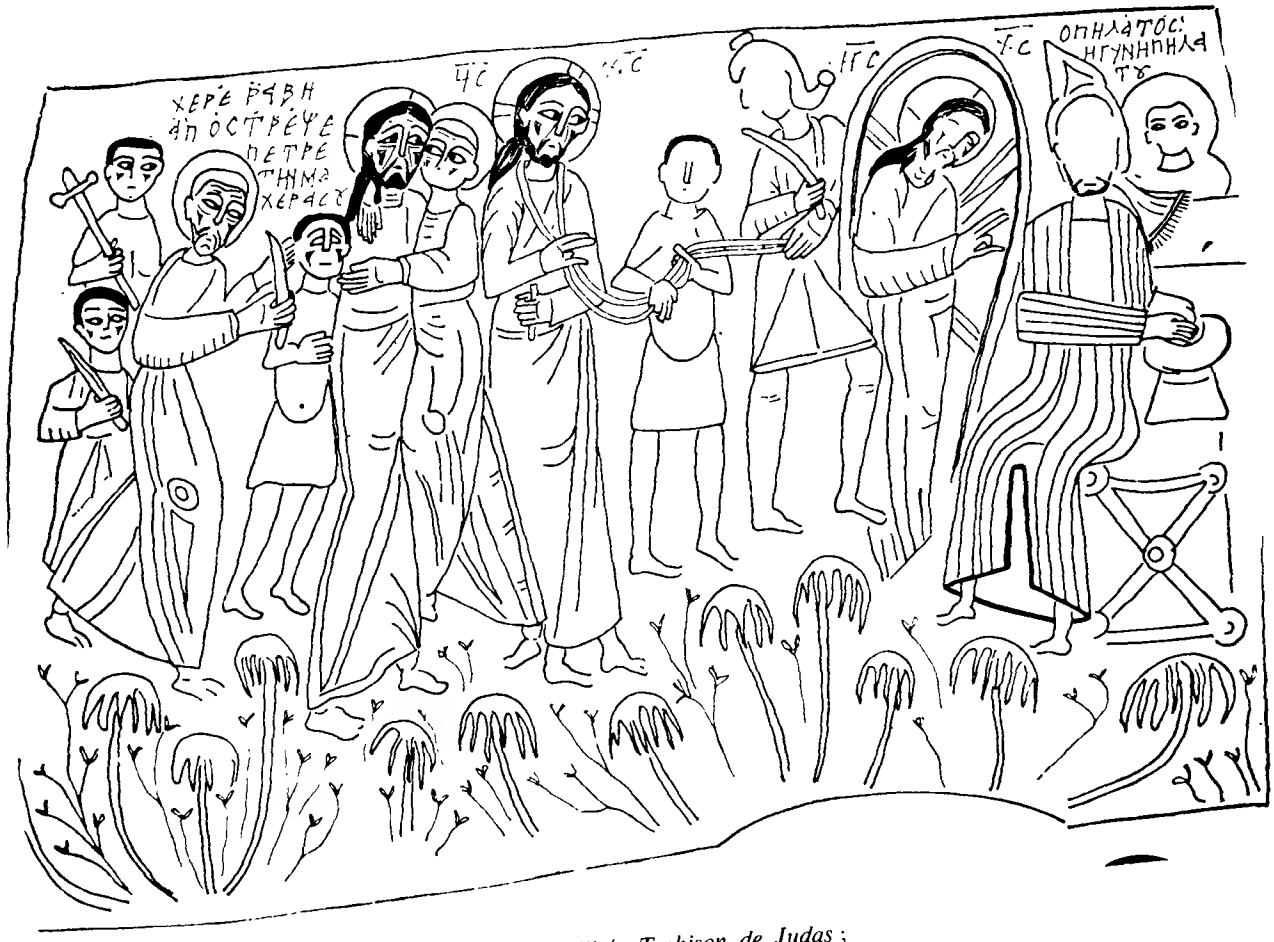
(49) V. COTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

(50) V. COTTAS, *op. cit.*, p. 258.

(51) G. MILLET, *Evangile*, *op. cit.*, p. 366, fig. 391.



Tétraévangile de Djzaïteti.
(D'après G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile* — fig. 329).



Kokar Kilisé, *Trahison de Judas* ;
Arrestation du Christ ; *Jugement de Pilate.*
(D'après le livre de N. et M. THIERRY, *Nouvelles Eglises Rupestres de Cappadoce* — fig. 28).

Kokar (52) (pl. 6) et de Pürenli Kilisé (53) on voit figurées dans un cadre unique trois séquences iconographiques qui se font suite : de gauche à droite la Trahison, le Christ entraîné au moyen d'une corde attachée autour du cou, le Christ comparaissant devant Pilate. Ici, la représentation du Seigneur «entraîné» continue à former une séquence à part dans la composition tripartite de la scène : comprise entre les deux autres, l'illustration du Christ entraîné aurait pu se référer aussi bien au moment où il est emmené du Jardin de Gethsémani qu'à celui où il est conduit devant Pilate. Or, dans le cas de Trissakia, c'est dans le contexte d'un épisode iconographique unique — celui de la Trahison — que des allusions subtiles sont faites aux moments qui la suivent. Le fait que la scène se déroule de gauche à droite devant un paysage urbain et non pas dans celui du Jardin, la corde attachée autour du cou du Seigneur et le schéma iconographique d'après lequel le Christ est aussi bien devancé que suivi de soldats mettent un accent particulier sur l'aspect «processionnel» de la scène et par lui-même sur l'itinéraire qui succédant à la Trahison se termine avec la Crucifixion (54).

Le schéma iconographique particulier adopté par la fresque de Trissakia évoquant — en pleine période des Paléologues (55) — à partir d'une scène unique la suite des événements constitue un cas rare dans le décor byzantin. Par une disposition précieuse et subtile il vient s'inscrire à côté de nombreuses autres solutions ingénieuses fournies par les églises du Magne.

Athènes. Théodora ILIOPOULOU-ROGAN.

(52) N. et M. THIERRY, *Nouvelles Eglises Rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1963, pp. 124-125, fig. 28.

(53) N. et M. THIERRY, *op. cit.*, p. 148, pl. 68a.

(54) La corde attachée autour du cou du Seigneur ferait allusion aux brutalités commises lors de la montée au Golgotha.

(55) Pendant celle-ci, tout au contraire, le cycle de la Passion s'enrichit de scènes nombreuses et devint de plus en plus détaillé.

ODOACER, EMPEROR ZENO AND THE RUGIAN VICTORY LEGATION

Odoacer's take-over of the government of Italy in 476 unquestionably marked a significant step in the dismantlement of West Roman domination, in the "rearchaizing" process which beset the Western provinces of the later Roman Empire (1). Yet due to the scarcity and obscurity of the source material, rather little is known of Odoacer's rule over the ancient imperial heartland. What is worse, the facts that do stand out are often enmeshed in contradictory interpretations (2). Scholars have so diverged over the most fundamental of questions that we cannot even be sure of the legal foundation of the barbarian soldier's rule.

It is known that Odoacer's troops proclaimed him king in 476 A.D. (3). We know too that the title of *rex* was applied to Odoacer by Italian officials in 483 (4). As recorded in the surviving copy made for

(1) For the useful concept of a rearchaizing process, see H. WOLFRAM, *The Shaping of the Early Medieval Kingdom*, in *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 1 (1970), 1-20, here 17-18.

(2) On Odoacer's reign in general see L. SCHMIDT, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung. Die Ostgermanen* (Munich^2, 1934), pp. 317-336 ; A. NAGL, *Odoacer*, in *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 17, 2 (1937), 1888-1896 ; W. ENSSLIN, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich, 1947), pp. 62-83 ; E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2. *De la disparition de l'empire d'Occident à la mort de Justinien*, publ. J.-R. PALANQUE (Paris, 1949), 39-58 ; A. H. M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602. A Social, Economic and Administrative Survey*, 1 (Oxford, 1964), 244-247 and 253-256, as well as the literature cited in the following notes. For a recent bibliography, see R. WENSKUS and H. JANKUHN in DAHLMANN-WAITZ, *Quellenkunde der deutschen Geschichte*, fasc. 27 (Stuttgart^{10}, 1975), § 162, 1185 et seq.

(3) *Excerpta Valesiana*, 45, ed. J. MOREAU and V. VELKOV (Teubner, Leipzig^2, 1968), p. 12, 25-27 ; Marius of Avenches, *Chronicon*, anno 470, ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi*, 11 (1894), 233 ; Marcellinus Comes, *ibid.*, p. 91, 21.

(4) See the text from Odoacer's reign which is preserved in the Acts of the Synod of Rome, 502 ; ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi*, 12 (1894), 445, 1-3 : "sublimis et eminentissimus vir praefectus praetorio atque patricius, agens etiam vices praecellentissimi regis Odovacris Basilius dixit ...".

the Syracusan *gesta municipalia*, the *intitulatio* of an act delivered on March 18, 489, reads *Odovacar rex* (5). In the same document, the words *d. n. rex, regnum* and *regius* are used to designate the king and his institutions (6). On the other hand, a recently discovered inscription which commemorates Odoacer's restoration of the Colisseum has only "v]iri Odovac[ris" (7). The inscription refers to a renovation which took place between September, 476 and March, 483 (8). Chastagnol has pointed out that for a highly visible, public document, the royal title is conspicuously absent (9). This fact seems to underscore the basic ambiguity of Odoacer's position.

Scholars have often wondered whether the barbarian ruler's *de facto* position of force was complemented by some kind of imperial accord which may have strengthened his legal position. Mommsen was convinced that the Scirian governed the Roman inhabitants of Italy in virtue of some kind of formal mandate from the emperor (10). In this respect, Mommsen stressed the significance of the recognition of Western consuls in the East without, it would appear, sufficient grounds (11). Ensslin, though recognizing the importance of Odoacer's kingship, maintained that the barbarian also disposed of a special kind of patriciate which implied the position of first *magister militum praesentalis* (12). Stein has disproven the existence of such a patriciate, but cautiously presents Odoacer's position as being grounded both in

(5) J.-O. TJADER, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445-700*, I (Acta instituti Romani regni Sueciae, series in-4°, xix : 1, Lund, 1955), ńs. 10-11, p. 288, l. 10.

(6) Thus in the introduction : "d. n. (praecellentissimus) rex", *ibid.*, p. 288, I, 1 and 6 ; "iusso regio", *ibid.*, line 6 ; "notarium regni eius" (cf. commentary, p. 439), *ibid.*, line 7, etc.

(7) A. M. COLINI and L. COZZA, *Ludus magnus* (Rome, 1962), p. 152 with photo.

(8) A. CHASTAGNOL, *Le sénat romain sous le règne d'Odoacre. Recherches sur l'épigraphie du Colisée au Ve siècle* (Antiquitas, 3, 3, Bonn, 1966), pp. 42-43.

(9) *Ibid.*, with n. 69.

(10) T. MOMMSEN, *Ostgotische Studien. 1. Die Consulardatierung des getheilten Reiches*, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 6 (Berlin, 1910), 363-387, here 383.

(11) Thus CHASTAGNOL, *op. cit.*, p. 55, n. 123 on the evidence of the Egyptian *papyri*.

(12) W. ENSSLIN, *Zu den Grundlagen von Odoakers Herrschaft*, in *Hoffilerov Zbornik-Serta Hoffilleriana* (Zagreb, 1940, *Vjesnik hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva*, N. S. vol. 18/21 (1937-1940)), pp. 381-388.

his position as king and his performance of the functions of *magister militum* (13). All three scholars suppose some kind of imperial recognition of the barbarian's position. More recently, A. H. M. Jones has assailed this "Romanizing" view. While he admits that Odoacer's position was complicated by the presence of a central administration and other imperial institutions, Jones came to the conclusion that the Scirian ruled as a barbarian king, "pure and simple" (14).

A review of the source material may lead one to the conclusion that the evidence is too tenuous to allow much certainty on the actual legal status of Odoacer in the Roman scheme of things (15). On the other hand, even if it seems impossible to determine whether or not Odoacer actually received imperial recognition of his position, it should be stressed that he greatly desired such recognition and attempted to obtain it. This is shown by his restitution of the imperial insignia to Zeno, accompanied by a request for the dignity of Patrician as well as for imperial acknowledgement of Odoacer's position at the head of the government of Italy. Although Zeno invoked the rightful jurisdiction of the exiled Western emperor Julian Nepos and demurred on these requests, he did allow the barbarian partial satisfaction by addressing him as "Patrician" in his reply (16).

(13) *Op cit.*, 2, 46-49. Cf. too the position of J. B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire from the Death of Theodosius I to the Death of Justinian*, 1 (London, 1923), 406-409.

(14) *The Constitutional Position of Odoacer and Theoderic*, in *Journal of Roman Studies*, 52 (1962), 126-130.

(15) See for example the prudent stance of H. WOLFRAM, *Intitulatio. I. Lateinische Königs- und Fürstentitel bis zum Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband, 21, Graz, 1967), p. 58-60. It should be noted that the evidence of coinage with Odoacer's portrait and the title *Flavius* which Wolfram adduces in his analysis must be rejected according to W. HAHN, *Moneta imperii byzantini. Rekonstruktion des Prägeaufbaues auf synoptisch-tabellarischer Grundlage*, 1. *Von Anastasius I. bis Justinianus I. (491-565), einschliesslich der ostgotischen und vandalischen Prägungen* (Vienna, 1973), p. 77, n. 1.

(16) Malchus, *Βυζαντιακά*, fragment 3, ed. C. DE BOOR, *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 1. 2, *Excerpta de legationibus* (Berlin, 1903), 570, 32-33 — 571, 21-22 and 571, 21-22: "*τὸν μέντοι Ὀδόακον ὑπ' αὐτῶν [sc. ἀνδρων τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ῥώμῃ] προβεβλῆσθαι ἱκανὸν ὄντα σώζειν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς πράγματα, πολιτικὴν ἔχοντα σύνεσιν ὁμοῦ καὶ μάχιμον · καὶ δεῖσθαι τοῦ Ζήνωνος πατρικίου τε αὐτῷ ἀποστεῖλαι ἀξίαν, καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἰταλῶν τούτῳ ἐφεῖναι*

Another instance of this policy may well have been Odoacer's execution of vengeance for the assassination of Julian Nepos, an assassination which was certainly not in conflict with Odoacer's deeper interests ([17]). There exists further evidence on this subject. Unfortunately, its significance has been obscured by an erroneous interpretation of the source material.

Relations between the emperor Zeno (474-475 ; 476-491) and Odoacer were never excellent. Negotiations are reported to have taken place between the king in Italy and the Isaurian usurper, Illus ([18]). Even though Odoacer apparently turned down the usurper's entreaty, the menace must have seemed real enough to Zeno, who could not have forgotten Illus' earlier dealings with Odoacer's brother ([19]). In what appears to have been a response to the threat which he perceived in Italy, Zeno resorted to a classical maneuver of imperial diplomacy : he attempted to arrange for an invasion of Odoacer's kingdom by the Rugians, a Germanic tribe living beyond the Danube ([20]).

διοίκησιν." and "*Καὶ βασίλειον γράμμα περὶ ὧν ἠβούλετο πέμπων τῷ Ὀδοάχῳ, πατρίκιον ἐν τούτῳ τῷ γράμματι ἐπωνόμασε*". On this passage, see STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 46. On Malchus, M. E COLONNA, *Gli storici bizantini dal iv al xv secolo*, 1 *Storici profani* (Naples, 1956), pp. 77-78 and I. KARAYANNOPOULOS, *Πηγαὶ τῆς βυζαντινῆς ἱστορίας* (*Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται*, 2, Thessalonica², 1971), p. 121. Cf. too the *Excerpta Valesiana*, 64, *ed. cit.*, p. 19, 9-10.

(17) Cassiodorus, *Chronica consularia*, 1309, ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi*, 11 (1894), 159. Cf. *Consularia italica*, 627 ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH Auctores antiquissimi*, 9 (1892), 312. On Odoacer's relations with Nepos and this incident, see J. P. C. KENT, *Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire*, in *Corolla memoriae E. Swoboda dedicata* (Romische Forschungen in Niederösterreich 5, Graz, 1966), p. 146-150 and J. J. WILKES, *Dalmatia* (History of the Provinces of the Roman Empire, London, 1969), pp. 421-422.

(18) STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 52-53. On Illus' revolt, see E. W. BROOKS, *The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians*, in *English Historical Review*, 8 (1893), 209-238 ; BURY, *op. cit.*, 1, 394-399 ; STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 15-20 and 28-31, and especially G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* (Princeton, 1961), pp. 490-496.

(19) STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 8-9 ; 52-53.

(20) On the Rugians, see L. SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, p. 117-126. We might note that a contingent of Rugians figured in the army which Zeno had sent against Illus : STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 29.

Odoacer may have gotten wind of the plan, for in late 487 he directed a preemptive attack against the Rugians. The Rugian king Feletheus and his queen were captured and, apparently, executed. A follow-up campaign led by Odoacer's brother, Onulf, resulted in the defeat of Feletheus' son and the effective neutralization of any menace from the Rugians ([21]).

Our chief source for the Constantinopolitan point of view during these events is one of the fragments of John of Antioch's lost chronicle which have survived in the compilation prepared for Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogennitus (913-959). Though John himself was writing at the beginning of the seventh century, his sources seem to have been quite reliable. The little of his work that has come down to us sheds significant light on developments of the late fifth and sixth centuries ([22]).

John's account has not gone unnoticed by modern historians. If we may judge by the discussions of Hartmann, Schmidt, Stein and Ensslin, John informs us of Zeno's attempt to stir up the Rugians, Odoacer's preemptive attacks (which are telescoped into one campaign) ([23]) the sending of gifts taken from the booty to Zeno,

(21) On the Rugian campaigns see, in addition to the source cited in the following note, Eugippius, *Commemoratorium de uita sancti Seuerini* (BHL, 765), ed. T. MOMMSEN, *MGH Scriptores rerum germanicarum in usum scholarum* (Berlin, 1898), c. 44, p. 52, 19-27 ; Cassiodorus, *Chronica consularia*, 1316; *ed. cit.*, p. 159 ; cf. *Consularia italica*, 635, *ed. cit.*, p. 312-313 ; *Excerpta Valesiana*, 48, *ed. cit.*, p. 14, 3-4. The tradition is preserved too in the seventh-century *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, ed. G. WAITZ, *MGH Scriptores rerum langobardicarum*, (1878), p. 3, 12-14. On these events, see SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123 and 335-336 ; STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 52-53 ; G. ALFOLDY, *Noricum* (The Provinces of the Roman Empire, London, 1974), p. 224.

(22) *Excerpta historica iussu imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta*, vol. 3, *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. DE BOOR, (Berlin, 1905). 138, 14-17. On John, see G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica. Die Byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, 1 (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 10, Berlin[2], 1958), 313-315 ; COLONNA, *op. cit.*, pp 64-65 ; KARAYANNOPOULOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-161.

(23) John's account would not indicate that Odoacer personally directed the campaign. The phrase "...*τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδόαχρον*" is John's usual way of referring to the entourage or the followers of a prominent personality : cf. fragment 54, *ed. cit.*, p. 100, 14-15 ; fragment 57, p. 104, 25-26 ; fragment 64, p. 111, 8-9, etc.

Zeno's refusal of these gifts and his congratulations to Odoacer on his splendid victory (24).

The legation conveying the news of the victory and the booty to Constantinople seems to have been directed by Odoacer's *magister officiorum*, Andromachus (25). It poses a serious problem. On the basis of earlier scholarly discussion of this legation, it is difficult to explain why Odoacer should have chosen such an ironic, if not to say insolent manner of informing Zeno of the erstwhile imperial allies' defeat. The legation would seem to be in contradiction with other evidence of Odoacer's desire to "normalize" relations with the emperor.

The problem becomes clearer if we view it in the light of late Roman victory practices. It has long been observed that, from the reign of Augustus, the office of *imperator* and consequently, the right to celebrate triumphs, had become almost the sole prerogative of the reigning emperor. As *imperator*, the head of state could and did celebrate triumphs for the victories won by him through his generals. In the conceptual world defined by the later Roman state, victory and triumph were nearly exclusive attributes of the imperial office (26).

Later sources often allude to a practice by which the local commander of victorious Roman forces would send to the emperor part of the booty captured from the enemy (27). The booty was sometimes

(24) SCHMIDT, *op. cit.*, pp. 335-336 ; ENSSLIN, *op. cit.*, p. 63 ; STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 53-54 ; L. M. HARTMANN, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, I, *Das Italienische Königreich* (Geschichte der europaischen Staaten, 32, Stuttgart², 1923), p. 59 is somewhat more circumspect.

(25) Thus STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 34 and 54. During the same mission, Andromachus may have been entrusted with papal instructions for discussions with Acacius : E. SCHWARTZ, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum Acacianischen Schisma* (Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Abteilung, N. F. 10 (1934), 210-211 and 265-266 ; it is possible that *Collectio avellana*, 99, ed. O. GUNTHER, *CSEL*, 35 (1895), 440-453 represents the text of these instructions.

(26) See T. MOMMSEN, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, I (Leipzig³, 1887), 125-126, 135-136 and 455 et seq. ; J. GAGÉ, *La théologie de la Victoire impériale*, in *Revue historique*, 171 (1933), 1-43 and "*Σταυρὸς νικοποιός*" *La victoire impériale dans l'empire chrétien*, in *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses*, 13 (1933), 370-400, and *Felicitas*, in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 7 (1968), 711-723, as well as my forthcoming study on the celebration of victory in the later Roman empire and the Greek and Latin successor states.

(27) The long-standing debate on property rights to booty and the crime of peculation has centered almost exclusively on the situation under the Republic and,

destined for display in an imperial triumph, but it was more frequently intended to serve as "proof", as the "symbol" of victory ([28]). By sending this *σύμβολον* to the supreme commander, the victorious local commander recognized and paid tribute to him who was the true *victor ac triumphator*, as official titulature had it ([29]). The custom of

as such, need not concern us here. For a recent discussion, see I. SHATZMAN, *The Roman General's Authority over Booty*, in *Historia*, 21 (1972), 177-205.

(28) Such symbolic sendings are well attested from the later Empire. Thus, after the suppression of the Samaritan revolt led by Justasas, the rebel's head and diadem were conveyed to the emperor Zeno : John MALALAS, *Chronographia*, ed. L. DINDORF (Bonn, 1831), p. 382, 10-21, 383, 1-4 and *apud Excerpta de insidiis, ed. cit.* fragment 34, p. 162, 22-32. Theophanes explicitly designates as the "symbol of victory" the sword and bracelet of a vanquished Persian leader, which were sent to the Emperor Anastasius I (491-518) : *Chronographia*, A. M. 5997, ed. C. DE BOOR, I (Leipzig, 1883), 146, 13-16 : "*ἀνεῖλε δὲ καὶ στρατηγὸν μέγιστον τῶν Περσῶν ἐν μιᾷ συμπλοκῇ, οὗ καὶ τὸ ξίφος καὶ τὸ βραχιάλιον ἠνέχθη Ἀρεοβίνδῳ παρὰ τοῦ ἀνελόντος αὐτὸν Σκύθου, καὶ ἀξιόλογον ὡς μάλιστα φανὲν σύμβολον τῆς νίκης ἑστάλη τῷ βασιλεῖ*". A few years later, we encounter victory legations with symbolic elements of the booty which were dispatched from the Italian front by the *praepositus sacri cubiculi*, Narses, to Justinian I : Malalas, ed. DINDORF, p. 486, 14-18 · "*καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ μηνὶ ἐπινίκια ἦλθον ἀπὸ Ῥώμης ἀπὸ Ναρσοῦ τοῦ κουβικουλαρίου καὶ ἐξάρχου Ῥωμαίων. συμβαλόντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ πόλεμον μετὰ Τοτίλα, ῥηγὸς τῶν Γότθων, κατὰ κράτος νικήσας τὸν πόλεμον καὶ αὐτὸν κατέσφαξε · καὶ ἐπέμφθη τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ ἡμαγμένα ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει*". Theophanes, A. M. 6044, *ed. cit.*, p. 228, 18-24, probably citing from the unabridged text of Malalas, adds that Narses also sent the Gothic king's bejewelled *καμηλαύκιον* and that his messengers threw these objects before the emperor's feet : "*ἐρρίφησαν εἰς τοὺς πόδας τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ σεκρήτου*". The symbolic nature of such objects seems equally clear a bit later, when Narses sent not only "normal" booty, but also the keys to the reconquered cities of Verona and Brescia (November, 562? Cf. STEIN, *op. cit.*, 2, 610) : MALALAS, *ed. cit.*, p. 492, 17-20. We might cite a final example from the reign of Mauricius (582-602). After overrunning the camp of the Persian army in 589 or 590 A.D., the Roman generals sent "proof of the trophies" to the emperor : Theophylactus SIMOCATTES, *Historiae*, 3, 6, 4, ed. C. DE BOOR and P. WIRTH (Teubner, Leipzig², 1972), p. 120, 14-20 : "*τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ καὶ τοῦ Περσικοῦ χάρακος ἐπιβάντες Ῥωμαῖοι καὶ τούτου κρατήσαντες τῶν τροπαίων τὸν ἔλεγχον ἐς βασιλέα παρέπεμπον, ξίφη χρύσεα τιάρας τε Περσικὰς καὶ τὰς λιθοκολλήτους ζώνας, ἃς οἱ μαργαρῖται τοῖς βαρβάροις λαμπρύνουσιν, τά τε σημεῖα τῆς παρατάξεως, ἅπερ Ῥωμαίοις εἴθισται τῇ πατρῴᾳ φωνῇ βάνδα ἀποκαλεῖν*".

(29) GAGÉ, "*Σταυρός*", p. 394. On imperial victory titulature : P. KNEISSL, *Die Siegestitulatur der römischen Kaiser. Untersuchungen zu den Siegerbeinamen des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts* (Hypomnemata, 23, Gottingen, 1969) and H. HUNGER, *Prooimion. Elemente der byzantinischen Kaiseridee in den Arengen der Urkunden* (Wiener Byzantinistische Studien, 1, Vienna, 1964), pp. 73-75.

sending victory messages from the battlefield to the head of state, though especially well-attested for the later period, reaches far back into the Roman past, as Halkin has shown in his study of the *litterae lauratae* under the Republic and Principate (30). Just as ancient was the custom of accompanying these letters with tangible proofs of victory (31).

When we view it in this context, the significance of the legation which Odoacer sent to East Rome after the Rugian campaign stands forth with new clarity. The barbarian king was not trying to bribe Zeno. Rather, as on earlier occasions, Odoacer was attempting to accentuate his actual or would-be position as a loyal imperial subordinate. By sending to Zeno the symbol of a victory won at least nominally in the imperial interest, Odoacer was fulfilling the obligation of a Roman field-commander to the supreme *victor ac triumphator*. Zeno, in turn, implicitly recognized Odoacer's position by expressing his satisfaction on this victory (32).

Yet if this is so, how are we to reconcile the imperial congratulations with Zeno's refusal of the booty, the "symbol of victory", sent to him by the would-be *magister militum*? In view of the victory customs to which we have just called attention, such an act would

(30) L. HALKIN, *La supplication d'action des grâces chez les Romains* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de philosophie et lettres de l'Université de Liège, 128, Paris, 1953), pp. 80-87. We might stress that it is this Roman institution that lies at the origin of the Byzantine victory legation from the battlefield, and not the triumphal inscriptions, as V. BEŠEVLIEV, *Die Botschaften der Byzantinischen Kaiser aus dem Schlachtfeld*, in *Byzantina*, 6 (1974), 73-83, here p. 80, has erroneously maintained. For more on this Byzantine institution, see the study announced above, n. 26.

(31) Thus the Republican custom of sending prominent captives to Rome in the company of the *nuntius victoriae*. Examples: Livy, xxvi, 51, 1-2; xxvii, 7, 1-4; xliv, 32, 4.

(32) It is not improbable that this expression of satisfaction took the form of a congratulatory letter. Imperial examples of such documents are exceedingly rare. An analogous piece from the Ostrogothic chancery of the early sixth century is found in Cassiodorus, *Variae*, 2, 41, ed. Å. J. FRIDH, *Corpus christianorum, series latina*, 96 (1973), 91-92, with the commentary by Å. J. FRIDH, *Contribution à la critique et à l'interprétation des Variae de Cassiodore* (Acta regiae societatis scientiarum et litterarum Gothoburgensis, Humaniora, 4, Göteborg, 1968), pp. 29-32. Cf. too the letter of congratulations to the patrician and exarch of Africa in Gregory the Great's *Registrum*, I, 73, ed. P. EWALD and L. HARTMANN, *MGH Epistulae*, 1 (1891), 93-94.

seem like an outright disavowal of Odoacer's implied legal position as an imperial representative. How could Zeno refuse the token of victory and still express satisfaction at Odoacer's action?

A careful examination of the relevant passage in John of Antioch leads to a different and surprizing conclusion. Schmidt, Stein and Ensslin, to name only some of the most prominent scholars who have considered this problem, seem to have misinterpreted the text. It reads as follows :

> *λαμπρὰν δὲ ἀναδησαμένων νίκην τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὀδόακρον, προσέτι δὲ καὶ πεμψάντων δῶρα τῷ Ζήνωνι τῶν λαφύρων, ἀποπροσποιησάμενος συνήδετο τοῖς πραχθεῖσιν* (33).

A rather literal translation of the passage would read something like this : "Odoacer's men won a splendid victory [against the Rugians] ; moreover they sent to Zeno gifts taken from the booty, who pretended he was gratified by their accomplishments". The key word is *ἀποπροσποιέομαι*. It can indeed signify "refuse", as preceding scholars have understood it here. Yet the verb seems in remarkably loose relation to its supposed object (*δῶρα*). In fact, *ἀποπροσποιέομαι* occurs in a very similar diplomatic context in a sixth-century text. There, however, it clearly has the meaning "feign, pretend" (34). In John's

(33) John of Antioch, *De insidiis*, fragment 98, *ed. cit.*, p. 138, 14-17.

(34) In the description of an audience granted to a legation from the Avars : Menander Protector, fragment 31, ed. C. DE BOOR, *Excerpta de legationibus*, p. 474, 15-25 : "*εὐθὺς μὲν τὸ ἐπιχείρημα καὶ τὴν ἔννοιαν τοῦ Χαγάνου διέγνω σαφῶς ὁ αὐτοκράτωρ, ... ἀπορῶν δὲ στρατιᾶς, οὔτι λέγω πρὸς τὴν Ἀβάρων δύναμιν ἀντιταξομένης, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὀλιγίστης ὅλως ὑπαρχούσης αὐτῷ, πάντων τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καταλόγων ἐς τὸν πρὸς Πέρσας πόλεμον ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τε καὶ τῇ μέσῃ τῶν ποταμῶν ἐνησχολημένων, ἀπεπροσποιεῖτο δῆθεν ὡς οὐ συννοήσας τὸ βουλευθὲν τῷ Χαγάνῳ ...*". The usage in Menander, fragment 6, *ed. cit.*, p. 449, 8 seems somewhat different. For further material on the various meanings of *ἀποπροσποιέομαι*, see H. STEPHANUS, *Thesaurus linguae graecae*, ed. C. B. HASE *et al.*, 1, 2 (Paris, 1831-1856), 1625 B/C. We might note that E. KRIARA's reference to Liddell and Scott for the "later" sense "reject" (*Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας. 1100-1669*, 3, Thessalonica, 1973, 99 s. v.) is not warranted : cf. *A Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford[9], 1976), p. 214. The meaning "to feign" is further attested by the substantivization *ἀποπροσποίησις* in the sense "a dissembling" : Photius, *Syntagma canonum*, 9, 30, PG, 104, 788 B. Cf. too Simocattes, *ed. cit.*, p. 296, 21-22. The weakening of the preverb *ἀπο-* which we find in these instances is not surprizing at this date : see e. g. G. BOHLIG, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen*

case too it appears more adequate to understand the participle in the sense "feign". It accompanies the verb *συνήδομαι* and describes attendant circumstance ([35]).

We might add that Stein was in partial agreement with this construction of John of Antioch's text, for he summarized this clause with the words "the emperor nevertheless *made a show* of being very satisfied (my italics)". He apparently failed to notice that *ἀποπροσποιέομαι* can mean either "refuse" or "pretend", but not both at once ([36]). Thus disappears the last obscurity in John of Antioch's account of the victory legation which Odoacer dispatched to Constantinople.

Let us conclude. The historical significance of the legation which Odoacer sent to Zeno after the Rugian campaign has been obscured by failure to view it in the context of later Roman victory practices and by an erroneous interpretation of the Greek text of John of Antioch. The evidence indicates that the victory legation must be viewed in the same light as the earlier mission of the Senatorial envoys and the return of the imperial insignia to Constantinople ([37]). By sending the *σύμβολον τῆς νίκης* to the emperor, Odoacer was stressing his desire to be viewed as an imperial subordinate and to enjoy whatever advantages that position might gain for him in Italy and in the Em-

Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner (Berliner byzantinistische Arbeiten, 2, Berlin, 1956), p. 255 with n. 2. It should be noted that the word *ἀποπροσποιέομαι* does not seem to occur elsewhere in the Constantinian excerpts of John of Antioch.

(35) Cf. J. HUMBERT, *Syntaxe grecque* (Collection de philologie classique, 2, Paris[3], 1960), 219, p. 129 and E. SCHWYZER and A. DEBRUNNER, *Griechische Grammatik*, 2, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft, 2, 1, 2 (Munich, 1966), 387-388.

(36) *Op. cit.*, 2, 54 : "L'empereur ne semble pas avoir accepté ces cadeaux, mais il se donna néanmoins l'air d'être très satisfait ..." and Schmidt's interpretation, *op. cit.*, p. 336 : "Der König suchte daher einzulenken und des Kaisers Gunst wieder zu gewinnen, indem er ihm Geschenke aus der rugischen Beute übersandte. ... Wie zu erwarten blieben aber seine Bemühungen erfolglos. Zeno lehnte die Annahme der Geschenke ab und begnügte sich damit, 'seine Freude über das Erreichte auszusprechen' ". I might note that T. HODGKIN, *Italy and her Invaders*, 3, *The Ostrogothic Invasion* (Oxford[2], 1896), 148-149 also translates this passage incorrectly, albeit in a different way. He creates a new, unattested meaning for *ἀποπροσποιέομαι* and then supplies it with a non-existent direct object, without the benefit of brackets.

(37) See above, p. 214 with note 16.

pire at large. The emperor's acceptance of the booty and his expression of satisfaction must have seemed reassuring to Odoacer, even as Theoderic's invasion began to take shape at imperial prompting.

The significance of this legation cannot and should not be forced to provide proof that Odoacer actually disposed of a recognized imperial mandate for his administration of Italy. It does, however, lend conviction to Malchus' affirmation that Odoacer attempted to secure recognition for such a mandate. This in itself tells us that Odoacer aspired to be more than a barbarian king, pure and simple.

Louvain. Michael McCORMICK.

GREGOR VON NAZIANZ IN KONSTANTINOPEL (379-381 A.D.)

Das Forschungsvorhaben der Görres-Gesellschaft stellt Gregor von Nazianz in den Blickpunkt der Wissenschaft (1). Mehrere Gründe erklären das Interesse, welches dieser christliche Schriftsteller erweckt.

Als Schriftsteller ist er einer der fruchtbarsten Autoren seiner Zeit gewesen, und sein Werk stellt einen ausgezeichneten Ausgangspunkt dar, um in die Denkweise der christlichen Gesellschaft des vierten Jahrhunderts Einblick zu gewinnen. Man kan ihn zu den Kronzeugen des Glaubens und des Denkens im vierten Jahrhundert zählen, er ist der einzige, mit dem Evangelisten Johannes, den man mit dem einfachen Beinamen «der Theologe» bezeichnet.

Aus diesen Gründen ist es verständlich dass die heutige Kirche sich dieser hohen Persönlichkeit der Kirche des vierten Jahrhunderts annimmt. Wenn man nicht recht weiss wohin man geht, ist es vielleicht besonders nützlich zu schauen, woher man kommt.

Es ist umso bemerkenswerter dass die Vorsehung diese Persönlichkeit an den Ort und in die Zeit gestellt hat, wo sich das Schicksal der christlichen Welt entschied, in Konstantinopel in 379-381, als Kaiser Theodosius die Geschichte der Kirche und der Zivilisation unwiderruflich besiegelte. Gregor von Nazianz spielt eine hervorragende Rolle in der Zeit um 380, als das Christentum sich mit der antiken Kultur verschmilzt und die Dr. Theodor Klauser so trefflich benannte «spätantike-christliche» Kultur sich bildet (2).

(1) Une *editio maior* des *Carmina* et des *Orationes* de Grégoire de Nazianze est en préparation sous la direction du Prof. Dr. Martin Sicherl et sous les auspices de la Goerres-Gesellschaft. Le texte de cet article a été lu devant l'assemblée de la Goerres-Gesellschaft, section de philologie classique, à Coblence, le 27 septembre 1976, à l'occasion de la célébration solennelle du premier centenaire de l'association. La toilette littéraire du texte allemand est due aux soins de mon collègue, M. T. Hackens. Je le remercie vivement de son obligeance.

(2) Th. KLAUSER, *Christlicher Märtyrerkult, heidnischer Heroenkult und spätjüdische Heiligenverehrung* (Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Forschung des Landes Nordrhein-Westfalen. Geisteswissenschaften, 91), Koln, 1960, S. 27.

In diesem Vortrag handelt es sich nicht darum, die Lebensgeschichte Gregors von Nazianz neu zu schreiben. Hagiographen haben dies besorgt. Es gibt auch Biographen Gregors von Nazianz, und auch die Maurinermönche, die seine Werke im achtzehnten Jahrhundert veröffentlichen in einer Form die Migne in der Patrologia graeca wiedergibt und die wir heute noch gebrauchen in Ermangelung einer besseren, kritischen Ausgabe.

Das Thema dieses Vortrages ist enger begrenzt : wir möchten Gregor anhand seiner Schriften während den zwei Jahren seiner Tätigkeit in Konstantinopel folgen und die Gestalt des Schriftstellers und des Bischofs umschreiben. Wir haben eine religiöse Verehrung und Andacht für die Texte und unsere Methode lässt sich im ersten Artikel unseres philologischen Glaubensbekenntnisses zusammenfassen : die Quellen, alle Quellen, und ausschlieslich die Quellen!

Daher gliedert sich dieser Vortrag naturgemäss in zwei Teile : wir untersuchen zunächst das *Carmen de Vita sua*, ein autobiografisches Gedicht, dann geht es uns um die *Reden*, die in Konstantinopel entstanden. Wir müssen vieles zusammenfassen, denn das Werk unseres Autors ist sehr umfangreich ; dennoch müssen wir die wichtigsten Stellen ausführlich vortragen. Dies ist unumgänglich. Sie werden die Auszüge des *Carmen de Vita Sua* in der Deutschen Fassung von Dr. Jungck hören. Mein Kollege, T. Hackens, Ordinarius der Kath. Universität Löwen, hat diese Passus für Sie auf Tonband gesprochen und ich hoffe, dass seine Stimme sowohl Ihrer Sprache als auch den Texten Gregors gerecht wird.

* * *

Das *Carmen de Vita sua* vermittelt uns einen allgemeinen Rahmen der Tätigkeit Gregors. Das Gedicht ist wahrscheinlich in Nazianz geschrieben worden, kurz nach dem Aufenthalt Gregors in Konstantinopel. Es ist ein Geschichtswerk (3) mit sehr deutlichem apologetischen Einschlag (4) ; heutzutage würde man ein solches Werk als eine Art «Weissbuch» ansehen und es als die «Memoiren Gregors

(3) *De vita*, v. 1-2 : ... ἐξιστορῆσαι ...

(4) *De vita*, v. 1-19, und v. 40-50, usw. Cf. Ch. Jungck, *Gregor v. Nazianz. De vita sua. Einleitung. Text. Uebersetzung. Kommentar* (Wissenschaftliche Kommentare zu griechischen und lateinischen Schriftstellern), Heidelberg, 1974, S. 13-16.

von Nazianz» bezeichnen. Die zwei in Konstantinopel verbrachten Jahre nehmen in diesem Werk einen hervorragenden Platz ein, 1367 Verse von 1949, und die Geschichte dieses Zeitabschnittes ist wie das Kernstück der Schrift eingeleitet (5). Die gesamte Schrift ist übrigens den Christen von Konstantinopel zugedacht :

> «An Euch aber richte ich meine Worte, die Ihr einst mein wart, nun aber Fremde seit ... (v. 8-9). Ihr Männer, das strahlende Auge der Erde, die Ihr, wie ich sehe, die zweite Welt bewohnt, mit der Erde und des Meeres Pracht umkleidet, neugeschaffenes Rom, neuen Adels Sitz, Konstantins Stadt und Denkmal seiner Macht (V. 12-16) ... Zwei Sonnen hat uns die Natur nicht gegeben, wohl aber zwei Rom, des gesamten Erdkreises Leuchter, eine alte und eine neue Herrscherin, beide nur so viel verschieden voneinander, dass das eine dem Morgen voranleuchtet, das andere dem Abend, und dass sie Pracht der Pracht im Verein entgegenstrahlen lassen (V. 562-567)».

Wir können an dieser Stelle nicht all den Intrigen und mannigfaltigen Vorfällen oder auch den tragischen Ereignissen nachgehn, die uns einzeln erzählt werden : Protestaktionen in Gottesdienstveranstaltungen, Kulissenspiele des Konzils von 381 und vieles mehr. Wir müssen daraus die Richtlinien und die historischen Anhaltspunkte für Gregors Wirken gewinnen. Die 1367 Verse, die dem Wirken in Konstantinopel gelten, teilen sich gleichsam in zwei etwa gleiche Teile auf : der erste Teil erstreckt sich bis Ende November 380 : Gregor kümmert sich um die orthodoxe Minderheit.

> «Gleichwohl aber, obwohl die unseligste Stadt in einer solchen Verfassung war nach dem Gesetz, das die Zeit schafft — denn eine andauernde Gewohnheit wird schliesslich zum Gesetz, — und einen traurigen Tod durch ihren Unglauben gestorben war, hatte sie noch ein wenig Samen des lebenspendenden Hauches bewahrt, Seelen, vollkommen in Hinsicht auf den Glauben, eine Schar, klein zwar, für Gott zahlreicher, bei dem nicht die Massen, sondern die Herzen zählen, einen verlässlichen Setzling und ein kostbarstes Reis ... Obschon wir ja immer ein baürisches Leben geführt hatten, sandte uns die Gnade des Heiligen Geistes ... als Helfer des Volks und Verteidiger der Lehre, dass wir mit frommem Nass die durstenden, aber noch grünenden Seelen erquickten, und damit durch die Nahrung des Oels sich dem Leuchter das Licht verbinde (V. 583-600)».

(5) *De vita*, V. 556.

Diese kleine Gemeinschaft ist von den öffentlichen Kirchen ausgeschlossen und versammelt sich in einem privaten Raum, die *Anastasia* :

> «Anastasia, der Kirchen ehrwürdigste, die du den Glauben auferweckt hast, der tot in der Erde lag, du Arche Noah, die du als einzige der Ueberflutung der Welt entronnen bist und die zweite rechtgläubige Welt in den Samen trägst, zu dir strömt zahlreich und von überallher das Volk ... Ich aber stehe stumm in ihrer Mitte ... (V. 1079-1087)».

Gregor gibt sich in diesem Rahmen als ein Mann des Landes, der sich entwurzelt und durch seine Mittelmässigkeit erdrückt fühlt :

> «Denn unertraglich sei es, dass der allerärmste Mann, runzlig, zur Erde gebeugt und schlecht angezogen, von des Magens Zügelung, von Tränen ausgezehrt und von der Angst vor dem Kommenden sowie durch die Bosheiten der anderen, dessen Gesicht auch nicht wohlgestaltet sei, ein Fremdling, ein Heimatloser, den schon das Dunkel der Erde decke, dass dieser Mann vollkräftigen und edlen Leuten vorgezogen werde (V. 696-702)».

Die verschiedenen Begebenheiten, welche in diesem Teil der Memoiren des Gregor erzählt werden, betonen die Hauptsorgen seines Wirkens : zuerst muss er in seiner eigenen Gemeinschaft den Frieden wiederherstellen :

> «Gar mannigfach sind die Abwege vom unfehlbaren und vorgezeichneten Weg, und alle führen sie zu den Abgründen des Verderbens (V. 1468)».

Auf diesem Gebiet sind die Schwierigkeiten so gross, dass man sogar dazu übergeht, hinter dem Rücken Gregors einen Bischof zu weihen, der versucht, ihn als Rivalen zu überspielen : es kam zu den berühmten Maximosaffäre (V. 750-1012).

Die andere Sorge Gregors gilt den Irrlehren, die er mit der Orthodoxie zu versöhnen sucht :

> «Denn mannigfach sind die Wege zum Heil und alle führen zur Gemeinschaft mit Gott (V. 1225-6) ... Denn seine Zeit hat, wie du hörst, ein jedes Ding, und 'das rechte Mass ist das beste' hat einer der (sieben) Weisen gesagt» (V. 1238-6239).

Wiederherstellung des inneren Friedens in der orthodoxen Gemeinschaft, Versöhnung der Arianer mit der Orthodoxie, Wiederherstel-

lung des Bischofsamtes : dies sind die wesentlichen Ziele des Wirkens unseres Gregor bis Ende November 380.

Am 24. November 380 zieht Theodosius in seine Hauptstadt ein (V. 1280-1286). Gregor wird durch das Volk von Konstantinopel zum rechtmässigen Bischof erlesen (V. 1371-1395) und die kaiserliche Unterstützung gibt seinem Wirken neue Ausmasse (V. 1305-1319), aber sie bringt auch manche Schwierigkeit mit sich. Denn der rechtmässige Bischof verfügt über den unermesslichen gesellschaftlichen Einfluss und über die beträchtlichen finanziellen Mittel, die mit dem Bischofssitz in Konstantinopel verbinden sind. Diese Situation erweckt den Neid verschiedener ehrgeiziger Würdenträger der Kirche. Man versucht Gregor zu ermorden (V. 1441-1474). Darauf antwortet dieser mit einem zurückgezogenen und schlichten Leben :

> «Während alle sich verneigten von der Anmassung der hohen Beamten — darunter am meisten vor den Leuten aus der engsten Umgebung des Kaisers, die in allem anderen keine Männer sind ausser wenn es ums Geld geht — und es gar nicht auszusprechen ist, wie und mit was für Künsten sie gerade die Kaiserlichen Vorzimmer belagerten, verleumdeten, sich masslos bestechen liessen, und den rechten Glauben abscheulich ausnützten — sich schändlich aufführten, um es kurz zu sagen —, da habe ich als einziger beschlossen, mich lieber vermissen als hassen zu lassen ... der mächtigen Türen aber anderen (zu) überlassen (V. 1420-1435, siehe auch V. 1495-1505)».

Die Streitigkeiten, die damals die Weltkirche in verschiedene Lager teilten, sind alsdann Gregors brennende Sorge und treten in den Vordergrund vor Beginn des Konzils von Konstantinopel im Jahre 381 :

> «Da begannen sie zu krächzen auf allen Seiten, ein Dohlenschwarm, bereit, sich auf ein Ziel zu sturzen, ein wirrer Haufen von Buben, eine neuartige Bande, ein Wirbelsturm, der den Staub mitschleift im Aufruhr der Winde (V. 1680-1684) ... Ihnen aber folgte die altehrwürdige Versammlung ; so weit waren sie davon entfernt, die Jungen zur Vernunft zu bringen! ... (V. 1688-9)».

Der Streit geht um den Bischofssitz von Antiochia (V. 1572-1590), dann um die Rechte und die Rechtmässigkeit Gregors, welche in Frage gestellt werden (V. 1504-1679) ; Gregor ist dazu bereit, alles zu opfern für den Frieden und die Einheit der Weltkirche (V. 1632-1634 ; V. 1703-8). Er stellt die Schwachheit und Schuld der Gemäs-

sigten fest (V. 1704-1718) und beschliesst, Konstantinopel zu verlassen, wenn seine Stimme nicht gehört wird (V. 1871-1918) ; dies tut er dann auch, ohne das Ende des Konzils abzuwarten und indem er den Triumph der Extremisten bedauert (V. 1919-1949).

Zusammenfassend kann gesagt werden, dass das *Carmen de Vita sua* Gregor beschäftigt zeigt, den Frieden in drei verschiedenen Richtungen zu stiften : im Innern der Nizänischen Orthodoxie, zwischen den orthodoxen und arianischen Parteien innerhalb der Christen von Konstantinopel und schliesslich in der Universalkirche.

Diese Anstrengungen stehen im Zeichen der Kirchengeschichte der Jahre 379, 380 und 381, für die einer meiner Lehrmeister, Prof. E. Stein, folgende Daten hervorgehoben hat (6) :

1. Am 3. August 379 entzieht Kaiser Gratian allen nicht nizänischen Gläubigen die Kultusfreiheit (7) ;
2. Am 28. Februar 380 befehlen Gratian, Valentinian und Theodosius allen Untertanen des Reiches, sich der Nizänischen Doktrin zu unterwerfen, welche durch den Papst Damasus und den Bischof Peter von Alexandrien vertreten wird (8) ;
3. Am 24. November 380 befiehlt Theodosius dem arianischen Bischof Demophilos, die Stadt zu verlassen (9) ;
4. Am 10. Januar 381 gibt Theodosius den Nizänern alle Heiligtümer der Arianer zurück (10) ;
5. Im Monat Mai 381 beruft Theodosius das Konzil von Konstantinopel ein, welches als ökumenisches Konzil angesehen wird (11).

Man kan diese Analyse nicht abschliessen ohne eine literarische Bemerkung, die uns sehr wichtig erscheint. Das *Carmen de Vita sua* gehört zu einer literarischen Form der apologetischen Geschichte, die von Grund auf parteiisch ist. Der Text gibt das Bild welches der Autor

(6) E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire. De l'Etat romain à l'Etat byzantin (284-476)*, édit. française par J.-R. PALANQUE, I (Gand und Paris), 1959, S. 197-198.
(7) *Cod. theodos.*, XVI, 5, 5 (edidit Th. MOMMSEN, Berlin, 1905, II, S. 856).
(8) *Cod. theodos.*, XVI, 1, 2 (edidit Th. MOMMSEN, Berlin, 1905, II, S. 833).
(9) Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 7 (*P.G.*, 67, 573 B 14-576 A 6).
(10) *Cod. theodos.*, XVI, 5, 6 (edidit Th. MOMMSEN, Berlin, 1905, II, S. 856).
(11) Socrates, *Hist. eccl.*, V, 8 (*P.G.*, 67, 576 B 11-14).

von sich selbst geben will, so wie er es selbst eingangs besagt, wenn er seine Geschichte beginnt mit den Worten :

> «Was mich aber dazu geführt hat, dies dem Wort anzuvertrauen, — denn ich liebe es nicht, viel sinnlos vorzutragen —, hören soll es ein jeder, die Mitwelt und die Nachwelt. Es ist dabei notwendig, in der Erzählung meiner Umstände ein wenig weiter zurückzugreifen ..., damit nicht Lügenreden gegen mich obsiegen. Die Bösen pflegen nämlich, wenn sie Böses tun, die Schuld dafür auf ihre Opfer abzuwälzen, um ... sich selbst ... den Vorwürfen zu entziehen. Dies soll also die Einleitung meines Berichts sein (V. 40-50)».

Und er wiederholt dies am Anfang des Berichtes über die Zeit in Konstantinopel :

> «Da komme ich zum Kernstück meines Berichts. Aussprechen will ich, was ich zu sagen habe, obgleich es euch wohlbekannt ist, damit ihr, die ihr mich nicht haben dürft, doch diesen Bericht habt, der ... den Feinden ein Vorwurf, ein Zeugnis aber den Freunden ist für all das Unrecht, das uns angetan worden ist, die wir kein Unrecht getan haben (V. 556-561)».

Diesen Bemerkungen muss man noch folgendes hinzu fügen : zur Zeit als Gregor das *Carmen de Vita sua* schrieb, verfasste er andere *Carmina de se ipso* und er bereitete auch das *Corpus* der Reden vor, die er den Nachkommenschaft vermachen wollte. Es ist daher von vorneherein wahrscheinlich, dass diese Werke das gleiche Bild von der Persönlichkeit des Verfassers geben wie *De Vita sua*, eben das Bild welches ihm am Herzen lag, der Zukunft zu hinter lassen. Wir müssen diese Hypothese und den Quellen prüfen. Dies sei die Aufgabe des nächsten Teiles unseres Vortrages. Wir werden uns aber nicht den Gedichten *De se ipso* widmen, weil sie, den Regeln verschiedener literarischer Formen getreu, vergleichbare Themen bearbeiten wie das *Carmen de Vita Sua*. Man findet zum Beispiel eine ekphrasis der Anastasia (*Carmina*, II, 1, 16, v. 1-104 : *Somnium de Anastasiae ecclesia*), eine Trauer um die Missgeschicke Gregors (*Carmina*, II, 1, 19), Beschimpfungen gegen seine Rivalen (*Carmina*, II, 1, 13 und 14) und eine Art Dublette zu *De Vita sua*, wo der Aufenthalt in Konstantinopel dargestellt wird als ein Stück Zucker in einem Milchnapf (*Carmina*, II, 1, 12, v. 119).

* * *

Der zweite Teil dieses Vortrages soll vielmehr den Predigten gewidmet sein, die Gregor uns aus der Zeit in Konstantinopel erhalten hat.

Wir müssen zuerst die Predigten Gregors in der Anastasia behandeln, zwischen 379 und November 380 : es sind etwa zwölf davon erhalten. So wie die *Carmina*, bedürfen sie einer kritischen Edition : einstweilen lesen wir sie in der Ausgabe der Mauriner wo sie in chronologischer Folge geordnet sind. Th. Sinko, sowie die Professoren P. Gallay und J. Bernardi haben in dieser Ordnung einige Verbesserungen angebracht und wir übernehmen, mit wenigen Abweichungen in Einzelheiten, die Folgerungen dieser Gelehrten.

Die Predigt Nr. XX behandelt das «moderne Geschwätz», «die avantgardistische Theologie», «die Gunstbettelei der gewählten Würdenträger der Kirche» (Kap. 1 : ed. OSB, p. 376 A) ; die Kapitel 6 bis 9 fassen die Nizänische Doktrin der Dreifaltigkeit zusammen (siehe Sermo XXIX). Diese beiden Themen, das arrivistische Benehmen der Prälaten und die authentische Orthodoxie, sind die Leitmotive dieses Zeitabschnittes, sodass diese Improvisation als eine Art Gemeinplatz erscheint.

Die Predigt XXI ist die Grabrede für den Heiligen Athanasius von Alexandrien. Man muss hin hören, wie sie auch die allzu modernen Bischöfe angreift :

> «Er benimmt sich nicht anmassend, seit er den Bischofssitz innehat ... wie es die falschen Priester tun, die Eindringlinge, die ihrer Lehre unwürdig sind ... die andere lautern ehe sie selbst gelautert sind. Gestern Gotteslästerer, heute Priester ; gestern den heiligen Dingen fremd, heute aber Beschützer der heiligen Mysterien ; im Bösen verstockt, in die Frömmigkeit hineingeschneit ; ihre Berufung ist das Werk der Menschengunst und nicht des Geistes» (Orat. XXI, Kap. 9 : PG, 35, col. 1089, C8-1092, A1).

Diese Invektive findet in *De Vita sua* ihr Echo (V. 1703-1718) :

> «Die Süsse, schöne Quelle unseres alten Glaubens ... musste ich durch salzige Zuflüsse unselig getrübt sehen ... Bischöfe, die eben jetzt Gott richtig kennen lernen, gestern Lehrer, und heute Schüler, Spender der Vollkommenheit und vollkommen erst hinterher, bestimmt das Volk zurechtzuweisen, bekennen sie ihre eigenen bösen Werke ... und dies ohne Tränen».

Man findet in der Grabrede für Athanasius auch die anderen Grundgedanken des Wirkens, die in *De Vita sua* zugrundelagen :

Aufruf zur Einigung der Orthodoxen (Kap. 15-18), Aufruf an die Arianer zur Versöhnung (Kap. 14), Sorge um Zusammenarbeit der lateinischen Kirchen mit der östlichen Orthodoxie (Kap. 25) aber auch ein Lob auf die Mönche Aegyptens (Kap. 20). Auch hier gibt sich Gregor als ein schüchterner Mensch (Orat., XXI, 24 : PG, 35, col. 1124 B 4-6) ; et stellt die kleine Gemeinschaft der Anastasia den Volksmassen von Konstantinopel gegenüber, die, wie er sagt, «sich belustigen und mit den religiösen Dingen spielen wie mit den Pferderennen und Theaterveranstaltungen» (Kap. 1 : PG, 35, col. 1088 A 10-14).

Die gleichen Gedanken findet man in der Pfingstpredigt — Nummer XLI — die man wahrscheinlich in die Anastasiazeit anzusetzen hat (siehe Bernardi, S. 157-158) und wo man unter anderem ein Lob auf die Möche findet (Kap. 8 : PG, 36, col. 440 b 13-C 15).

Die inneren Zwistigkeiten der Nizänischen Gemeinschaft bilden das Hauptinteresse des Sermo XXII, *Oratio de Pace* (Beiläufig sei bemerkt, dass die Predigt XXIII, über das gleiche Thema, zweifelsohne um das Jahre 365 angesetzt werden muss). Aber man findet die Themen auch zwischen den Linien des Sermo XXIV, die Lobrede auf den Hl. Cyprian, eine Hals über Kopf improvisierte Rede, die Gregor verfasste, als man ihm vorwarf, ein in Konstantinopel herkömmliches Fest vernachlässigt zu haben, als er vom Lande zurückkehrte, wo er sich in die Einsamkeit zurückgezogen hatte (Kap. I : PG, 35, col. 1172, A 14-B 4).

Die Sermones XXV und XXVI betreffen den Fall Maximos. Diese Affäre beleuchtet ohne Beschönigung die inneren Streitigkeiten der orthodoxen Gemeinschaft. Maximos ist eine Art Schwindler, der zuerst Gregors Vertrauen erweckt und dann versucht, ihn zu beseitigen, um seine Stelle einzunehmen. Die erste der beiden Predigten ist ein Lob nach allen rhetorischen Regeln dieser literarischen Gattung. Die zweite Predigt ist das Gegenteil des Lobes, eine Beschimpfung welche die Rhetoren *Psogos* nennen und welche Gregor verfasst hat, als er seine Illusionen betreffs Maximos verloren hatte. Das *Carmen De Vita sua* ist über den Fall Maximos sehr weitschweifig (V. 728-1117).

Die Predigt XXVI lässt die Geschäftigkeit der Stadt Konstantinopel aufleben (Kap. I : PG, 35, col. 1228 B 1-1229 A 4), und betrifft die Vorwürfe, die man Gregor machte : man fand ihn schüchtern (Kap. 4 : PG, 35, col. 1232 C 8-10), arm, ungebildet und in seinen Auffassungen veraltet (Kap. 14 : PG, 35, col. 1245 D 5-1248 A 15).

Die Predigt Nr. XXXIV ist schwierig zu datieren : sie muss der Gruppe von Homelien angehören, wo es um die inneren Zerwürfnisse der orthodoxen Gemeinschaft geht. Es handelt sich um die Versöhnung Gregors mit einer Gesandschaft der Alexandrinischen Kirche, die sich in die Intrigen des Maximos gegen Gregor eingemischt hatte.

Die Haupttätigkeit Gregors in der Anastasia scheint jedoch der Erhaltung der Orthodoxie gegolten zu haben. Seine Theologie ist in fünf Predigten zu finden — Nummern XXVII bis XXXI — die man als die Theologischen Reden bezeichnet. Es sind wirkliche theologische Abhandlungen, die den Personen oder äusseren Umständen wenig Platz einräumen. Aus leichten Anspielungen ersieht man, dass Gregor den Widerstand der Arianer meint ; sie sind «schwatzhaft und töricht» (Oratio XXVII, Kap. 1-2, PG, 36, col. 12 A 3-13 B 12).

Die Predigten XXXII und XXXIII sind viel ausführlicher über das Programm von Gregors Wirken in der Anastasia und über das Bild seiner selbst, das er hinterlassen möchte. Die Predigt XXXII hat man als die «Programm-Predigt» bezeichnet ([12]). Et stellt sich darin als ein fremder Händler dar, der seine Ware auf dem Markt der Anastasia auslegt (Kap. 1, OSB, p. 579 A 1-C 2) ; er gibt vor, nicht zu wissen, wo er anfangen soll (Kap. 2, OSB, p. 580 C 3-581 B 3), und bringt sogleich die drei Themen seines pastoralen Wirkens vor : die Schismen ausmerzen (Kap. 3-6), Irrlehren ausschalten (Kap. 13) und dem Bischofsamt zu Respekt verhelfen (so z.B. Kap. 14 und 32 und auch Kap. 19-21 und 28-31).

Die Predigt XXXIII ist eine Art Bilanz des Wirkens Gregors, wenn er sich den Arianern zuwendet (Oratio XXXIII, Kap. 1, OSB, p. 603, cf. Bernardi, p. 165). Was dabei auffällt ist sein aufdringliches Verweilen bei dem Bild, das man sich von ihm macht : man wirft ihm Armut vor (Kap. 1, OSB, p. 603 A1-604 A 6), seinen ländlichen Ursprung (Kap. 6-7, OSB, p. 607 C 5-608 D 4), seine verschlissenen Kleider, sein dörfliches Auftreten (Kap. 8, OSB, p. 608, D 5-609 B 2) seine ländliche Aussprache und sein Aussehen eines entwurzelten Einwanderers (Kap. 11, OSB, p. 610 D 8-10 : xenos ; uperorios). Gregor gefällt sich fast in dieser Aufmachung und verweilt oft dabei :

(12) J. Bernardi, *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire* (Publications de la Fac. des Lettres et des Sciences humaines de l'Université de Montpellier, 30), Paris, 1968, S. 148.

er gibt sich als grobschlächtiger Mann vom Lande, als schlichter Mensch, kränklich und belanglos. Und dieses Bild erhellt in vorzüglicher Weise seine pastorale Arbeitsweise, die er selbst im *De Vita sua* im einzelnen darstellt:

> «Wer aber von diesen war damals so starr, dass er nicht wenigstens das Ohr meinen Worten geneigt hätte? Denn die einen ergriff die Kraft der Lehre, die andern wurden besanftigt durch den Ton, in dem ich sprach. Denn nicht mit Hass noch auch beleidigend, vielmehr mit liebender Sorge brachte ich meine Worte vor. Ich sprach voll Schmerz, schlug nicht zu und liess mich nicht emportragen von der Gunst des Augenblicks, der doch fluchtig und unstet ist, wie es manche tun ... Nein, milde war ich in meinen Worten und entgegenkommend als ein rechter Anwalt des Worts, das mitleidig und sanft ist und niemand verwundet... Solches liess ich in meine Gesetzestafeln eingraben. Und dies war eine andere Vorschrift meiner Unterweisung ... : man durfe nicht als einzigen Weg der Frommigkeit die leichtfertige und arge Schwatzzucht anerkennen und dürfe nicht in Theatern, auf Marktplatzen und vor Zechgenossen, unter Gelachter und in ausgelassener Sängerlaune, bevor einem auch nur die Zunge reingewaschen ist von den wüsten Reden, noch auch vor unheiligen und Christus fremden Ohren hemmungslos Worte über die tiefsten Geheimnisse hinwerfen ...» (V. 1188-1217).

Das Bild des Mannes vom Lande scheint einen Teil einer berechneten Evangelisierungsmethode auszumachen : es ist eine Art Offensive des Charme und der *Captatio benevolentiae* und zugleich eine Infragestellung der städtischen Gesellschaft. Der Passus aus *De Vita Sua*, den wir soeben gehört haben, läd uns ein, diesen Schluss auch auf die literarischen Werke Gregors und besonders auf die rhetorischen auszudehnen (13).

Soviel zu den Predigten aus der Zeit der Anastasia. Es geht nun darum, diejenigen zu behandeln, die aus der Zeit nach dem Einzug des Theodosius in die Hauptstadt stammen. Zu diesem Zeitpunkt hat das Wirken Gregors ein grössere Tragweise, ja man kann sagen, eine offizielle und fast weltweite Bedeutung.

(13) Cf. auch Oratio XLII, 24 (Maurineraufiage S. 765 D 10-E 1) : ... *οὐ γὰρ ζητοῦσιν ἱερεῖς ἀλλὰ ῥήτορας*.

Die Predigt Nummer XXXVI behandelt die Ereignisse von Ende November 380 und besonders das Zögern Gregors, die Kirchen Konstantinopels zurückzunehmen aus den Händen des kaiserlichen Heeres (Oratio XXXVI, OSB, p. 638 D 3-639 A 9 ; *De Vita*, 1383). Man muss da Gregor, der vom Volke zum Bischof erhoben ist, zuhören, wenn er seine Vorhaben in Konstantinopel vorträgt (Oratio XXXVI, p. 638 D 7-639 C 4) : ich zitiere frei und zusammenfassend :

> «Was mich angeht, wenn ich menschlichen und kleinlichen Ansichten nachgegeben hätte ... und wenn ich hierher gekommen wäre, um mir den Bischofssitz anzueignen ... dann würde ich vor Himmel und Erde beschämt sein ... ; ich würde erröten, wenn ich auf dem bischöflichen Tron sitzen müsste, inmitten dieses Priesterkollegiums und dieser Volksversammlung, die heilig und jüngst wiedervereint ist ... ; ich würde auf meine Mühen und Arbeiten von vorher nur Zwielicht fallen lassen, sowie auf den verschlissenen Anzug, den ich trage, auf das zuruckgezogene Leben des Einsiedlers, das ich geführt, auf meine strenge Lebensweise und auf meinen dürftigen Tisch, der kaum besser bestellt ist als der der Vögeln von dem Himmel ... Aber was bleibt zu bemänglen, wenn ich dem Worte (Gottes) zuhilfe gekommen bin und um der verwahrlosten Kirche nach Moglichkeit zu helfen, um ihr, der verlassenen Witwe, meinen Schutz und meine Vormundschaft zu bieten und um ihr einen anderen Gatten wiederzugeben, der ihrer Schonheit würdig sei und der imstande sei, in grosser Menge, Pfände der Tugend als Brautgeschenk vorzulegen der Kirche der Hauptstadt ...».

Hier nun die Grundlage seines ethischen Wirkens (Kap. 11 und 12 : OSB, p. 642 B 6-643 C 1). Am Anfang des Kap. 11 sagt er :

> «Kaiser, mach dem Purpur Ehre ; erlaub dem Wort, den Gesetzgebern das Gesetz in Erinnerung zu bringen. Bedenkt das Amt, das Dir obliegt und das Wesen des großen Geheimnisses, das Deine Person umgibt : Die ganze Welt liegt in Deinen Händen und durch ein zerbrechliches Diadem und einem Fetzen Purpur hast Du Gewalt uber sie.
>
> Die höheren Dinge gehoren Gott allein, für die irdischen aber bist auch Du verantwortlich».

Das gleiche Kapitel gibt dann Anweisungen von großer Strenge für die Mitglieder des Hofes, die Patrizier, hohen Beamten und Würdenträger des Staates. Im Kap. 12 finden wir entsprechende Richtlinien für die Gebildeten, Philosophen, Professoren, Schriftsteller und Rhetoren, denen das Glück günstig gewesen war und die das

Senatorenmilieu in Konstantinopel bildeten, welches Prof. Dagron in einem Buch jüngst beschrieben hat (14). Endlich muß man hören, wie im selben Kapitel das Volk des neuen Rom angeredet wird, dieses Volk, das zum ersten Male um Gregors Bischofstron geschart war (Kap. 12, Folge: OSB, p. 643 A 9-C 1):

> «Ihr Bürger der großen Stadt, die Ihr als erste unmittelbar nach der ersten Stadt genannt werdet und nicht einmal dies zugibt. Zeigt Euch als erste nicht in der Boshaftigkeit, sondern in der Tugend, nicht durch Zügellosigkeit, sondern durch die Rechtschaffenheit.
>
> Denn es ist schändlich, den Städten zwar zu gebieten, den Gelüsten aber zu erliegen; oder aber überall sich als Weise aufzuführen, sich aber durch Pferderennen, Theater, Sport, Jagd derart verrückt machen zu lassen, daß dies Euer ganzes Leben erfüllt; oder auch, daß die Stadt die beste ist unter allen, die in dem Spielen wetteifern, dabei aber auch in anderen Dingen das Vorbild alles Guten sein sollte. Verpönt all dies und seid die Stadt Gottes!».

Ein Programm Christlicher Sozialethik für Ehe und Familie ist in der Predigt XXXVII entwickelt. Diese hat die Form einer Erklärung des Mathhäusevangeliums. Die Rede gilt dem Kaiser, und zum ersten Male richtet sich ein christlicher Bischof an einen wirklich christlichen, d. h. getauften Kaiser. «Ich nehme die römischen Gesetze nicht an», sagt Gregor, «die Zivilgesetze sind von Männern geschaffen worden und richten sich gegen die Frauen ...» (Kap. 6, PG, 36, col. 289 B 1-5).

Die gleichen Sorgen um öffentliche und soziale Wirkung kann man in den Predigten sehen, die am 25. Dezember 380, am 6. und 7. Januar 381 gehalten wurden, aus Anlaß von Weihnachten, Dreikönigstag oder Tag der Erleuchtung und zur Taufe (Orationes XXXVIII, XXXIX und XL). Es geht auch darum, den öffentlichen Belustigungen einen christlichen Sinn zu geben: Gregor beschreibt die beflaggten Straßen, die Beleuchtungen, Wohlgerüche, Kostüme, ... Tänze und Gelage sowie andere fest in den Bräuchen Konstantinopels verankerte Traditionen (Oratio XXXVIII, 5, PG, 36, col. 316 B 5-C 10). Er erwähnt auch noch andere Äusserlichkeiten aus Anlaß einer Taufe: Geschenke, Empfänge usw. (XXL, 26-27, PG, 36, col. 396 B 1-397 A 2). Hier zielt sein Wirken auf das öffentliche Leben.

(14) G. DAGRON, *La naissance d'une capitale. Constantinople et ses institutions de 330 à 451* (Bibliothèque byzantine. Études 7), Paris, 1974, S. 147-190.

Dann, nach dem 7. Januar 381 herrscht Stille bis zum Frühling oder sogar bis zum Sommeranfang. In *De Vita sua* können wir einiges lesen über die Spaltungen in der Weltkirche, über das Konzil das diese Zwiste an die Öffentlichkeit bringt anstatt sie zu schlichten. Endlich beschließt Gregor, sich zurückzuziehen. Nachdem er die Mässigung im Konzil gepredigt hat, nachdem er versucht hat, die Parteien zu versöhnen, weigert er sich zu bleiben, wenn man ihn nicht anhört. In *De Vita sua* kann man in Versform und verkürzt mehrere Reden Gregors nachlesen, die diesen Spannungen entsprechen, unter anderem diese Stellungnahme beim Konzil:

> «Ihr Männer, die Gott zusammengeführt hat, auf dass ihr zu einem Beschluss gelangt, wie er Gott lieb ist: was mich betrifft, das komme erst an zweiter Stelle ... (V. 1827-1830). Wie lange wollen wir uns noch als Wilde verlachen lassen, als solche, die sich nur auf eines verstehen, Kampf zu schnauben? Reicht Euch willig die Bruderhand! Ich aber will Jonas, der Prophet sein. Ich gebe mich hin zu des Schiffes Rettung ... Ergreift mich und werft mich über Bord (V. 1835-1841)».

Zu diesen Zeilen von *De Vita sua* gehört wie ein Echo die Predigt XLII, in der Gregor von Konstantinopel Abschied nimmt. Das Werk nimmt die Form eines pro domo, einer Apologia an (Oratio XLII, Kap. 2: PG, 36, col. 457 C 14-460 B 11), die sich an die Mitglieder des Konzils richtet; so im 10. Kap., das ich frei und zusammenfassend zitiere:

> «Seht hier, liebe Hirten, was ich Euch zu bieten habe ..., damit Ihr euch davon überzeugt, daß is, obwohl ein Fremder, doch nicht ein Bedürftiger war: ich war ein Armer der viele Leute bereichert hat (2 Cor., VI, 10)! Schaut auf diese Stadt, die das Auge der Welt ist, der die Vorherrschaft über der Erde und die Herrschaft über das Meer gehören und die den Osten mit dem Westen verbindet. Zu ihr richten sich alle Grenzen der Erde, und sie erhalten hier Richtlinien, als wäre sie dazu bestellt, jedem einen Glauben zu versorgen. Wenn aber als unwichtige Tat angesehen wird, dass diese Stadt in gesundem Glauben erhalten und gefestigt wurde ..., so seht hier etwas anderes das der Beachtung wert ist ... und gewahrt mir daran einiges Verdienst: denn mein persönliches Wirken hat in einem gewissen Masse beigetragen zu dem, was ihr mit euren Augen sehet ...» (Oratio XLII, 10 OSB, p. 755 C 1-E 2).

Es folgt die Aufzählung der verschiedenen Gruppen, die die Gemeinschaft der Christen von Konstantinopel ausmachen: das Kolle-

gium der Priester, die Diakone, Lektoren, die äusserst verschiedenen Volksschichten, die einmütig christlicher Lehre harren (Oraio XLII, 11 : OSB, p. 755 C 5-756 A 7).

Nachdem er aus seinem Wirken die Bilanz gezogen hat, sagt Gregor der Anastasia, Sankt Sophia und der Apostelbasilika Lebwohl : gleichsam den Gemeinschaften der Mönche und Schwestern, dann dem Kaiser Theodosius, den hohen Würdenträgern (Kap. 26, OSB, p. 766 C 8-767 D 1) ; er richtet sich dann an Konstantinopel, an den Westen und den Osten, deren offener Streit im Konzil seinen Entschluss bestimmt hat (Kap. 27, OSB, p. 767 D 2-6 ; 768 A 6), aber er fügt hinzu, dass er sein Schaffen weiterführen wird, *dia cheiros kai melanos* (Ende Kap. 26), d.h. durch seine Feder.

Diese Letzte Erklärung zeigt uns ein Bild Gregors zu der Zeit als er den Sitz Konstantinopels verlässt, ein Bild, das mit der übereinstimmt, welches er in *De Vita sua* entwirft : wo er sich in den gleichen Umständen zeigt wie ein junges Fohlen, das in seinen Zügeln ausschlägt, ungeduldig, sich zu befreien und das sich «nach Weiden und der lieben Einsamkeit sehnt» (V. 1818-1822).

Wie man feststellen kann, ergibt sich aus der Analyse des Corpus der Reden ein Bild Gregors und seines Wirkens, welches mit dem von *De Vita sua* übereinstimmt.

Nach all dem Gesagten ist es Zeit zu schliessen und ein Gesamtbild zu entwerfen, welches Gregor von Nazianz von sich selbst und von seiner Arbeit in Konstantinopel gegeben hat.

Wir können die Briefe beiseite lassen, ihr Corpus wurde in einem anderen Geiste zusammengestellt : die Briefe welche aus der Zeit in Konstantinopel stammen, beziehen sich auf einzelne Umstände und Gregor erscheint dort als weltlicher Mensch, und als ein römischer Aristokrat griechischer Kultur. Wir müssen auch das Testament beiseite lassen, das vielleicht in Konstantinopel verfasst wurde und die Güter Gregors aufführt ; Gregor erscheint dort als ein wohlhabender Grossgrundbesitzer der Provinz.

Die besprochenen Texte, deren Auszüge wir hörten, zeigen einen klarsehenden, tatkräftigen und mutigen Bischof. Wir haben seine Sorgen verfolgt um die Versöhnung der Parteien, welche die Nizäner der Anastasiakirche trennen, dann um die Versöhnung der Orthodoxen mit den Arianern in der Christlichen Gemeinde Konstantinopels und endlich um die Versöhnung der Bischöfe, die sich wie «Wild-

schweine» benehmen im ökumenischen Konzil von Konstantinopel (*De vita*, V. 1804).

Dieser Mann der Tat gibt sich als unscheinbar und ländlicher Herkunft, was seiner Apostolatsmethode entspricht. Sein Hang zur Zurückgezogenheit und der Zug zum Lande geben ihm die Freiheit, die Sitten Konstantinopels anzugreifen und seine Wirkung durch die klösterlichen Gemeinschaften zu stärken. Sein letzter Entschluss steht mit seiner Amtsführung im Einklang : er kann «Nein» sagen. Er weigert sich jenen zu folgen, die er zu führen bestellt ist und die es verschmähen, ihn anzuhören.

Dieses Porträt Gregors als eines Mannes der Tat lässt sich schlecht vereinbaren mit dem Bilde, das seit einem Jahrhundert Handbücher für Literatur und Geschichte der Kirchenväter gelaüfig gemacht haben ([15]). Das stilisierte Bild eines für die Tat nicht begabten Gregors ist communis opinio geworden. Man vergleicht gerne Basileios und Gregorios : ersterer sei der Tatkräftige, Gregor sei der «Betrachter». Man behauptet sogar, dass Gregor absolut nicht für die Aktion geschaffen war ([16]). In dieser vereinfachten Form ist die Geschichte zur Legende geworden. Die hier vorgetragenen Texte zeigen die Sachverhalte anders : Gregor stellt sich selbst als ein energischer Bischof von Konstantinopel vor, der sich nicht durch Schwierigkeiten, Intrigen oder Enttäuschungen entmutigen lässt und der aus der bescheidenen Mitteln seiner Person alles herausholt, um die Kirche dorthin zu führen, wo er sie führen soll, nicht zu weltlichen Ansehen, sondern zu ihrer übernatürlichen und ewigen Bestimmung.

Louvain-la-Neuve. J. MOSSAY.

(15) Z.B. A. CROISET und M. CROISET, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*. V. ... *Période romaine*, Paris, 1928, 2. Aufl., S. 939-940 ; B. ALTANER, *Précis de patrologie*, adapté par H. CHIRAT, Mulhouse, 1961, S. 430 ; J. QUASTEN, *Patrology*. III. *The Golden Age* ..., Utrecht und Anvers, 1960, S. 236 ; A. PUECH, *Histoire de la littérature grecque III* ..., Paris, 1930, S. 393 ; u.z.w. Cfr J. MOSSAY, *La mort et l'au-delà dans Saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Recueil de Travaux d'histoire et de philologie ..., 4. Reihe, 34), Louvain, 1966, S. 290, Fussnoten 4 und 5.

(16) O. BARDENHEWER, *Les Pères de l'Église. Leur vie et leurs œuvres*, ... II, Paris, 1905, S. 98 ; R. GODET, Artikel *Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, VI, 1920, Kol. 1839 ; A. ROUSSE, Art. *Grégoire de Nazianze*, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, VI, Paris, 1967, Kol. 933, u.s.w. ; G. RAUSCHEN und E. RICARD, *Éléments de patrologie et d'histoire des dogmes*, Paris, 1906, S. 163 ; u.s.w.

THE MANUSCRIPT OF JUSTEL'S *ANONYMI TRACTATUS DE SYNODIS*

The anonymous "Treatise on the Oecumenical Councils" first published by Christophe Justel in 1615 (1) is a short work, occupying only three and a half pages in its first edition (2). Its importance would appear to be further diminished by the poor quality of this version of the treatise. Twenty years earlier a fuller version had been published by David Hoeschel (3), but in such a limited edition that his fellow-Protestant, Justel, does not seem to have known of it. Justel's version was saved from a similar oblivion by a number of factors : ir was not published alone, but as an appendix to the prestigious *Nomocanon* attributed to Photius ; it was reprinted by Justel's son, Henri, and his friend, Guillaume Voel, in 1661 as part of their great *Bibliotheca iuris canonici veteris* (the first volume contains the *editio princeps* of the early Latin translations of the Greek Canons (4)) ; its status was further enhanced when the Jesuit, Jean Hardouin, included it in his *Acta Conciliorum* in 1714 (5) and finally the Greek Orthodox Church allowed it to be brought to the attention of a still wider public when G. A. Rhalles and M. Potles were commissioned to publish their frequently reprinted canonical collection (6). The few pages have thus

(1) C. JUSTELLUS, *Nomocanon Photii ... Accessere eiusdem Photii ... et Anonymi tractatus de Synodis oecumenicis*, Paris, 1615.

(2) *L.c.*, pp. 180-183.

(3) D. HOESCHELIUS, *Synopsis Septem Conciliorum oecumenicorum graece*, Augsburg, 1595. For details of the manuscript used by Hoeschel, cf. J. MUNITIZ, *Synoptic Greek accounts of the Seventh Council*, in *REB*, 32, 1974, p. 148, 160.

(4) H. JUSTELLUS, G. VOELLIUS, *Bibliotheca iuris Canonici veteris in duos tomos distributa*, Paris, 1661, t. 2, pp. 1161-5. For the importance of this publication, cf. F. MAASSEN, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts im Abenlande*, 1, Gratz, 1870 (*repr. anast.*, 1965), p. 439, 533.

(5) J. HARDUINUS, *Acta Conciliorum*, t. 5, Paris, 1714, pp. 1485-90.

(6) G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων, t. 1, Athens, 1852, pp. 370-374.

been a rallying point for the attention of Protestants, Roman Catholics and Orthodox.

In his edition Justel did not specify in what manuscript he had found the treatise ; he only said that the various short treatises on the Councils appended to the *Nomocanon* all came from the library at Sedan (*desumpti sunt ex Bibliotheca Sedanensi*), a library founded by the Duke de Bouillon, uncle of Frederick V Count Palatine, to whom Justel dedicated his book. The anti-Protestant policy of Louis XIV effectively destroyed the library at Sedan by 1671 (7), however even in the inventary drawn up in 1663 no reference appears to a manuscript likely to contain the anonymous treatise (though a copy of Justel's edition is to be found there) (8). Four Greek manuscripts from Sedan are now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (9), of which one at least is mentioned in the inventary of 1663 (10), but this number can be only a tiny fraction of the rich collection built up by the Duke de Bouillon before his death in 1623 (11).

(7) PREGNON, *Histoire du pays et de la ville de SEDAN depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos jours*, Charleville, 1856, t. 3, p. 131, writes — "lorsque, en 1671, il fut question de l'emporter, on n'en trouva plus que des débris, qui déjà étaient gâtés ou même détruits par l'humidité du local".

(8) Paris, Archives Nationales R2 438 : "Inventaire des livres de la Bibl. de Sedan, fait lorsqu'on l'a retirée par ordre du Roy de la Maison de Ville, et des mains du Sr. Claude Pithoys, pour la transporter au Chateau de Sedan en 1663 (inventaire collationnée par deux Notaires du 31 juillet 1663)". Among the *Libri impressi* one finds : *Photii P.C. Cple Nomocanon editus à Christoph. Justello, in-4°*.

(9) "Quatre MSS (aujourd'hui *Supplément grec* 30, 107, 131, 841) ont été dans la bibliothèque de l'académie protestante de Sedan, jusqu'a la suppression de celle-ci, au XVIIIe siècle", H. OMONT, *Catalogue des MSS grecs des Départements*, Paris, 1886. The same ex libris appears in each : *Bibliothecae Sedanensis*.

(10) *Paris. Supplément grec* 131, which contains the *novella* of Manuel Commenus. A second Greek manuscript is described in the *Inventary* as : — *Ὑμνων συζύγια Ms ex dono Calvini ... in 16°* — but does not figure among the four manuscripts mentioned in the last note.

(11) One historian of Sedan dates the Duke's active interest in the formation of his library from the years 1593-4, when he set up a commission to assemble books and manuscripts ; this was part of a comprehensive policy which included the foundation of a publishing house, capable of editing texts in Latin and Greek, under the directorship of Jean Jannon : cf. J. PEYRAN, *Histoire de l'ancienne principauté de Sedan*, Paris, 1826, t. 1, p. 311, 333.

Justel's manuscript thus seemed to be irretrievably lost (12). Then in 1927 attention was drawn to the fact that the list of chronological intervals between the Counciles, which is to be found in the version published by Justel, also exists in one other manuscript : *Bruxellensis* 11376. The Russian scholar, B. Beneševič, who noted this coincidence seems to have thought that the manuscript evidence was independent from that of Justel (13), as might very well have been the case. However he also seems to have drawn his information not from a study of the manuscript itself, but from the authoritative account of the manuscript published by Franz Cumont in 1894 (14). It seemend worth examining the manuscript in the hope of finding conclusive evidence either of the independence of its version, or of its identity with Justel's published treatise.

The evidence is certainly there, but deserves to be weighed carefully : if the Brussels manuscript is that used by Justel at Sedan prior to the publication of the *Nomocanon* in 1615, how is one to explain that in 1610 the manuscript was the property of Pierre Pantin, who died in 1611 as Dean of the church of Saint Gudule (15) in Brussels, leaving his Greek manuscripts to his Flemish friend, André Schott, a Jesuit living in Antwerp until his death in 1629? Clearly before attempting to answer this question, it will be wise to establish the identity of Justel's manuscript with that now in Brussels.

(12) F. Dvornik, whose interest in Justel's anonymous treatise lasted over many years and led him to catalogue an impressive list of manuscripts (F Dvornik, *The Photian Schism. History and Legend*, Cambridge, 1948, Appendix III) seems to have thought Justel worked on a manuscript "from the Cologne library" (*idem*, *Greek Uniats and the Number of Oecumenical Councils*, in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, t. 2, Rome, 1964, p. 93), but this may have been a slip of the pen. At present there is only one Greek manuscript at Cologne, a Greek-Latin psalter.

(13) B. N. Beneševič, *Monumenta Vaticana ad ius canonicum pertinentia*, in *Studi bizantini*, 2, 1927, pp. 169-173.

(14) Fr. Cumont, *Chroniques byzantines du manuscrit 11376*, in *Anecdota Bruxellensia*, t. 1 (= Université de Gand. Recueil de travaux publiés par la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Fasc. 9 bis), Gand, 1894.

(15) Now the Cathedral Church of St Michel.

I. General description of *Bruxellensis* 11376

So far this manuscript has attracted the attention of two types of scholars (16) : those like Cumont, who have studied the chronological texts it contains, and those like H. Grégoire, R. Goossens and O. Lampsides, who have been particularly interested in the *Chronicle* of Constantine Manasses, which is the principal text in the manuscript. No complete codicological study exists. H. Omont gave the basic information : xiiith century ; paper ; 183 folios ; 180 × 132 mm ; parchment binding (of the Jesuits at Antwerp) (17). Important palaeographic information was supplied by Cumont. He distinguished the hands of four scribes : the most important, the scribe responsible for all the text, writes "une petite minuscule, fine et régulière, compliquée de nombreuses abréviations, mais dont aucune ne s'écarte des sigles et ligatures ordinaires. Le copiste a exécuté son travail avec le plus grand soin" (18). This writing was also dated by him to the xiiith century. A second hand has added 6 lines to the last folio (f. 183v) (19), and perhaps a few marginal notes. Most of the marginal notes were added in 1401 by a third hand. Finally, and most important for the question of Justel, "pour ne rien omettre, il nous faut signaler enfin quelques indications latines, ajoutées par l'un des possesseurs de ce volume, le même, semble-t-il, qui l'a paginé. Il s'est borné à noter soit sous forme de titre (f. 170r suiv.), soit dans la marge (f. 1 à 48), de quoi traitaient les ouvrages contenus dans notre manuscrit. C'est ainsi qu'au premier feuillet il a écrit : *Constantini Manassis annales versibus politicis*" (20). This fourth hand will reappear in the folios containing the *tractatus de synodis*. Cumont also noted that the

(16) Readers who have not had the pleasure of working in the Brussels Bibliothèque Royale should be informed that the facilities provided include a bibliographical card index for the library manuscripts, which has proved of great service for the preparation of this article.

(17) H. Omont, *Catalogue des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles et des autres bibliothèques publiques de Belgique*, Brussels, 1885.

(18) Fr. Cumont, *l.c.* (note 14), p. 8.

(19) These six lines are simply a new copy of the preceding six lines — "sans doute parce que l'encre de cette page s'était altérée, rendant difficile la lecture de la fin de la chronique", H. Grégoire, *Un continuateur de Constantin Manassès et sa source*, in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, t. 1, Paris, 1924, p. 279.

(20) Fr. Cumont, *l.c.* (note 14), p. 10.

manuscript was acephalous and that the final folios were missing. He gave a detailed account of its contents : the items may be listed briefly as follows :

1. ff. 1r-154v : CONSTANTINE MANASSES, *Chronicle* (vv. 39-6733) (21)
2. ff. 155r-165r : *Chronicle of the Roman Emperors* (22)
3. ff. 165v-170r : NICEPHORUS, *Chronographikon syntomon* (abbreviated) (23)
4. ff. 170r-173v : *Tractatus de sex synodis*
5. ff. 173v-174r : *Formula for receiving heretics* (24)
6. ff. 174r-180v : *List of the bishops and patriarchs of Constantinople* (25)
7. ff. 180v-183v : *Continuation of the Chronicle of Constantine Manasses* (26)

The lower part of the last page, which has been partly torn away, is illegible ; according to Cumont this would be a fragment of a

(21) The Brussels manuscript is said to be the oldest representative of one branch of the double tradition of the work : cf. O. LAMPSIDES, *Ἱστωρία τῆς κριτικῆς τοῦ κειμένου καὶ τῶν ἐκδόσεων τῆς Χρονικῆς Συνόψεως τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου Μανασσῆ*, in *Ὁ Βιβλιόφιλος*, 13, 1959, pp. 3-9 ; Mr. Lampsides acknowledges his debt to the earlier work of R. GOOSSENS, *Quelques remarques sur la tradition manuscrite de la "Chronique" de Constantin Manasses*, in *Atti V° Congresso Intern. degli Studi byzantini, Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 5, 1939, p. 470. The standard edition by I. BEKKER (*CSHB*, Bonn, 1837 : reprinted in *PG*, 127, 219-472) does not take the Brussels manuscript into account.

(22) The text of this short chronicle was published by CUMONT, *l.c.* (note 14).

(23) The manuscript is not mentioned by C. DE BOOR in his critical edition of the work (*Nicephori Opuscula Historica*, Leipzig, 1880), but Cumont himself dismisses this version as of little interest.

(24) The text resembles most closely the supposed 7th Canon of the Council of Constantinople, 381, rather than the "revised version", Canon 95 of the Quinisext Council of 692 : both texts have been edited by P. P. JOANNOU, *Fonti* (Pontificia Commissione per la redazione del codice di diritto canonico orientale), *fasc.* IX, t. I, 1, Rome, 1962, pp. 53-54 ; 232-233. It has been pointed out that the text entered the *euchologia* (such as that of the VIIIth or IXth century published by J. GOAR) : cf. J. GOUILLARD, *L'hérésie dans l'Empire Byzantin des origines au XIIe siècle*, in *Travaux et Mémoires*, 1, 1965, pp. 304-5.

(25) One version of this list (up to Nicholas Chrysoberges) has been published by Fr. FISCHER, *De Patriarcharum Constantinopolitanorum catalogis* (= Comment. philol. Ienenses III), Iena, 1884, p. 282. The list in the Brussels manuscript has been lengthened to include Michael Cerularius.

(26) For an ingenious reconstruction of this text, cf H. GRÉGOIRE, *l.c.* (note 19).

theological work, "un débris d'une portion du volume, qui aurait aujourd'hui disparu" (27).

A few details may be added to Cumont's general description of the manuscript. It is made up of cotton paper without watermarks. The ink used is not black at present, but a reddish brown (28). The quaternions are, on the whole, clearly marked (with Greek letters at the top or bottom right hand corners of the first and last pages) ; a beta on f. 6r seems to indicate that only 3 folios are missing from the first gathering. The manuscript would have consisted of 24 quaternions, but of these 192 folios, 3 have been lost at the beginning, 5 at the end, and the third quaternion (ff. 14-20) contains only 7 folios. There are usually 21 lines to the page (sometimes 20 or 22), so that the missing 38 verses of Manasses' *Chronicle* would have filled only about 2 of the first 6 pages.

Cumont proposed a more precise date for the manuscript than that suggested by Omont : "Il est très probable que le premier copiste a terminé son œuvre peu de temps après le partage de l'empire par les croisés, tout au moins dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle" (29). He was relying on the internal evidence of the texts it contains (notably the continuation of Manasses' *Chronicle* to the fall of Constantinople in 1204). His proposal was confirmed by H. Grégoire's independent study of the text (30) and is generally accepted (31). An important negative corollary concerns the place of origin : one can probably exclude Nicaea, because Nicetas Choniates, whose *History* was used by the author of the continuation of the *Chronicle* wrote the revised version of his work there in about 1206.

If one may hazard a hypothesis as to the genesis of the manuscript, it seems to have been commissioned from a professional scribe (hence the assurance of the writing) for an ecclesiastic (hence items 4, 5 and

(27) Fr. CUMONT, *l.c.* (note 14), p. 15.

(28) Already in the XIIth century scribes had begun using an ink that remained jet-black : J. IRIGOIN, *Les conditions matérielles de la production du livre à Byzance de 1071 à 1261*, in *Rapport au XVe Congrès International d'Etudes Byzantines*, Athens, 1976, p. 12.

(29) Fr. CUMONT, *l.c.* (note 14), p. 9.

(30) H. GRÉGOIRE, *l.c.* (note 19).

(31) For example, by R. GOOSSENS and O. LAMPSIDES, *l.c.* (note 21).

6 of the contents) interested, perhaps preoccupied, by historical questions (such as might be put to a professor or teacher) and living at Constantinople (hence item 6) during its occupation by the Latins (hence item 5). But fortunately no element in this hypothesis has any direct bearing on Justel's use of the manuscript.

II. The Treatise on the Councils [32]

It is a little ironical that Cumont, whose description of this treatise has made possible its identification, should have given it so little importance. After a brief account, in which he gives only two of the four (or even five) intervals between the Councils to be found in the treatise, he remarks : "Il serait inutile de nous arrêter plus longtemps à cet aide-mémoire d'histoire ecclésiastique, alors que nous avons sur les conciles œcuméniques des documents si abondants et si détaillés. La seule qualité de cet abrégé, c'est la précision de ses indications chronologiques. Il se rattache par là aux autres ouvrages réunis dans notre manuscrit" [33]. After a short paragraph on the additions made in the margin by the third hand, he passes to the next item.

Two unusual features with regard to the folios 170r-173v make an immediate impression : the fourth hand, already mentioned, has left traces here of considerable interest. The treatise is the only other item in the manuscript to which it has given a title : *De SEX SYNODIS generalibus* (f. 170r *mg.*) ; and in the margin opposite the first Council it has written *NICAENA synodus* and *Patres 318*. Moreover two of the pages, ff. 172r-v, bear the traces of a red stamp (two concentric circles, about 2 mm apart and 12 mm across in diameter, with a sign in the inner circle and decoration or letters between the two circles), unfortunately too faint to be legible. The hand could be that of Justel, but with so few words (and some of these in capital letters as for a title), certainty seems impossible. A comparison with a letter of Justel (written at Sedan in 1619 to recommend a young man to the French ambassador at Heidelberg) [34] gives little weight to such a hypothesis.

(32) The text is published below (pp. 208-212), and all references (by chapter and line) are to this edition.

(33) Fr. Cumont, *l.c.* (note 14), pp. 38-39.

(34) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds français 4116, f. 93.

and the seal used by Justel for this same letter is certainly quite different (octagonal with a shield and coat of arms). Thus the proof of Justel's use of the manuscript will have to come from a collation between his edition and the *Bruxellensis* 11376, and not from what might be termed "external evidence".

Before analysing the variant readings it is worth noting that Henri Justel made only three corrections to his father's edition : Constantinople (V, 2) appears in the dative, instead of the genitive ; Eutyches (V, 3) changes to Eutychius ; and the Emperor Constantine replaces Constans (VI, 2) ([35]). All three were obvious errors and did not require a consultation of the manuscript. Henri Justel also suppressed the dots after εἶχον (V, 16 *app. crit.*), thus hiding the fact that this word was a conjecture by his father, and he printed the last two words as if they formed part of a truncated sentence which should have continued the account of the Sixth Council (his father had marked a space, leaving ambiguous the connection of the two words with the treatise). Jean Hardouin reproduced exactly the edition of 1661, and added at the end the remark *Reliqua desunt* ([36]).

It may seem paradoxical that one should argue from the differences between Justel's text and that of the Brussel's manuscript to the identity of the former with the latter : the point at issue is that Justel could have committed these particular errors only if he was copying from the *Bruxellensis* 11376. First there are a whole series of small omissions : III, 5, 17 ; IV, 15 ; V, 6, 7, 12, 14 ; VI, 1, 11, 13. Of these the most important (V, 12) is probably due to a homoioteleuton. Occasionally Justel has attempted to correct the text he had before him : thus with success, as far as the meaning of the passage is concerned, at V, 18-19 (where the manuscript has a lacuna), but completely perverting the sense at V, 16. The edition of D. Hoeschel would have given him the correct reading for the first passage. Justel has also added the title, which would seem to be the Greek translation of the Latin title written in the margin : this could explain why Justel chose to place the adjective after the noun, whereas the title more usually given in the manuscripts to this type of synopsis is : Περὶ τῶν

(35) H. JUSTELLUS, G. VOELLIUS, *l.c.* (note 4).
(36) J. HARDUINUS, *l.c.* (note 5).

ἁγίων καὶ οἰκουμενικῶν συνόδων (37). Occasionally one is doubtful if Justel has tried to correct his manuscript or simply misread it (*e.g.* II, 12 ; IV, 7), and it is obvious that parts of his manuscript were illegible or missing (V, 18-19 ; VI, 10-11). However there are numerous examples of misreadings by Justel : I, 4 ; II, 3, 6 ; III, 9 ; IV, 3, 8, 12 ; V, 2, 17 ; VI, 2, 10, 17. In all these cases the correct reading of the manuscript tallies with those given in the editions of other versions of the treatise (notably that of Hoeschel and the version published later by S. Le Moyne (38)). A few of the errors may be misprints (I, 9, 11 ; IV, 8, for example), but it cannot be pure coincidence that nearly all coincide with ligatures and abbreviations in the script. Justel may have been in a hurry to copy his text : the identity of that text cannot be in doubt as the cumulative evidence of all these minutiae is overwhelming.

It is instructive to compare Justel's edition of the treatise with that published more than two hundred years later in Athens : Rhalles and Potles restored the correct readings of *Bruxellensis* 11376 at various points — *e.g.* I, 4 ; II, 3, 6, 13 ; III, 9 ; IV, 8 (bis); V, 2 ; VI, 2, 17 — but in each case they had no need to consult the manuscript. Their knowledge of Greek sufficed. The readings that would have required an acquaintance with the manuscript to set them right (*e.g.* V, 16, 18-19) remained as they are in Justel. The Athenian editors did introduce however some variant readings, all of which seem to have been conjectures on their part (especially I, 13 ; II, 10, 13 ; IV, 5 ; V, 2, 6, 23, 25 and the omission of the last two words VI, 28 *app. crit.*). They depart several times from the editions of the treatise by Hoeschel and Le Moyne (*e.g.* I, 13 ; IV, 5 ; V, 16 — where they keep Justel's conjecture — 25 ; and IV, 12, where they fail to correct Justel), and there is no indication that they used these other editions to improve their own.

The conclusion to be drawn from this survey of the different editions of Justel's treatise is clear enough : at some point Justel made a hurried copy of the version he had found in *Bruxellensis* 11376 ; all subsequent editors have reproduced Justel's defective copy, with the

(37) This is the title given by Hoeschel, cf. D. HOESCHELIUS, *l.c.* (note 3).

(38) S. LE MOYNE, *Varia Sacra*, t. 1, pp. 68-80, Leyden, 1694 : cf. J. MUNITIZ, *l.c.* (note 2), p. 148, for an identification of his manuscript.

slight improvements that their historical knowledge and feel for the Greek language suggested, but nobody consulted the original manuscript again. Their tacit verdict on the manuscript was "missing, presumed lost".

In fact the text of the little treatise has been well preserved : the ink may have faded slightly in the 300 years since Justel consulted the manuscript, but this disadvantage is compensated for by modern working conditions (better artificial light and better microscopes) and one can recognize the places where Justel had difficulty in reading the text. The new edition of the text will probably be appreciated, although it is worth insisting that the sole purpose of such an edition is to provide a clear legible version of the treatise such as it is to be found in the Brussels manuscript. This can be only one of the *prolegomena* to an edition of the full treatise as such. Many of the problems raised by the Brussels version — concerning the origin, nature and purpose of the treatise — require for their solution a consideration of the other versions.

For the time being a few remarks limited to the present text must suffice. An important chronological detail for an eventual dating of the treatise is the reference to Justinian II as if he were the reigning Emperor or of very recent date : thus Justinian I is referred to as the "earlier one" (V, 2) and Constantine IV as "Justinian's father" (VI, 2). The absence of any reference to the legislative work of the Quinisext Council may suggest that Justinian's earlier reign (685-695) rather than his second period of power (705-711) coincided with the composition of this version of the *de synodis*. However the system of intervals between the Councils seems to have been elaborated after the death of Justinian, probably between 734 and 736 A.D. ([39]). Of course one might argue that these are later additions, and in the Brussels manuscript they do appear as notes (in the margin or between the lines) added to the text as such (*cf.* I, 13 ; II, 16 ; III, 17 ; IV, 18 ; V, 26, *app. crit.*). But although additions, they have been written by the first scribe, who was probably copying faithfully from the copy before him. Thus they may well be the work of the author(s) of the original treatise and date from the same year. Other

(39) J. MUNITIZ, *Synoptic Byzantine Chronologies of the Councils*, in *REB*, 35, 1977 (in the press).

features of the text imply that the Sixth Council (680/681) was some distance away in time : it can be fitted into the pattern of what a Council should be, and although the account of it may be slightly longer, each of the six accounts expands a little in relation to its predecessor (while maintaining the same division and sequence of ideas). A date in the 730's would be compatible with the references to Justinian II.

Cumont's general appraisal of the scribe's work quoted above ([40]) is amply justified by the text of the treatise *de synodis* : very rarely does he seem to have made mistakes (II, 10 ; IV, 5 ; V, 2 — second reading ; and V, 3 are the only cases worth noting, and even here the fault may lie with his original).

The final words are not without interest (VI, 28, *app. crit.*) : their presence helps to clinch the argument that Justel was copying from this manuscript, but in addition they bear witness to the liturgical relevance of the treatise. The Council Fathers were venerated in the Church with special feasts ([41]). It is not surprising then that the author of this treatise should have been curious to know how many there were in all. The text such as it appears today is almost illegible, but the faint traces left of certain letters fit perfectly with the conjecture that the missing words are the spelt number, 1633 (*scl.* *χίλιοι ἑξακόσιοι τριάκοντα τρεῖς*) : such is the total of the Fathers present at the six Councils (*viz.* 318, 150, 200, 630, 165, 170) ([42]) according to the treatise.

III. The history of the manuscript

Like so many histories, that of the *Bruxellensis* 11376 is more easily told backwards. It has been carefully looked after in Brussels now since 1815. From 1794 to 1815 it was in the possession of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and was duly stamped by that library as belonging to the French Republic. The French had taken it from

(40) P. 197 *supra*, note 18.

(41) S. Salaville, *La fête du concile de Nicée et les fêtes des conciles*, in *Echos d'Orient*, 24, 1924, pp. 445-470.

(42) These are the traditional figures, at least in one branch of the tradition, but S. Salaville (*l.c.*) pointed out that they are largely symbolic.

the Brussel's library that preceded the present Bibliothèque Royale, and which had received the book from the library of the Jesuits at Antwerp when the Society of Jesus had been suppressed in the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1773. The manuscript arrived in Antwerp in 1611 as mentioned above (43).

An *ex libris* in the manuscript shows that Pierre Pantin had acquired it in 1610, and Cumont noted : "Si cet *ex libris* ne prouvait que Pantin a acquis ce volume l'année qui précéda sa mort, on pourrait croire qu'il l'avait rapporté avec lui d'Espagne, où il professa longtemps le grec à Tolède. Aucune indication ne nous permet maintenant d'en établir la provenance" (44).

The fact that Justel copied out the *tractatus de synodis* for his 1615 publication seems to provide some positive evidence for the previous whereabouts of the manuscript. It is unlikely that he was able to do so after 1610. Further evidence against this is given in the list of manuscripts drawn up by André Schott : there the *Bruxellensis* 11376 is numbered as *Historicus* 6, and the treatise is described as — *Photius de sex synodis œumenicis ; eiusdem fragmenta Bibliothecae* (45). The words show that for Schott the little treatise formed part of the *Myriobiblon* (although it is possible that the last three words refer to the last three items of the contents ; other parts of Schott's summary description cover the first four). But if Schott attributed the *tractatus de synodis* to Photius (46), it is unlikely that Justel would have made no reference to the falsity of the ascription.

Justel entered the service of the Duke de Bouillon after the assassination of Henry IV in 1610 ; up to that date he had been employed as Secretary to the King (47), a post that permitted him to continue the historical research for which he was already famous. His contemporary and friend, L'Estoile, records in his *Journal* that for the

(43) P. 196 ; cf Fr. CUMONT, *l.c* (note 14), pp. 7-8.

(44) Fr. CUMONT, *l.c.*

(45) The list was published by H OMONT, *l.c.* (note 17), p. 47.

(46) The error may be due to the well-known letter of Photius to Michael of Bulgaria (*PG*, 100, 632-656), but Schott was probably referring to the very brief entries in the *Bibliotheca*, *Codd.*, 15-20 (*PG*, 103, 56-57 ; ed. R. HENRY, t. 1, Paris, 1959, pp 12-13)

(47) Ph DAILY, *Les Justel*, in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme français*, 78, 1929, p 350.

publication of his *Codex canonum Ecclesiae universae* in 1610 Justel, who was only thirty years of age, was able to count on the support of the Protestants and reforming spirits of his times : "Tous les gens de bien et nommément ceux qui affectent la réunion et réformation de l'Eglise, ont contribué tout ce qu'ils ont pu, et aidé ledit Justel de leurs vieux registres et livres, tant manuscrits grecs, qu'autres servans à cette manière" ([48]).

The biographers of Justel are uncertain about the exact date of Justel's definitive arrival at Sedan ([49]), but if his reference to the *Bruxellensis* 11376 as belonging to the library there, is to be trusted (and there seems to be no reason why it should not), Justel had already visited Sedan before 1610. This is quite likely : Henry IV made a triumphal entry into Sedan in 1606, the year that the Duke de Bouillon, one of the leading Protestants of his time, made his submission and was recognized as "Prince of Sedan". It seems certain that Justel had become his friend well before 1610, and been invited to use (and help to build up) the library for which the Duke had shown such interest ([50]).

Pantin's acquisition of the manuscript need not surprise us. One of the most appealing characteristics of the Duke de Bouillon was his princely magnanimity and tolerance : "Le Duc attirait là (à Sedan) des philosophes, des érudits, des savants ; il mettait à leur disposition une bibliothèque qui fut bientôt une des plus riches de l'Europe, et fonda enfin, en 1607 ([51]) l'Académie de Sedan, qui devint rapidement célèbre. Un grand esprit de tolérance y régnait, et le libraire du Duc, Jannon, imprimait beaucoup de livres catholiques" ([52]). Justel himself,

(48) Text quoted by E. and E. HAAG, *La France Protestante*, t. 6, Paris, 1856, pp. 114-118.

(49) "Ce fut vers l'an 1615 qu'il vint se fixer à Sedan ...", PREGNON, *l.c.* (note 7), t. 3, p. 358. The other accounts of Justel do not specify the date.

(50) "Il (le duc de Bouillon) nommait une commission dans le but de rassembler les premiers matériaux d'une bibliothèque", J. PEYRAN, *l.c.* (note 11), t. 1, p. 311 : the commission dates from 1593/4.

(51) This date is incorrect. The first Principal of the Academy of Sedan, Toussaint Berchet, was appointed in 1579 ; he was succeeded by Samuel Néran (1606-1611). The Academy is said to have been founded by Françoise de Bourbon in 1576 : PREGNON, *l.c.* (note 7), t. 1, p. 188.

(52) Ph. DAILLY, *l.c.* (note 46), p. 352.

while firmly opposed to what he considered to be Papal pretensions (53), was a broad minded scholar (54). Thus Pantin may well have visited Sedan, as a famous seat of learning, and either bought the manuscript or received it in exchange for others. The study of Justel's edition has shown that in all probability the manuscript was no longer available during the final stages of proof correction.

Unfortunately the presence of the *Bruxellensis* 11376 at Sedan gives no indication as to its provenance, and helps to clarify only a short stage of its travels, as the Sedan library was of recent foundation. We know that Justel himself was able to acquire manuscripts in France at the time of the suppression of certain monastic libraries by the Protestants (55), but there is nothing to prove that the *Bruxellensis* 11376 was previously in a French library, and it could have come to Sedan from anywhere (56). The first three and a half centuries of its existence (rougly 1250-1600) remain a mystery, perhaps as rich and eventful as the second half of its history. So far the little manuscript has been consistently elusive.

Joseph A. MUNITIZ.

(53) "Justel communiqua à son ami (L'Estoile) — 'le dessein d'un livre intitulé *Geographia ecclesiastica*, dont le sujet est de miner et de renverser les fondements de la primauté du pape, pour le regard des choses temporelles, et resserrer l'estendue de ses seigneuries et dominations terriennes dans les anciens bornes limitées par les Canons' ", Ph. DALLY, *l.c.* (note 46), p. 351.

(54) A mute point remains his dissection of his manuscript of the *Versio Prisca* : "Justel as a Protestant disapproved of the appeals to Rome authorized by the Canons of Sardica and cut out, though he did not destroy, the leaves containing the canons of the offending council ... As it is certain in my opinion that Justel rearranged the contents of the Manuscript, I think it is not improbable that this dissection of Sardican leaves was simply part of the rearrangement, and had no fraudulent meaning". C. H. TURNER, *Notes and studies ... The Justel manuscript (J) now* Bodl. e Mus. *100-102 and the editio princeps*, in *Journal of Theological Studies*, 30, 1928-9, p. 342 and 342, n. 1. Justel's mentality should be seen against the background of the reforming group that gathered round Henry IV and the Duke de Bouillon.

(55) His manuscript now in the Bodleian Library was probably a foundation gift to the monastery of Fleury in the year 667 : cf. C. H. TURNER, *l.c.*

(56) For the gift of a Greek manuscript by Calvin, cf. note 10.

TEXT

The Synoptic account of the Oecumenical Councils in BRUXELLENSIS 11376

Sigla

B = *Bruxellensis* 11376 (*B* [1], [2], [3], [4] the four scribes).
H = D. HOESCHEL, *Synopsis septem conciliorum œcumenicorum*. Augsburg 1595.
J = Ch. JUSTEL, *Nomocanon Photii etc.*, Paris 1615.
J [2] = H. JUSTEL, W. VOEL, *Bibliotheca iuris canonici*, t. II, Paris, 1661.
M = S. LE MOYNE, *Varia sacra*, I, pp. 68-80, Leyden 1694.
R = G. A. RHALLES, M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, I, Athens 1852.

Χρὴ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἑξ εἰσιν αἱ ἁγίαι καὶ οἰκουμενικαὶ σύνοδοι

I. *Καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη γέγονεν ἐν Νικαίᾳ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν ἁγίοις ἡμῶν βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Σιλβέστρου πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως · ὑπῆρχον δὲ οἱ ἅγιοι πατέρες τριακόσιοι ὀκτωκαίδεκα.* **2.** *Συνῆλθον δὲ κατὰ Ἀρείου τοῦ ματαιόφρονος πρεσβυτέρου γενομένου μὲν τῆς ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας, βλασφημοῦντος δὲ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν · κτίσμα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὁ δυσσεβὴς, καὶ οὐχ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Θεῷ καὶ πατρί.* **3.** *Ὅθεν τοῦτον ὡς ἐχθρὸν τῆς ἀληθείας ἅμα τοῖς ὁμόφροσι αὐτοῦ ἀναθεματίσαντες ἀπεβάλοντο, τὴν δὲ ὀρθόδοξον πίστιν ἐκράτυναν, ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ κηρύξαντες, κτίστην δὲ τῶν ἁπάντων καὶ οὐ κτίσμα, ἀλλὰ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν καθὼς καὶ τὸ σύμβολον περιέχει τῆς πίστεως, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ | τῇ ἐμπνεύσει τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ὑπηγόρευσαν.*

I. 1 *Χρὴ γινώσκειν* : *Tit. Ἀδέσποτον περὶ τῶν ἓξ συνόδων οἰκουμενικῶν add. J* De SEX SYNODIS generalibus *add B*[4] *mg.* *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνσάρκου οἰκονομίας ἕως τῆς α΄ συνόδου ἔτη τιη΄ add. B*[3] *supra* 4 *πάπα . πάππα J* 6 *ὀκτωκαίδεκα* : *ιη΄ B J* 9 *ὁμοούσιον* : *ὁμούσιον J* 10 *ὀρθόδοξον ὀρθοδόξαν J* 11 *ὁμοούσιον* : *ὁμούσιον J* 13 *αὐτοὶ scripsi ex H* : *αὐτο B* (?) *αὐτὸ J* (*αὐτῇ R*) *ὑπηγόρευσαν · ἀπέχει ἡ σύνοδος δευτέρα* (*β΄ B J*) *ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης* (*α΄ B J*) *ἔτη πεντήκοντα* (*ν΄ B J*) *add. B*[1] *mg. J*

II. *Ἡ δὲ δευτέρα ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος τῶν ἁγίων ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα πατέρων γέγονεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μεγάλου καὶ Δαμάσου πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ Νεκταρίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως καὶ Γρηγορίου τοῦ θεολόγου* · **2.** *κατὰ Μακεδονίου τοῦ δυσσεβοῦς τοῦ λῃστρικῶς μὲν τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ἁρπάσαντος, βλασφημοῦντος δὲ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον · ἔλεγε γὰρ αὐτὸ μὴ εἶναι θεόν, ἀλλὰ τῆς θεότητος τοῦ πατρὸς ἀλλότριον.* **3.** *Ὅθεν τοῦτον μὲν ὡς ἐχθρὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἅμα τοῖς ὁμόφροσιν αὐτοῦ ἀναθεματίσαντες κατέκριναν, Θεὸν δὲ ἀληθινὸν καὶ κύριον καὶ ζωοποιὸν τὸ πανάγιον πνεῦμα ἐτράνωσαν ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ ὑπάρχειν αὐτὸ κηρύξαντες καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ θεότητος καὶ δυνάμεως, καθὼς τὸ σύμβολον περιέχει τῆς πίστεως, ὅπερ αὐτοὶ τρανώτερον τῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐξεφώνησαν χάριτι.*

4. *Ἔτι δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλιναρίου τοῦ Λαοδικείας τὴν βλασφημίαν σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ὁμοια φρονοῦσι ἀναθεματίσαντες, ὡς ἄψυχον τὴν τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν*
). 181 *σάρκα λέγοντος, ἔμψυχον εἶναι | ταύτην ἐβεβαιώσαντο ψυχὴν ἔχουσαν ταῖς ἡμετέραις ψυχαῖς ὁμοούσιον.*

f. 171r | **III.** *Ἡ δὲ τρίτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος γέγονεν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, ἡ πρότερον ἐπὶ Θεοδοσίου τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μικροῦ συναθροισθεῖσα, διακοσίων ἁγίων πατέρων ὑπάρχουσα* · **2.** *κατὰ Νεστορίου τοῦ ἀνθρωπολάτρου καὶ ἀσεβοῦς, πατριάρχου μὲν γενομένου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, τὸν Χριστὸν δὲ διαιροῦντος καὶ κατατέμνοντος · ψιλὸν μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπον εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔλεγε καὶ οὐ Θεὸν σεσαρκωμένον, ὅθεν οὐδὲ θεοτόκον, ἀλλὰ χριστοτόκον, τὴν ἁγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν τὴν τεκοῦσαν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ὠνόμαζε.* **3.** *Τούτου χάριν σὺν Κελεστίνῳ τῷ πάπᾳ Ῥώμης καὶ τῷ προμάχῳ τῆς εὐσεβείας Κυρίλλῳ τῷ πάπᾳ Ἀλεξανδρείας ἡ ἁγία αὕτη σύνοδος ἐμμένοντα τῇ τοιαύτῃ βλασφημίᾳ καθεῖλεν ὡς ἰουδαιόφρονα τὸν ἀνθρωπολάτρην Νεστόριον, κυρίως δὲ καὶ ἀληθῶς θεοτόκον τὴν ἁγίαν Μαρίαν ἀπέδειξε, καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀσπόρως σαρκωθέντα κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Θεὸν ἀληθινὸν ἀνεκήρυξεν.*

4. *Ἡ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ Ἐφέσῳ γενομένη σύνοδος ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βασιλέως Θεοδοσίου τοῦ μικροῦ, ὡς λῃστρικὴ ὑπάρχουσα καὶ τὰ τοῦ κακόφρονος δὲ*

II. 1-2 *ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα* : *ρν΄ B J* 3 *πάπα* : *πάππα J* 5 *λῃστρικῶς* : *λῃστρικῶς B J* 6 *τὸ*[1] : *om. J* 10 *αὐτοῦ B J* : (*αὐτῆς R*) 12 *ἐξεφώνησαν* : *ἐξεφάνισαν J* 13 *Ἀπολλιναρίου scripsi ex R* : *Ἀπολιναρίου B J* 15 *ἐβεβαιώσαντο B J* : (*ἐβεβαίωσαν M R rectius*) 16 *ὁμοούσιον* : *ἀπέχει ἡ τρίτη* (*γ΄ B J*) *ἀπὸ τῆς δευτέρας* (*β΄ B J*) *ἔτη εἴκοσι ἐννέα* (*κθ΄ B J*) *μῆνας τρεῖς* (*γ΄ B J*) *add. B*[1] *f.* 171r *mg. J*

III. 5 *αὐτὸν* : *om. J* 9 *αὕτη* : *αὐτὴ J* 15 *λῃστρικὴ* : *λῃστρικὴ B J*

Διοσκόρου καὶ τοῦ ματαιόφρονος Εὐτυχοῦς φωραθεῖσα κρατεῖν τελείως ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκβέβλητο.

| **IV.** *Ἡ δὲ τετάρτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος γέγονεν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι ἐπὶ Μαρκιανοῦ τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου βασιλέως καὶ Λέοντος πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ Ἀνατολίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, ἑξακοσίων τριακοντα πατέρων ὑπάρχουσα ·* **2.** *κατὰ Διοσκόρου γενομένου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς · οὗτοι γὰρ τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐνανθρώπησιν παρῃτοῦντο σχεδὸν παντελῶς, ἐν φαντασίᾳ αὐτὸν λέγοντες φορέσαι τὴν σάρκα, ὅθεν καὶ ἐν μιᾷ φύσει αὐτὸν ἐμυθολόγουν, τῇ θεότητι τὰ πάθη προσνέμοντες.* **3.** *Διὰ τοῦτο οὖν τούτους μὲν ἐμμένοντας πλάνῃ ἀνεθεμάτισαν ἅμα τοῖς ὁμόφροσιν αὐτοῖς, θεῖον δὲ ὅρον ἐξεφώνησαν, τέλειον Θεὸν καὶ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον ἐν δύο φύσεσιν ἀσυγχύτως, ἀδιαιρέτως τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ Θεὸν κηρύξαντες τήν τε τοῦ ἁγίου Λέοντος ἐπιστολὴν τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἁγιώτατον πατριάρχην Κωνσταντινουπόλεως Φλαβιανὸν ὡς στήλην ὀρθοδοξίας ἀπεδέξαντο.*

4. *Χρὴ δὲ γινώσκειν ὅτι οἱ λεγόμενοι Θεοδοσιανοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Θεοδοσίου τινός, καὶ οἱ Ἰακωβῖται οἱ ἀπὸ Ἰακώβου τινός, καὶ οἱ Σευηριανοὶ οἱ ἀπὸ Σευήρου τὰ ὅμοια τῶν προγεγραμμένων Διοσκόρου καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς τῶν βεβήλων αἱρετι|κῶν, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ βέβηλοι τυγχάνοντες φρονοῦσι · διὸ καὶ ἀνθίστανται μετὰ ἑτέρων αἱρέσεων τῇ τοιαύτῃ ἁγίᾳ καὶ οἰκουμενικῇ τετάρτῃ συνόδῳ, ἑαυτοὺς ἀπαλλοτριοῦντες τῆς ἁγίας καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας.*

| **V.** *Ἡ δὲ πέμπτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος γέγονεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ὑπὸ Ἰουστινιανοῦ τοῦ πάλαι βασιλέως καὶ Βιγιλίου πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ Εὐτυχοῦς πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως · ὑπῆρχον δὲ ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα πέντε ἅγιοι πατέρες.* **2.** *Ἥτις ἁγία σύνοδος ἐπεκύρωσε μὲν τὴν ἐν Χαλκηδόνι σύνοδον, καὶ ὡς ὀρθόδοξα αὐτῆς πάντα τὰ σωτήρια ἐκράτησε δόγματα, τὰς κατ' αὐτῆς αἱρέσεις ἀναθεματίσασα · ἀπεβάλετο δὲ καὶ*

17 *ἐκβέβλητο* : *ἀπέχει δὲ ἡ τετάρτη (δ' B) ἀπὸ τῆς τρίτης (γ' B) ἔτη <τεσσαρακόντα δύο> (μβ' ut vid. B) B¹ f. 171v mg. om. J*
IV. 3 *Κ'πόλεως* : *καὶ add. J* *ἑξακοσίων τριάκοντα* : *χλ' B J*
6 *παρῃτοῦντο scripsi ex H et M* : *παρεκτοῦντο B J (παρεποιοῦντο R)*
8 *προσνέμοντες* : *προσνέμοντα J* *τούτους* : *ταύτῃ J* 9 *ἀνεθεμάτισαν* : *ἀναθεμάτισαν J* *ὁμόφροσιν* : *ὁμόφροσι J* *αὐτοῖς* : *αὐτοῦ J*
ἐξεφώνησαν : *ἐξεφάνισαν J* 10 *ἀσυγχύτως* : *καὶ add. J* 11 *τε* : *δὲ J*
12 *πατριάρχην* : *πατριάχην J* 13 *ἀπεδέξαντο* : *ἀπεδείξαντο J*
16 *προγεγραμμένων* : *γεγραμμένων J* 19 *ἐκκλησίας* : *ἀπέχει ἡ πέμπτη (ε' B J) ἀπὸ τῆς τετάρτης (δ' B J) ἔτη ἑξήκοντα ὀκτώ (ξη' B J) add. B¹ f. 172r mg. J*
V. 1-2 *Κ'πόλει* : *Κ'πόλεως J* 2 *ὑπὸ B J* : *(ἐπὶ forte ex M R)*
3 *Εὐτυχοῦς B J* : *(Εὐτυχείου J²)* *Εὐτυχίου rectius* 6 *κατ'* : *om. J*
κατ'αὐτῆς : *(αὐτὰς R)*

ἀνεθεμάτισεν ἡ ἁγία πέμπτη σύνοδος ἐν πρωτοτύπῳ μὲν Ὠριγένην τὸν παράφρονα καὶ πάντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀσεβῆ δόγματα καὶ συγγράμματα, Εὐάγριόν τε καὶ Δίδυμον, ὡς συμμύστας τούτου καὶ σύμφρονας καὶ ἑλληνικοῖς ἐμφορουμένους δόγμασι.

3. Καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα, ἃ νῦν περικείμεθα, ἀνοήτως εἶπον μὴ ἀναστήσεσθαι, καὶ μήτε παράδεισον αἰσθητὸν γενήσεσθαι ὑπὸ Θεοῦ μήτε εἶναι, καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ μὴ πλασθῆναι τὸν Ἀδάμ, καὶ τέλος εἶναι τῆς κολάσεως καὶ δαιμόνων εἰς τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἀποκατάστασιν· οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ παρά τισιν ἐν τῷ κρυπτῷ παρεχόμενα τελείως οὐκ ἐθριαμβεύθησαν ἐπὶ συνόδῳ, εἰ καί τινες τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων ἀνέτρεπον αὐτά.

4. Καὶ γὰρ προγενέστεροι τῆς ἁγίας ταύτης συνόδου οἱ τρεῖς ὑπῆρχον οὗτοι
f. 172v αἱρετικοί· ὀπηνίκα δὲ | πολὺν λαὸν τὰ τοιαῦτα πονηρὰ ἤρξαντο κατανέμεσθαι δόγματα, τηνικαῦτα καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος συναθροισθεῖσα τούτους τε καὶ τοὺς ὁμόφρονας αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν βλασφημίας ἀνεθεμάτισεν.

5. Ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν Μομψουεστίας Θεόδωρον τὸν Νεστορίου διδάσκαλον σὺν τοῖς αὐτοῦ βλασφήμοις συντάγμασιν ὡς μυσαρὸν ἐκρίπτει ζιζάνιον, καὶ τοῦ Θεοδωρήτου τὰ κακῶς γεγονότα κατὰ τοῦ τῆς εὐσεβείας προμάχου Κυρίλλου καὶ δυσσεβῶς ἐκτεθέντα συγγράμματα, καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ ἁγίας πρώτης συνόδου καὶ τῆς ὀρθῆς ἡμῶν κατηγόρησε πίστεως, Νεστορίῳ τῷ δυσσεβεῖ χαριζόμενος.

VI. Ἡ δὲ ἕκτη ἁγία καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ σύνοδος γέγονεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἐπὶ Κωνσταντίνου βασιλέως πατρὸς Ἰουστινιανοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ Ἀγάθωνος πάπα Ῥώμης καὶ Γεωργίου πατριάρχου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· ὑπῆρχον δὲ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα ἅγιοι πατέρες. **2**. Συνηθροίσθησαν δὲ κατὰ τῶν καινοτομησάντων αἱρεσιν ἐν τῇ ἁγίᾳ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, λέγω δὴ Θεοδώρου τοῦ τῆς Φαρὰν ἐπισκόπου, Ὀνωρίου Ῥώμης, Κύρου Ἀλεξανδρείας,

7 πέμπτη : ε' *B om. J* 9-10 ἐμφορουμένους : (συμφυρομένους *H* ἐμφυρομένους *M R*) 12 καὶ — γενήσεσθαι : *om. J* 14 ἀποκατάστασιν . κατάστασιν *J* 16 ἀνέτρεπον : εἶχον ... *J* 17 οὗτοι . αὐτοὶ *J* 18-19 ἤρξαντο — δόγματα *scripsi ex H M* : ἠρξ[.....]ματα *B* ἐξηπάτησαν βλαστήματα (βλασφήματα J^2) *J* 21 Μομψουεστίας : Μοψουεστίας *H* 23 Θεοδωρήτου *scripsi ex R H* : Θεοδωρίτου *B J* 25 πρώτης : α' *B J* κατηγόρησε : καθηγόρει *J* (κατηγόρει *R*) 26 χαριζόμενος : ἀπέχει ἡ ἕκτη (ς' *B J*) ἀπὸ τῆς πέμπτης (ε' *B J*) ἔτη ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα τρία (ρξγ' *B J*) *add.* B^1 *J*

VI. 1 καὶ : *om. J* 2 Κωνσταντίνου : Κώσταντος *J* 3 πάπα . πάπᾳ *J* 4 ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα : ρο' *B J* 5 δὴ : (δὲ *H*) 6 Ὀνωρίου *scripsi ex M R* : Ὀνωρίου *B J*

Σεργίου καὶ Πύρρου, Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἐπισκόπων, ἔτι
83 *δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνακαινισάντων τὴν αἵρεσιν τούτων τῶν | προγεγραμμένων*
αἱρετικῶν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἁγίᾳ συνόδῳ, τοῦ τε Μακαρίου τοῦ ὀνομασθέντος Ἀν-
73r *τιοχείας προέδρου καὶ Στεφάνου τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἐκείνοις | συμμαχεῖν οἰομένων.* **3**. *Οὗτοι γὰρ οἱ προλεχθέντες αἱρετικοί, Θεόδωρος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ματαιόφρονες, δυσσεβῶς ἀπετόλμησαν εἰπεῖν ἓν θέλημα καὶ μίαν ἐνέργειαν ἔχειν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν, τὸν σύνδεσμον τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας διαλῦσαι θελήσαντες.*

4. *Τούτου χάριν ἡ ἁγία αὕτη καὶ οἰκουμενικὴ ἕκτη σύνοδος τοὺς προγεγραμμένους αἱρετικούς, ὡς θεομάχους ἀνεθεμάτισε καὶ πάντα αὐτῶν τὰ βλάσφημα δόγματα, καὶ πάντας τοὺς τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις φρονοῦντας καὶ φρονεῖν μέλλοντας καὶ ἀμετανοήτους διαμένοντας · σὺν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Πολυχρόνιον, τὸν νηπιόφρονα γέροντα, τὸν νεκροὺς ἐγείρειν ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πλάνῃ τῆς αἱρέσεως μεγαλορρημονήσαντα, ἀδείας τε τυχόντα καὶ ἐν τῷ μὴ ἐγεῖραι μειζόνως τὴν βλασφημίαν τῆς τοιαύτης αἱρέσεως θριαμβεύσαντα.*

5. *Τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας δὲ τὰ δόγματα τρανώτερον ἡ τοιαύτη ἁγία σύνοδος ἐμφάνασα δύο θελήματα φυσικὰ ἤγουν θελήσεις, καὶ δύο φυσικὰς ἐνεργείας ἐβεβαίωσεν ἔχειν μετὰ τὴν σάρκωσιν τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, οὐκ ἐν διαιρέσει προσώπων — μὴ γένοιτο — ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν φύσιν τῶν ἐπὶ Χριστοῦ, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν δύο, ἀνεθέλητον ὑπάρχειν ἢ ἀνενέργητον · οἱ γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα φύσεων ἀναιροῦντες ἰδιώματα, ἐνεργείας τε καὶ θελήματα, καὶ τὰς*
73v *φύσεις συναναιροῦσιν, | ὥνπερ εἰσὶν ἰδιώματα.*

10 *ἐκείνοις* : *ἐκείνων J* 11 *συμμαχεῖν οἰομένων scripsi ex H M* : *[.....]ιομένων B om. J* 12 *δυσσεβῶς* : *δυσσεβεῖς J* 13 *τὸν*[2] : *om. J* 17 *τούτοις* : *τούτων J* 23 *ἐμφάνασα* : *ἐμφανίσασα J (ἐκφάνασα H ἐκφανίσασα M)* 25 *μηδεμίαν* : *μὴ δὲ μίαν B* 28 *ἰδιώματα* : *ὁμοῦ πατέρες ε < ἰσὶ > χί < λιοι > ἑξακ < όσιοι τριάκοντα τρεῖς > add. B*[1] *sed tantum ὁμοῦ πατέρες add. J*

LES ICÔNES BYZANTINES DE LA BASSE ÉPOQUE CONSERVÉES À L'ACADÉMIE DE THÉOLOGIE DE MOSCOU

La littérature scientifique n'a pas encore étudié la collection d'icônes du cabinet ecclésiastique et archéologique de l'Académie de Théologie de Moscou à Zagorsk. Ce fonds est de création assez récente, il n'y a donc pas lieu de s'étonner de l'absence de chefs d'œuvre, mais plutôt de saluer la concentration à l'Académie d'un grand nombre d'œuvres intéressantes en un temps relativement court. Les icônes grecques, de basse époque pour la plupart, présentent un grand intérêt pour l'étude de la vitalité de la tradition iconographique byzantine (1).

Nous ne parlerons ici que de trois icônes : les plus anciennes parmi les grecques. Il est difficile de dater exactement des œuvres totalement inconnues jusqu'à présent, puisqu'il n'existe pas encore actuellement de limite nette entre icônes byzantines tardives et icônes post-byzantines dans nos collections.

On sait que dans les icônes byzantines de la fin du XIVe et surtout de la première moitié du XVe s. apparaissent des traits stylistiques fort éloignés de la peinture des premiers Paléologues (2).

C'est à cette époque que la manière des peintres d'icônes se précise. Le professeur V. N. Lazarev la caractérise comme suit : « Les compositeurs se présentent avec plus de retenue, une fine ligne graphique

(1) Nous avons pu étudier les icônes de l'Académie pendant l'été de 1971 grâce à l'infinie amabilité du professeur A. D. Ostapov et de l'higoumène Marc Lozinsky, tous deux décédés depuis lors.

(2) Cf. S. RADOJČIČ, *Vizantijsko slikarstvo od 1400 do 1453*. (La peinture byzantine de 1400 à 1453), dans *L'École de la Morava et son temps*. Symposium de Resava 1968, Belgrade, 1972, pp. 1-12, et D. TASIČ, *Spomenici carigradskog slikarstva u posledjem veku samostalnosti*. (La peinture byzantine pendant le dernier siècle d'indépendance), *ibid.*, pp. 13-18.

domine partout, les visages acquièrent une sécheresse, une sévérité particulière, dans le traitement des carnations on utilise de plus en plus souvent un procédé nouveau — le remplissage total des parties éclairées en couleur claire, qui passe insensiblement à l'ombre, grâce à un renforcement graduel de la tonalité» (3). Ces traits stylistiques des icônes byzantines tardives se manifestent nettement, même lorsque les artisans copient de toute évidence des modèles des premiers Paléologues.

I. L'ICÔNE «INTRODUCTION AU TEMPLE»

L'icône «Introduction au temple» (ill. 1) (4) présente une analogie très nette avec une icône en deux parties, datée du XVe s. qui se trouve à la pinacothèque du monastère de Ste. Catherine au Sinaï (5).

Le premier plan de la partie gauche de l'icône présente le prophète Zacharie, prêtre du temple de Jérusalem, vêtu d'un chiton vert émeraude, d'un éphod rose et d'une cape attachée sur la poitrine ; il est debout derrière une petite barrière d'autel en marbre et tend les bras pour accueillir la petite Marie ; l'enfant de trois ans se dirige vers l'autel, accompagnée de ses parents âgés, Joachim et Anne, et d'un groupe de vierges, qui tiennent en main des cierges allumés. Dans la partie supérieure gauche, Marie reçoit un pain des mains de l'archange Gabriel. Dans la partie supérieure de l'icône figure une inscription au cinabre *ΤΑ ΑΓΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΟΝ*. Cette composition peut être considérée comme une illustration du Protoévangile : «La fillette eut trois ans et Joachim dit : convoquez des vierges juives pures, qu'elles prennent des lampes, qu'elles assistent les officiants ... Et l'on fit ainsi. Et le grand-prêtre l'accueillit». Les tonalités de l'icône sont vives, le vermillon et divers tons de vert et de brun dominent. Toute la planche a été recouverte d'un fond or, ce qui confère de la chaleur aux coloris même aux endroits, où la gamme est sobre. Le modelé des visages est

(3) V. N. LAZAREV, *Vizantijskie ikony XIVe-XVe vekov* (Icônes byzantines des XIVe-XV s.), Moscou, 1971, ill. p. 348.

(4) N° de l'inventaire 300. Dimensions 73 × 57,7 × 2,1 cm. La planche est en trois parties, réunies par deux gros goujons appliqués; fixés par des chevilles en bois. La planche est fendillée, elle présente des retrouches d'enduit et de peinture.

(5) G. et M. SOTIRIOU, *Icônes du Mont Sinaï*, t. I, Athènes, fig. 236, t. II, Athènes, 1958, pp. 206-207.

réalisé sur un fond vert olive avec des traits d'ocre et des rehauts de blanc de céruse dans les parties les plus éclairées.

La ressemblance entre cette icône et celle du monastère de Ste. Catherine au Sinaï (6) ne se limite pas au fait que toutes deux remontent à un même archétype iconographique. Nous pouvons noter une série de particularités communes dans leur exécution. Mais nous devons remarquer que l'icône du Sinaï est caractérisée par une composition horizontale beaucoup plus étalée (conditionnée par les proportions de la surface dévolue), par un soin plus minutieux dans la peinture de mêmes détails (7), et surtout par une plus grande compréhension de la tradition des Paléologues. Cette tradition, le maître de l'icône de Zagorsk ne parvient pas à la saisir, bien qu'il ait créé une œuvre, qui en est extérieurement fort proche. Dans sa façon de traiter les bâtiments, il utilise le même procédé de deux points de perception différents : la construction de gauche, surmontée d'un ciborium, est vue d'en-haut, alors que la construction de droite est vue d'en bas et présente, à la fois, un raccourci de perspective correct de la porte et une face du toit en pente en perspective renversée. Nous ne pensons pas qu'il faille souligner particulièrement des traits aussi caractéristiques que l'introduction d'un long mur flanqué de bâtiments élevés, que le rapprochement de la composition religieuse de scènes de genre, que le traitement des plis de vêtements en lignes menues, brisées, formant des angles aigus dans les concours des silhouettes. Par ailleurs, nous tenons à souligner l'image traditionnelle byzantine de l'autel et quelques-unes de ses particularités — la barrière basse remonte indubitablement à des modèles très anciens. Le ciborium au-dessus de l'autel, à couronnement hémisphérique et catapetasme (8) suspendue est d'un type qui nous est connu par les miniatures de manuscrits byzantins (9). Fait essentiel dans la composition de l'Introduction au Temple, la tête de la Vierge se trouve représentée sur le

(6) J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en Occident*, t. I, Bruxelles, 1964, pp. 136-137, fig. 28, 80, 81, 86, 89, 92, 93 ; G. et M. Sotiriou, *Op. cit.*, t. I, fig. 99, 101, 125, 132, 180.

(7) Par exemple l'ornement sur l'envers du manteau de Zacharie, le dessin du dallage de marbre, etc.

(8) Rideau à l'entrée du Saint des Saints. (Note de Traducteur).

(9) C. Stornajolo, *Miniature Omilie di Giacomo Monaco e dell'Evangelario greco Urbinate*, Roma, 1910, tav. 27-31, 36-42.

fond de la partie supérieure de l'autel. Peut-être est-ce une coïncidence, mais elle évoque une composition très intéressante, ornant le narthex de l'église S. Clément d'Ohrid (1295). La Vierge, tenant l'Enfant sur la poitrine, repose sur un lit, entouré d'une armée d'anges. Comme l'ont prouvé les travaux des professeurs S. Der Nersessian et A. Xyngopoulos ([10]), les comparaisons de la Vierge au lit de Salomon, que nous trouvons dans des hymnes religieux, sont rendues dans la fresque ci-dessus, qui a comme parallèle iconographique, une représentation connue du Christ sur le lit de Salomon, accompagné de soixante anges, dans le manucrit d'homélies de Jacques Kokinobathe (au Vatican ; deuxième quart du XIIe s.) ([10]).

La comparaison de l'icône de l'Introduction au Temple de la collection de Zagorsk avec des œuvres des dernières décennies de Byzance, telles que l'icône du Christ Pantocrator du Musée des Beaux-Arts de Moscou ([12]) ou la «Descente en enfer» de l'Ermitage à Leningrad ([13]), la panagia avec la Trinité de l'Ancien Testament du Musée National de Florence ([14]), permet de dater son exécution du XVe s.

Son style présente également quelques traits communs avec le reliquaire du Cardinal Bessarion de Venise ([15]). Tous ces faits n'infirment pas une datation de la première moitié du XVe s.

II. Icône de S. Jean Chrysostome (ill. 2) ([16])

Elle est d'un type tout différent. De petites dimensions, exécutée sur une fine planchette rectangulaire avec une saillie arrondie, correspon-

(10) S. Der Nersessian, *Le lit de Salomon* — «Recueil de travaux de l'Institut d'études Byzantines», t. VIII (1). Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky, I, Belgrade, 1963, pp. 77-82 ; A. A. Xyngopoulos, *Au sujet d'une fresque de l'église S. Clément d'Ohrid. Idem.*, pp. 301-306.

(11) *Vat. gr.*, 1162, f. 82 v. — C. Stornajolo, *op. cit.*, tav. 32.

(12) V. N. Lazarev, *op. cit.*, p. 349, ill. p. 347.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 349, 352, ill. p. 348. A. V. Bank, *Vizanijskoe iskusstvo v sobranijach Sovetskogo Sojuza* (L'art byzantin dans les collections d'Union Soviétique), Leningrad-Moscou, 1966, ill. 296, 297.

(14) V. N. Lazarev, *op. cit.*, p. 349, 352, ill. p. 348.

(15) C. Cozza Luzi, *La Croce del Bessarione donata à Venezia*, Roma, 1904 ; S. Moschini-Marconi, *Galleria dell'Accademia di Venezia Opere d'Arte dei secoli XIV, XV*, Roma, 1955, pp. 191-914, fig 216 a-c ; A. Frolow, *La Relique de la Vraie Croix*, Paris, 1961, pp. 563-565 (N 872).

(16) N° 162 de l'inventaire. Dimensions : 10,7 × 6,3 × 0,5 cm. (La peinture est effacée par endroits et griffée).

dant à l'arrondi du nimbe dans la partie supérieure. D'après le grafitte, le nimbe prévu avait un diamètre plus grand. La destination de l'icône n'est pas tout à fait claire. De telles représentations de saints (coupées à la taille) ornaient généralement en Russie, les colonnettes des portes d'autel. A la différence de la plupart des icônes byzantines du saint Théologien, ce dernier ne porte pas la chasuble ornée de croix, mais une dalmatique. Cette particularité n'apparaît que dans la peinture byzantine tardive ([17]). Il est possible que ce soit la conséquence d'une rupture dans la tradition ; auparavant les patriarches de Constantinople, avaient le droit de revêtir la dalmatique seulement trois fois par an ; dans la suite ils ont pris l'habitude de la porter régulièrement et ont même conféré ce droit à certains métropolites. En Russie, ce fut le métropolite Pierre qui, le premier, obtint ce droit au début du XIVe s. Si l'on n'a pas encore tranché le problème de la date de la patène de Xeropotamos au mont Athos, où pour la première fois figure le Christ ([18]) revêtu de la dalmatique et de l'omophorion, nous pouvons, par contre, citer toute une série d'œuvres de peinture de chevalet du XIVe s., où le Christ est représenté comme Grand Archevêque ([19]). Nous retrouvons la silhouette de S. Jean Chrysostome, revêtu de la dalmatique, sur deux dalmatiques réalisées à Byzance et appartenant au métropolite russe Photius (1408-1432) ([20]). Etant donné que ces

(17) Pour l'iconographie de S. Jean Chrysostome cf. O. DEMUS, *Two Paleological Mosaic icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, «Dumbarton Oaks Papers», XIV, 1960, pp. 110-119.

(18) Sa dalmatique est conservée au Palais des Armures à Moscou. L. V. PISARSKAJA, *Pamiatniki vizantijskogo iskusstva X-XV vekov v Gosudartsvennoj Oružeinoj palate* (Les monuments d'art byzantin des Xe-XVe s. au Palais des Armures de l'Etat), Leningrad-Moscou, 1964, p. 27, ill. LII. Le prédécesseur de Pierre, Maxime (1283-1305) est représenté en chasuble ornée de croix sur l'icône de la Vierge de Maxime, alors que le métropolite Pierre (1308-1326) est habituellement représenté en dalmatique.

(19) N. P. KONDAKOV, *Patmiatniki vizantijskogo iskusstva na Afone* (Monuments d'art chrétien au Mont Athos), Saint Petersbourg, 1902, pp. 225-226, ill. XXX (des XIIe-XIIIe s.).

(20) Cf. V. POUTSKO, *Ikona «Predsta carica» v Moskovskom Kremle* (L'icône «La Reine s'est présentée» du Kremlin de Moscou), dans *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 5, Novi Sad, 1969, pp. 63-65, 68 ; L. V. PISARSKAJA, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29, pl. LXI, LXIII ; P. JOHNSTONE, *The Byzantine tradition in church embroidery*, London, 1967, pp. 95-97, pl. 7, 11.

vêtements ont été confectionnés à Constantinople, on peut supposer que les représentations de S. Jean Chrysostome en dalmatique, fréquentes dans la peinture grecque tardive, étaient connues déjà à la fin du XIVe-début XVe s. dans l'art byzantin. Deux miniatures peuvent le confirmer. La première orne un manuscrit grec (Psaumes et Nouveau Testament) du monastère de Ste. Catherine au Sinaï (gr. 2123, f. 49 v.) (21). Ce manuscrit de 1243 a appartenu à la famille impériale, comme le prouvent les portraits de Michel VIII Paléologue (1259-1281) et de Jean VIII Paléologue (1425-1448), sous le règne duquel les miniatures ont probablement été exécutées (22). Il contient une miniature (ill. 3) sur laquelle figure S. Jean Chrysostome, dont le parallèle le plus proche, tant du point de vue iconographique que du style, se trouve dans un manuscrit d'homélies et épîtres de Jean Chrysostome à la Bibliothèque Saint Marc de Venise (Ms. gr. II, 27, f. 187v) (23). Ces deux miniatures sont proches de l'icône de Zagorsk.

Sur cette dernière, S. Jean Chrysostome est représenté dans une dalmatique pourpre foncée, ornée de croix d'or à quatre branches. L'omophorion blanc à reflets verdâtres, porte des croix rouge vif à dessin doré. L'épigonation est de petites dimensions. Son traitement graphique rappelle le plat de l'évangile que le saint tient dans la main gauche. La tête piriforme caractéristique présente des analogies avec une série d'œuvres de la deuxième moitié du XIVe s. (24). Les traits fins du visage ne sont pas moins caractéristiques de la même époque. Le modelé est réalisé par application de menues touches libres. Le visage est exécuté sur un fond olive à ombrés vert-brun. Les parties éclairées sont rendues par des coups de pinceau en blanc, soulignant le nez fin, les pommettes saillantes, les rides du front. La barba courte et les cheveux coupés court ont une tonalité châtain foncé. Le sommet de la tête est tonsuré (25). La même particularité se présente dans des représen-

(21) K. WEITZMANN, *Illustrated Manuscripts at St. Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinaï*, Minnesota, 1973, pp. 24-25.

(22) Des miniatures de style et de sujet analogues ornent un manuscrit de Leningrad — V. D. LICHAČEVA, *Sud'ba odnoj vizantijskoj knigi* (le destin d'un livre byzantin) (Manuscrit G. P. B. grec n° 118) «Kniga» — XVIII, 1969, pp. 201-209.

(23) K. WESSEL, *Die Kultur von Byzanz*, Frankfurt am Main, 1970, s-146, Abb. 93.

(24) O. DEMUS, *op. cit.*, fig. 22, 23.

(25) Sur la tonsure dans la peinture d'icônes cf. S. M. DIMITRIEVIČ, *Est' li ton-*

tations de S. Jean Chrysostome sur des miniatures de manuscrits grecs du Sinaï, de Venise, stylistiquement proches de l'icône de Zagorsk. L'omophorion y est identique, la coupe de la dalmatique y ressemble, cependant le type d'ornementation est différent. La manière de traiter les poignets est la même, mais, dans l'ensemble, l'icône est plus sèche, ce qui n'exclut nullement son appartenance à la fin de l'époque des Paléologues.

Le revers de l'icône a gardé partiellement un coloris vermillon (sur un enduit d'albâtre) avec des dessins et des restes d'une inscription en couleur jaune *ΒΑΦ——ΧΑ*. Le tracé du dessin et le traitement des extrémités de la planche témoignent que la forme de l'icône est primitive et n'a pas subi de transformations.

Si les particularités iconographiques de la représentation de S. Jean Chrysostome ne nous permettent pas de lui attribuer une date antérieure au début du XVe s., les détails stylistiques de la peinture nous font reculer vers le milieu du XVe s. sans exclure, toutefois, une époque encore plus récente. D'après la manière, nous pouvons la rapprocher d'une icône de la Crucifixion de la cathédrale de l'Assomption du Kremlin de Moscou (26).

Cette icône provinciale du XVe s. lui ressemble, tant par la proportion des silhouettes, le modelé et le type des visages que par le coloris à prédominances verdâtres et brunes. Il n'est pas exclu que les deux icônes aient été ramenées du Mont Athos en Russie où des représentants de divers monastères de l'Athos venaient aux XVIe et XVIIe s. pour recevoir une aide matérielle des tsars de Moscou. Ils apportaient souvent des icônes et des reliques (27), dont il est resté peu de chose

zury na golovach svjatitelej v vostočno-pravoslavnom ikonopisanji? (La tonsure existe-t-elle sur la tête des saints dans l'iconographie orientale orthodoxe?). Actes du IVe Congrès international des Études byzantines, vol. II, Sofia, 1936, pp. 113-128. S. RADOJIČ, *Tonzura sv. Save* (La tonsure de S. Savas) Godišnjek Muzeja Južne Srbije, I, Skopje, 1937, pp. 148-159.

(26) M. ALPATOV, *L'icône byzantine du Crucifiement dans la cathédrale de la Dormition à Moscou et les emprunts à Byzance dans les icônes russes*, in *Byzantins chez les Slaves*, Recueil Uspenskij, II, Paris, 1932, pp. 198-211, pl. XXIV. Cf. également une icône de Grégoire Palamas dans la collection du Musée byzantin d'Athènes. G. SOTIRIOU, *Guide du Musée d'Athènes*, Athènes, 1932, p. 91, fig. 58.

(27) Plus détaillé chez N. F. KAPTEREV, *Charakter otnošenij Rossii k pravoslavnomu vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletijach* (Le caractère des rapports entre la Russie et l'Orient orthodoxe aux XVIe et XVIIe s.) ; 2e éd., Sergiev Posad, 1914.

après l'occupation de Moscou par les Français en 1812. Dans l'ensemble, le destin en Russie des œuvres en provenance du mont Athos n'a pas été l'objet de recherches spécialisées.

III. L'icône de S. Jean le Théologien (ill. 4) ([28])

Cette troisième œuvre se distingue des deux précédentes par son style. L'évangéliste est représenté en buste, tourné de trois quarts vers la gauche. Il tient à la main un évangile fermé à reliure dorée, ornée de perles, dans l'autre main il tient un style. Il porte un himation rose à reflets rouges dans les parties ombrées. La face et les mains sont exécutées sur un fond olive. Le modelé est réalisé au moyen de couches progressives d'ocre dilué de blanc. Les sourcils, les moustaches, les boucles de la barbe, les muscles du front et les plis du vêtement sont marqués par des rehauts de blanc de céruse. Le nimbe est précisé par un grafitte. Le fond est de couleur ocre clair. De part et d'autre de la silhouette il y a une inscription en cursive au vermillon : *ὁ ἅγ(ιος) Ἰω(αννης) θεολόγος*. D'après la trace des clous, l'icône avait un revêtement en métal, qui couvrait le fond et les marges. La représentation déborde partiellement sur la partie inégale de la «cuvette» et l'encadrement de l'icône.

La représentation monumentale de S. Jean tenant l'Evangile est surtout connue dans les icônes byzantines tardives, comme par exemple l'excellente mosaïque portative de la Laure de S. Athanase du Mont Athos ([29]). Jusqu'à un certain point, une miniature du recueil de cantiques du monastère de Ste. Catherine au Sinaï (gr. 1234, f. 35), de la première moitié du XVe s. présente une ressemblance iconographique avec la mosaïque ([30]).

A première vue, l'icône de S. Jean de Zagorsk présente beaucoup de similitudes stylistiques avec une icône de l'évangéliste Matthieu de

(28) Inv. n° 449 — Dimensions : 20,5 × 17,3 × 2,1 cm. La peinture est couverte de fines craquelures ; des craquelures plus importantes traversent l'icône en diagonale.

(29) M. Chatzidakis, *Une icône en mosaïque de Lavra*, in *Jährbuch der Oesterreichische Byzantinistik*, 21, 1972, S. 73-81.

(30) H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft*, Heidelberg, 1970, s. 12, 38, fig. 12.

l'église S. Clément d'Ohrid, exécutee vers 1300 (31). Cependant, le caractère du modelé des visages, en particulier l'application des ombres et des lumières, la disposition des rehauts, la mise en valeur des pommettes diffèrent nettement quant à la qualité. Le visage de S. Jean est plus calme, le modelé est privé du caractère artistique qui frappe par son expressivité dans la représentation de S. Matthieu. Les boucles de la barbe, malgré un traitement typologiquement semblable, sont plus monotones. Bien plus proche de notre icône est celle de l'iconostase du monastère de la Transfiguration, exécutée vers 1400 et attribuée au moine Makarij (32). Il suffit également de comparer l'icône de S. Jean avec la Déesis du monastère Chilandari du mont Athos, de la fin du XIVe s. (33) pour être convaincu qu'un intervalle de temps important sépare les deux œuvres. Si V. D. Lichačeva a raison de dater l'icône «La Descente du S. Esprit sur les apôtres», à l'Ermitage de Leningrad, de la deuxième moitié du XVe s. (34), l'icône de S. Jean est de la même époque. Nous n'excluons pas l'hypothèse qu'elle ait été exécutée à la limite entre le XVe et le XVIe s. Cette icône ne présente que peu de points communs avec des icônes grecques plus tardives, que nous pouvons juger d'après les modèles édités par M. Chatzidakis (35) et, avant lui, par N. P. Lichačev (36).

Nous avons donc prouvé que les trois icônes étudiées de la collection du cabinet archéologique de l'Académie de Théologie de Moscou étaient directement liées à la tradition iconographique des derniers Paléologues. Avec la chute de Constantinople en 1453, Byzance cesse

(31) S. RADOJČIČ, *Ikony v Jugoslavii. Ikony na Balkanach.* Sofia-Belgrade, 1967, p. LXIII, XCIX, pl. 168 ; 169.

(32) P. MILKOVIC-PEPEK, *O slikarima mitropolitu Jovanu i jeromonachu Makarije* (De la peinture du métropolite Jean et du moine Makarij), *in L'école de la Morava et son temps*, pp. 244-245, fig. 9.

(33) V. DJURIČ, *Ueber den čin von Chilandar*, in *BZ*, 53, 1960, S. 333-351.

(34) V. D. LICHAČEVA, *Nekotorye osobennosti perspektivnoj sistemy vizantijskoj živopisi i ikona «Sošestvie Svjatogo Ducha na apostolov»* (De quelques particularités du système de la perspective dans la peinture byzantine et de l'icône «La descente du Saint Esprit sur les Apôtres», in *Palestinskij sbornik*, 23/86/1971, pp. 75-83, ill. p. 81.

(35) M. CHATZIDAKIS, *Icônes de S. Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise*, Venise, 1962.

(36) N. P. LICHAČEV, *Materialy dlja istorii russkogo ikonopisanija* (Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'iconographie russe), vol. I-II, St. Petersbourg, 1906.

d'exister en tant qu'état, mais les traditions de son art survivent pendant plusieurs siècles. La découverte, au cours des dernières décennies, d'icônes byzantines de première qualité a détourné pour longtemps l'attention des chercheurs d'œuvres modestes comme celle que nous publions. Mais l'histoire de l'art ne peut se contenter d'étudier les chefs d'œuvre. C'est ce que nous commençons à comprendre.

V. POUTSKO.
Traduit du russe par Marie ONATSKY-MALIN.

LE CONFLIT DE GEORGES GÉMISTE PLÉTHON ET DE GEORGES SCHOLARIOS AU SUJET DE L'EXPRESSION D'ARISTOTE : *τὸ ὄν λέγεται πολλαχῶς*

Une étude de cet ordre prend place, cela est évident, dans le cadre plus vaste du conflit aristotélo-platonicien à Byzance. Nous nous limitons ici à deux auteurs, et au sein de leur vaste polémique, à un point précis de doctrine. Aussi, par avance, nous nous refusons à toute conclusion trop vaste sortant des limites que nous nous sommes tracées.

Dans ce xve siècle byzantin, deux hommes lisent et interprètent Aristote, ils livrent à la postérité de l'histoire des œuvres qui paraissent ne faire aucun doute sur leurs idéologies radicalement opposées ; aussi la tradition voit-elle dans le conflit «Pléthon-Scholarios», la continuation pure et simple du conflit «Platon-Aristote». Nous voulons aujourd'hui dépasser l'aspect polémique des textes et nous tourner vers leur contenu, afin de cerner avec précision le «lieu du conflit». Ne pouvant tout comparer, il fallait aller au noyau vital, or cette démarche devait se révéler facile, du fait qu'il s'agissait d'un affrontement d'ordre métaphysique. Quelque point que nous prenions, nous étions irrémédiablement conduits à l'objet même de la métaphysique : l'être. Aussi la conception de l'être nous a-t-elle semblé le «lieu du conflit Pléthon-Scholarios» quant à leur interprétation d'Aristote. Il nous faut donc avant tout, définir l'originalité de la position aristotélicienne en ce qui concerne l'être.

ARISTOTE : UNE ONTOLOGIE «HORIZONTALE»

Avant toute considération, il nous faut poser ce qui sépare la sphère de réflexion d'Aristote de celle où évoluent nos byzantins. Entre Aristote et la philosophie médiévale surgit un fait de culture qui transforme totalement la problématique de l'être. Nous voulons parler des religions révélées et du concept, parfaitement étranger au monde grec,

qu'elles ont véhiculé : le concept de création (1). Aussi, quand nous lisons un texte d'Aristote, devons-nous toujours penser que la création n'intervient pas dans son système. De même chez Platon, si le démiurge organise le monde, en aucun cas il ne le crée.

La première distinction qu'il est maintenant nécessaire d'établir est celle de l'ontologie et de la théologie chez Aristote ; deux domaines que la tradition médiévale a bien vite confondus. L'ontologie comme la définit le livre *Γ* de la *Métaphysique*, est la science qui étudie «L'être en tant qu'être», elle a une primauté dans l'ordre du connaître. La théologie est une science qui étudie une partie de l'être, mais elle possède au sein des sciences une primauté, du fait que son objet est «le genre le plus éminent». Cette théologie n'a rien à voir avec celle des religions révélées ; la cause première n'étant pas cause créatrice.

Venons-en à l'ontologie : la question de l'être va se jouer au sein d'une dualité.

«Il y a une science qui étudie l'être en tant qu'être» (2). Aristote pose par là l'unité de la science ontologique. Cependant si nous analysons des propositions attributives différentes : Socrate *est* un homme, Socrate *est* juste, Socrate *est* grand de trois coudées, le verbe «être» n'a pas le même sens en chacune d'elles. C'est alors qu'Aristote prononce la fameuse phrase qui nous occupe : «*τὸ ὂν λέγεται πολλαχῶς*» — l'être se dit en une pluralité de sens (3). Mais une fois posée cette multiplicité, Aristote revient à la question préalable de la science qui étudie l'être en tant qu'être, car cette pluralité des sens de l'être met en péril l'unité de cette science. Alors Aristote déclare :

> «L'être se dit en une pluralité de sens, mais en chaque sens toute dénomination se fait par rapport à un principe unique» (4)

(1) La nouveauté du concept de Création apparaît dès la traduction de la Bible hébraique en langue grecque. Le verbe bâra — créer — qui implique la notion de faire-à-partir-de-rien : (création ex-nihilo), n'a pas d'équivalent dans le vocabulaire grec. A défaut, les Septante utiliseront le verbe *ποιεῖν*, mais les versions suivantes se serviront du verbe *κτίζειν*, qui, à l'origine, signifiait la fondation religieuse de la cité.

(2) ARISTOTE, *La Métaphysique*, éd. J. Tricot, Vrin. *Métaphysique*, ed. cit., *Γ* 1, 1003 a 20.

(3) *Métaphysique*, éd. cit., *Γ* 2, 1003 a 33.

(4) *Métaphysique*, éd. cit., *Γ* 2, 1003 b 5.

et il sauve l'unité de la science ontologique. La question : «Qu'est-ce-que l'être?» se ramène à la question : «Qu'est-ce-que l'*οὐσία*». Tel est le principe de l'analogie.

Il ne faut pas faire dire aux textes ce qu'ils ne disent pas. Avec Aristote nous sommes en présence d'une ontologie «horizontale», portant sur les statuts de l'*οὐσία* ; «horizontale» en ce sens que rien ne va relier ontologiquement le premier moteur et les essences individuelles. Et ce, que l'on choisisse l'une ou l'autre des interprétations du Stagirite. La première dans la «*Physique*» s'appuie sur ce fait que «tout ce qui est mû est mû par un autre (5), la seconde dans la «*Métaphysique*» affirme que le premier moteur «meut comme objet d'amour» (6). Dans les deux cas le moteur, soit comme cause physique soit comme cause finale, est là, pour rendre compte du mouvement et non de l'être de l'*οὐσία*.

Il est dès lors possible de situer à sa juste place la conception de l'homonymie de l'être et celle de l'analogie. Aristote nous dit que l'être s'affirme comme essence, comme quantité, comme qualité, comme relation, mais ce, toujours par rapport à l'essence qui est la première signification de l'être. Peut-on sortir de cette multiplicité pour revenir à l'unité de l'être? Certes pas, Aristote demeure dans une ontologie «horizontale» de la multiplicité. Etudiant les êtres dans leur déterminations concrète, il se refusera à ce retour vers l'unité qui ferait de l'être non plus une existence concrète mais une essence abstraite.

Georges Gémiste Pléthon : Une onto-théologie «verticale» (7)

Avec Pléthon nous changeons totalement d'univers, nous nous trouvons en effet face à une ontologie de forme platonicienne, issue du néoplatonisme, inspiré lui-même par la doctrine de la Création.

(5) *Physique*, VIII, 4, 256 a 2, ed. H. Carteron, coll. Budé.

(6) *Métaphysique*, éd. cit., *Λ* 7, 1072 a 26 b 4.

(7) Nous utilisons le texte édité par B. Lagarde, *Le "De differentiis" de Pléthon d'après l'autographe de la Marcienne*, dans *Byzantion*, 73, pp. 321-343.

La *Réplique* à Scholarios est dans le manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Marcienne à Venise *Marc. Gr. 517* (autographe). On trouvera des renseignements sur les différents manuscrits de la *Réplique* à Scholarios dans l'article précédemment cité et dans : *L'œuvre de G. Gemiste Pléthon*, R et F Masai, dans *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Cl. de Lettres*, 1954, 336-55.

Pour Pléthon la question n'est pas le statut «horizontal» de l'ontologie mais son statut «vertical». Le problème posé est celui de la relation ontologique entre le premier principe et la multiplicité des êtres ; c'est en ce sens que nous pouvons parler d'une onto-théologie «verticale». Dès les premières lignes du «*De differentiis*», le lecteur voit que la critique de Pléthon à l'égard du Stagirite porte sur cette question de la création des êtres.

> «Tout d'abord Platon considère Dieu 'le roi de l'univers' comme auteur (*δημιουργὸν*) de la substance intelligible et complètement séparée et par celle-ci (*δι' αὐτῆς*) de notre univers tout entier ; Aristote au contraire ne dit nulle part que Dieu est auteur de quoi que ce soit mais seulement moteur de notre univers» (8).

Et il achève son traité dans le même esprit :

> «Dieu est créateur des créateurs (*τὸν παραγωγὸν τῶν παραγωγῶν*) et démiurge des démiurges (*δημιουργὸν δημιουργῶν*) (9).

C'est dans cette problématique que nous devons nous placer pour comprendre comment Pléthon peut réagir devant l'expression «l'être se dit en une pluralité de sens». Face à cette affirmation, notre auteur va se réclamer de la synonymie de l'être et rejeter la théorie de l'homonymie.

Afin que le lecteur situe plus exactement la sphère de réflexion du philosophe de Mistra, il faut préciser qu'il évolue dans une atmosphère néoplatonicienne, avec ce que cela implique. Nous pouvons remarquer en effet que Dieu pour Pléthon n'est pas *directement* créateur mais qu'il l'est par l'intermédiaire de la substance intelligible (*δι 'αὐτῆς*)

> «Les partisans des idées ne pensent pas que le Dieu souverainement bon soit l'auteur immédiat de notre univers mais qu'il est d'abord l'auteur d'une autre nature et substance ... c'est seulement par l'intermédiaire de cette substance première que Dieu est l'auteur mais il ne l'est pas par lui-même (10).

La source de Pléthon est en fait Proklos, et dans le néoplatonisme il serait faux de voir une répétition de Platon : nous nous trouvons en

(8) *De differentiis*, éd. cit., p. 321, l. 23-28.
(9) *De differentiis*, éd. cit., p. 342, l. 33.
(10) *De differentiis*, éd. cit., p. 336, l. 20-25.

face d'une philosophie propre qui emprunte ses thèmes, certes à Platon mais aussi au christianisme dont il est souvent une rationalisation. Cependant le néoplatonisme confondra toujours deux concepts fondamentalement différents : la génération, (action «ad intra») et la création (action «ad extra»). Le désir de rationalité conduit les néoplatoniciens à supprimer la notion de liberté de l'acte créateur au profit de la notion de nécessité.

Dès le second chapitre du «*De differentiis*», Pléthon critique l'homonymie de l'être avancée par Aristote ; bien entendu il présente un certain nombre d'arguments purement logiques, mais ce, en vue d'une finalité et c'est à la fin du chapitre II que se trouve à notre avis l'idée essentielle.

> «Si tous les êtres dérivent (*πρόεισιν*) d'un principe unique ... il est cependant impossible qu'ils ne possèdent pas tous un élément un et commun entre eux. Mais que serait-ce donc sinon l'être et un être non homonyme. Car si l'être était homonyme il ne pourrait plus être un» ([11]).

De plus, le *Marcianus Gr. 517* nous livre la même conception renforcée :

> «Quant à nous qui sommes fermement convaincus que tous les êtres ont été produits et le sont encore par un Dieu unique nous ne pouvons pas ne pas les grouper en un seul genre commun à tous» ([12]).

La perspective est ici radicalement différente de celle d'Aristote. Combien cette onto-théologie «verticale» nous paraît éloignée de l'ontologie «horizontale» du Stagirite ! Désirant une synonymie de l'être, Pléthon désire en fait que le mot «être» s'applique dans le même sens à Dieu et aux créatures. Si nous ne sommes pas là dans une problématique aristotélicienne, nous sommes en revanche face à une interrogation typiquement théologique, celle qui mettra en question la relation de Dieu et de ses attributs, de l'essence divine et des énergies.

Comment Pléthon voit-il cette synonymie de l'être ? Un passage de la réponse à Scholarios dans le *Marcianus Gr. 517* fournit une réponse claire. Le philosophe de Mistra veut montrer que l'être participe également au plus et au moins, à la substance et à l'accident, au

(11) *De differentiis*, éd. cit., p. 324, l. 19-23.
(12) *Marc. Gr. 517*, f. 46.

plus parfait et au moins parfait, il adresse alors ce reproche à Aristote :

> «Aristote n'ayant pas compris que cela arrivait seulement selon l'ordre du concept (*τὸ λόγῳ συμβαῖνον*) a pensé que la même chose devait se produire dans l'ordre du réel (*τῷ πράγματι συμβαίνειν*) ce qui n'arriverait pour aucun genre si l'on examinait les êtres comme il se doit» ([13]).

Ce texte nous semble capital, car cette argumentation absente dans le «*De differentiis*» apparaît dans la «*Réplique*» de Pléthon, commentaire de la réponse de Scholarios ; à ce niveau les deux positions se rapprochent étrangement comme nous le verrons. C'est dans l'esprit de cette citation qu'il faut lire un autre texte de la «*Réplique*» relatif à la relation de la substance et de l'accident :

> «C'est pourquoi, si la substance est plus être que l'accident rien n'empêche que l'être ne soit genre des deux» ([14]).

Pléthon établit ici une distinction entre l'ordre logique et l'ordre réel. Pour lui, Aristote s'étant situé uniquement sur le plan horizontal physique n'a pu conclure qu'à une homonymie de l'être. Ce qu'il faut souligner, c'est que Pléthon admet qu'à ce niveau le Stagirite est encore dans son droit. Mais pour Pléthon, pour atteindre la synonymie il faut se placer sur un autre plan, logique celui-ci, seul domaine où l'être se pose comme un et commun. En fait Pléthon quitte le niveau de la pure horizontalité aristotélicienne et s'élève à l'être commun, par un ontologie «verticale», verticalité nécessitée par l'aspect théologique de sa démarche. Pour le philosophe de Mistra, Aristote conclut à l'homonymie parce qu'il s'arrête à l'être dans ses déterminations concrètes, mais si l'on atteint l'être dans un ordre plus élevé, c'est-à-dire ce concept d'être totalement dépouillé de toute détermination, alors l'être est attribuable à tout ce qui «*est*» et non «en une pluralité de sens» mais «dans un seul et unique sens».

Telle se manifeste à nous la conception de la synonymie de l'être avancée par Pléthon. La rupture avec Aristote est nette et elle porte sur la signification même de l'être. L'expression «*τὸ ὂν λέγεται πολλαχῶς*» ne peut être entendue de la même façon par Aristote et par

(13) *Marc. Gr. 517*, f. 46v.
(14) *Marc. Gr. 517*, f. 46v.

Pléthon, et ce, parce que le «τὸ ὄν» n'est pas compris identiquement. Pour Aristote, il vise ce qu'il serait plus convenable d'appeler : «l'étant», la pure manifestation phénoménale ; Pléthon dans la tradition platonicienne ne peut en rester à cet «étant» phénoménal et horizontal. Dans la multiplicité des étants particuliers, il recherche l'unité ; dans cette ascension vers l'unité se produit un dépouillement des particularités, aussi au terme de sa course le «τὸ ὄν» n'est plus «l'étant» aristotélicien mais l'être totalement neutre de toute détermination. Aussi pourrions-nous dire, que si l'étant se dit en une pluralité de sens, l'être se dit en un seul sens.

Georges Scholarios : un aristotélisme dénaturé

En premier lieu il nous faut souligner que la réflexion de Scholarios évolue dans une sphère de pensée plus proche déjà de celle de Pléthon que celle d'Aristote. Scholarios est un théologien chrétien et il accepte, en y adhérant, le concept de création, dès lors il se place dans une problématique de la dépendance ontologique du créateur et des créatures, problématique de la verticalité.

Cependant, si l'on accepte la conception courante d'un Scholarios disciple de l'idéologie thomiste, il est certain que le platonisme de Pléthon devrait entrer en conflit brutal avec l'aristotélisme de Scholarios, et ce, quant à la forme et quant au fond. C'est là qu'un retour aux textes s'impose (15).

Scholarios va commencer par expliciter le terme : homonyme. A cet effet il rappelle la grande distinction : homonymes-synonymes-réalités analogiques. Ce texte (16) est une reprise assez fidèle du «*Commentaire des Catégories*» rédigé quelques années auparavant (17). Ces définitions sont celles qui ont été données par les premiers commentateurs : Ammonios, Philoponos, Simplikios. Si l'on se rapporte à ces commentaires (18), on peut constater que l'analogie est toujours rangée

(15) Nous utilisons l'édition *Oeuvres Complètes* (O.C.) — Mgr. L. Petit, M. Jugie et X. A. Siderides. Maison de la Bonne Presse. Paris, 1928-1936.

(16) *O.C.*, t. IV, p. 45, l. 4-15.

(17) On date le «*Commentaire des Catégories*» de 1435 le «*Contre Pléthon*» de 1444. Voir : Introduction *O.C.*, t. IV, p. iv.

(18) Nous avions établi dans notre thèse de troisième cycle «*Commentaire de la Logique d'Aristote par Georges Scholarios*», Toulouse-Mirail, 1976, l'importance de

parmi les homonymes dont elle est, en quelque sorte, pour ces premiers écrivains, une classe particulière.

Dans un second mouvement notre auteur établit le sens ou plutôt le double sens du terme «homonyme», pour Aristote. Et c'est à ce niveau que s'effectue un premier glissement.

> «Celles (les réalités) qui se situent entre les purement homonymes et les simplement synonymes, il les nomme : 'par-analogie', quand il les appelle homonymes, *cela est impropre*» ([19]).

Et il ajoute :

> «En utilisant l'homonyme en tant que terme plus général, il exprime ce qui est homonyme et aussi ce qui est analogique et de la sorte il prend les réalités synonymes selon une seule modalité, mais les homonymes selon plusieurs» ([20]).

Par cette exégèse de la pensée d'Aristote, Scholarios veut, en fait, quitter le terrain de la pure homonymie de l'être, terrain où il est fort mal à l'aise ([21]). Aussi après avoir précisé que le terme «homonyme», a deux sens, Scholarios commence par faire basculer toute l'ontologie d'Aristote dans une théorie de l'analogie. Il appuie son argumentation sur une série de citations tirées de la «*Métaphysique*», de la «*Physique*» et du «*Traité du Mouvement*». Sa réponse à Pléthon se résume alors en une phrase : non, Aristote ne parle pas d'homonymie de l'être mais d'analogie. Cette position semblerait à première vue rapprocher Scholarios de Saint Thomas d'Aquin par une ontologie fondée sur la notion d'analogie, ce qui serait d'ailleurs déjà un gauchissement de l'aristotélisme. Toute la question va donc résider dans le sens que notre auteur donne au concept d'analogie.

Il faut préciser en premier lieu que l'analogie elle-même comporte deux sens pour Saint Thomas, ce qui est clairement exprimé dans le chapitre XXXIV du «*Contra Gentiles*».

l'influence de Simplikios — se reporter à ce nom dans notre Index onomastique p. 299. Sur la question qui nous intéresse ici ; voir : *Simplicii in Aristotelis commentarium*, p. 31-33, éd. Kalbfleisch. Académie de Berlin, 1907.

(19) *O.C.*, t. IV, p. 45, l. 14.

(20) *O.C.*, t. IV, p. 45, l. 21.

(21) Comme il s'opposera à l'homonymie, Scholarios s'opposera au nominalisme philosophique de Boèce et au rationalisme théologique d'Akindynos.

> «Dans le premier cas, des choses multiples ont référence à quelque chose d'unique ... dans le second cas, il y a relation ou référence chez deux êtres non à quelque chose d'autre mais à l'un des deux» (22).

Et Saint Thomas donne l'exemple de la substance et de l'accident :

> «C'est ainsi que le fait d'être est attribué à la substance et à l'accident en tant que l'accident a référence à la substance non point en tant que la substance et l'accident auraient référence à quelque tiers» (23).

Saint Thomas conclut alors que la relation de Dieu et des créatures est une analogie du second ordre.

La position de Scholarios quant à ce qu'il appelle l'analogie de la substance et de l'accident est fort éloignée de la position thomiste.

> «L'être est affirmé de l'accident à cause de la quiddité formelle de l'accident (*τῇ εἰδικῇ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ὀντότητι*), comme de même il est affirmé de la substance à cause de l'existence formelle de celle-ci (*τῇ εἰδικῇ ταύτης ὑπάρξει*), et de par cela, l'être possède un seul mode d'existence commun aux deux et en même temps un seul concept commun (*καὶ ἅμα λόγον ἕνα κοινόν*) (24)».

Nous pouvons remarquer que la distinction de la substance et de l'accident n'est en rien une distinction réelle mais une *distinction formelle* ; de plus la référence des deux termes ne se fait pas en fonction des deux mais bien d'un tiers extérieur : le concept d'être. La définition que nous avons donnée montre bien que, sur le plan du concept, Scholarios admet la synonymie de l'être. Cependant, dès qu'il revient à l'ordre du réel, il n'admet plus cette synonymie.

> «Si en effet le concept commun aux deux est un et par lui-même, il participe (*μετέχεται*) cependant antérieurement à la substance et postérieurement à l'accident» (25).

C'est cette notion d'avant et d'après qui va permettre à Scholarios de conclure à l'analogie, avec en plus l'idée de participation. Nous distinguons alors deux niveaux, une synonymie d'ordre logique dans

(22) SAINT THOMAS D'AQUIN, *Contra Gentiles*, p. 243, éd. Lethielleux, 1951.
(23) *Contra Gentiles*, éd. cit., p. 243.
(24) *O.C.*, t. IV, p. 47, l. 24-27.
(25) *O.C.*, t. IV, p. 47, l. 29-30.

un premier mouvement, une analogie d'ordre réel dans un second mouvement.

Cette attitude ne nous surprend pas, car elle s'accorde parfaitement avec les vues d'ensemble de notre auteur. Nous serons brefs sur cette question ayant déjà développé plus amplement ce thème en d'autres circonstances (26). En effet à partir de nombreux textes pris à des périodes diverses de la vie de Scholarios, nous avons établi l'influence directe du Scotisme sur sa pensée. Cette influence trouve son fondement, à notre avis, dans la «distinction formelle» qui apporte une solution commode à la question de la relation de l'essence et des énergies en Dieu. Le texte que nous avons cité a déjà été utilisé par Scholarios : alors qu'il commente «*l'Isagoge*» de Porphyre et qu'il rencontre le problème de la relation de la substance et de l'accident, il propose dans un long développement la solution de celui qu'il nomme l'Anglais (*ὁ Βρίτων*) (27).

Dès lors la conception de l'être chez Scholarios nous semble assez claire. Pour les raisons que nous avons données, il est entré en contact avec la pensée du Docteur subtil et même avec celle de François Mayron (28). Bien que nous ne pensions pas qu'il ait compris la complexe opposition du thomisme et du scotisme, avec la «distinction formelle» (29) c'est en fait une certaine idée de l'être qu'il accepte. Nous voyons bien qu'il admet une synonymie de l'être, et ce, par son insistance sur le «concept commun d'être». Or cela est une notion typiquement scotiste. Certes il admet une analogie dans l'ordre du réel mais cela aussi est conforme à la doctrine de Scot.

Alors se pose à nous le conflit «Pléthon-Scholarios» ; ce conflit, bien que réel, va nous apparaître sous un tout autre jour. Car *sur ce point*, l'opposition semble moins fondamentale que l'on aurait pu le croire à première vue. Si nous comparons les théories de l'être de nos deux auteurs, nous pouvons repérer une certaine unité liée à une famille de pensée. Quand Scholarios pose le rapport de la substance et de l'accident, comme Pléthon il revient à l'unité de l'être et de la même façon il s'agit de l'être totalement dépouillé de ses déter-

(26) Paul TAVARDON, *Georges Scholarios un thomiste byzantin?* (à paraître dans *Byzantina*).

(27) *O.C.*, t. VII, p. 79-81.

(28) *O.C.*, t. VI, p. 180, l. 28.

(29) *O.C.*, t. III, p. 296, l. 14.

minations concrètes : le concept commun d'être. Il y a donc bien synonymie à ce niveau et si nous revenons à la réponse de Pléthon ([30]), l'accord paraît encore plus complet parce que ce dernier admet que cette synonymie n'a lieu que sur le plan du concept. Nous pouvons alors dire que le conflit est de l'ordre de l'*apparence*.

Pourquoi un conflit apparent? Il faut manifester la différence et l'unité de ces deux pensées. La différence prend sa source dans une question sous-jacente. Quand Scholarios attaque le platonisme de Pléthon, il a bien plus en vue la défense du christianisme que celle d'Aristote. Notre auteur sait déjà que Pléthon a rédigé un traité où son nationalisme exacerbé le pousse par souci de retour à la pureté antique, à remettre en valeur le vieux paganisme grec. Cela suffit pour dévaloriser totalement aux yeux de Scholarios toute l'œuvre du philosophe de Mistra. Quant à l'unité, elle nous est donnée par l'histoire des idées. L'être de Scholarios est très proche de l'être de Pléthon et très éloigné de l'être d'Aristote. Nous avons établi comment Pléthon dans la lignée de Proklos en était arrivé à poser dans son onto-théologie «verticale», un être totalement dépouillé de détermination concrète. Mais Scholarios *marqué par l'Hésychasme* se place d'emblée dans une problématique d'influence néoplatonicienne. A cela il ajoute une ontologie d'inspiration scotiste : or, par Scot, il est certain que nous revenons au courant platonicien. Comme le montre E. Gilson ([31]), l'être de Scot est, non pas l'être d'Aristote ni celui de Saint Thomas, mais celui d'Avicenne, or, avec Avicenne nous sommes en plein néoplatonisme.

Aussi nos deux auteurs par-delà leur opposition se retrouvent sur ce qu'il y a de plus profond dans l'ordre métaphysique : la conception de l'être ; quittant l'un et l'autre l'ontologie «horizontale» du Stagirite, niveau de la pure multiplicité, ils s'élèvent jusqu'au concept de l'être, le concept du purement-être et si l'être, dans ses modalités particulières se dit en une pluralité de sens, pris dans l'ordre du concept il devient le concept de l'être, un et commun.

Paul TAVARDON.

(30) *O.C.* Référence à l'unité de la substance et de l'accident citée précédemment. *Marc. Gr. 517*, f. 46v.

(31) E. GILSON, *Jean Duns Scot.* Introduction à ses positions fondamentales. Ed. Vrin, Paris, 1952 : voir sur cette question pp. 85-86 et ...

TATZATES' FLIGHT AND THE BYZANTINE-ARAB PEACE TREATY OF 782 (*)

In February, 782 the younger son of the Caliph Mahdī, Hārūn, later honored by his father as al-Rashīd (Follower of the Right Path), led a major invasion into the heart of the Byzantine Empire. Several months of hard fighting followed during much neither side was able to gain a decisive victory. The balance, however, finally turned in favor of the Arabs when Tatzates Andzevatsik, *strategos* of the Bucellarion theme and an Armenian aristocrat, fled to the Arabs and joined them ostensibly from hatred for Stauracius the logothete of the drome. With his assistance the Arabs were able to capture several prominent imperial officials and advance onwards to the Bosphorus, marking the last time an Arab army would achieve such a success. The imperial ministers, among whom was Stauracius, were used by the Arabs to force the Empress Irene into unfavorable negotiations in which she was obliged to concede humiliating terms of peace. Tatzates accompanied the withdrawal of the Arab forces and was subsequently honored with gifts from both Hārūn and Mahdī and was designated by the Caliph as the commander of Arab occupied Armenia (1).

(*) I wish to express my gratitude to Professors Walter E. Kaegi, Jr., W. F. Wilferd Madelung, and S. I. Oost of The University of Chicago, Irfan Shahid of Georgetown University, and Byron C. P. Tsangadas of the University of South Florida for their assistance and criticisms made in the preparation of this paper. The arguments presented, however, should not be construed as representing their opinion while all errors or omissions are my responsibility alone.

(1) The sources for this invasion are THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. by C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1883), A. M. 6274, I, 456 ; GHEVOND, *Histoire des guerres et des conquêtes des Arabes en Arménie*, trans. by V. Chahnazarean (Paris, 1856), pp. 152-54 ; and Michael SYRUS, *Chronique*, ed. and trans. by J. B. Chabot, 3 vols. (Paris, 1901), II/II, 2. The relevant Arab sources are provided in translation by E. W. BROOKS, *Byzantines and Arabs in the Time of the Early Abbasids*, in *English*

Scholarly assessment of Tatzates' flight has emphasized, despite the relative abundance of source material, a single perspective, that of the rebellious and self-seeking soldier. This one dimensional view, though accurate to a degree, accordingly dismisses Tatzates as simply a traitor and deserter, appellations frequently adopted in reference to Byzantine soldiers (2). This, however, is not to deny or to excuse the act of desertion which Theophanes and other authors ascribe to Tatzates. The charge of desertion stands irrefutable. Yet the circumstances surrounding his action retain a significance which has been neglected just as the events leading to the Arab-Byzantine peace of 782 have been distorted and obscured (3).

A key factor behind Tatzates' flight is the role played by the Empress Irene upon her assumption of the regency for her son Constantine VI. Within a short time following her acquisition of power many prominent officials and generals, including the corps of thematic commanders, were dismissed from service and replaced by those partisans of the new regime (4). Tatzates remained isolated from this purge and there was no apparent reason to link him to the overall

Historical Review, XV (1900), 737-39 (hereafter referred to as Brooks). Professors Madelung and Shahid kindly examined Brooks' translation and though some errors were found, concluded that the translation was basically reliable. Their corrections are indicated by italics in those passages which are quoted. The chronology of this important campaign is vague but two fixed dates, those of Hārūn's departure and return, are provided by the Arabic sources (i.e. al-Ṭabari). For the determination of these dates and other questions of chronology V. GRUMEL, *Traité d'études byzantines* : *I. La chronologie* (Paris, 1958), *passim*, has been consulted throughout.

(2) J. B. BURY, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), II, 491-92, whose arguments were accepted by R. J. H. JENKINS, *Byzantium* : *The Imperial Centuries* (New York, 1966), p. 92. See also M. V. ANASTOS, in *Cambridge Medieval History*[2], IV : 1, 83.

(3) The peace made with the Arabs early in the reign of Constantine VI and the regency of Irene is dated in 781 by G. OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, Rev. ed. (New Brunswick, 1969), p. 182. The date was suggested by F. DOLGER, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches* (Munich-Berlin, 1924), I, 340, who placed the peace in approximately August, 781. This dating, however, is untenable and is miscalculated by a year. Cf. discussion *infra*.

(4) BURY, *LRE*, II, 485-86 and JENKINS, *Byzantium*, p. 92, who followed Bury's arguments for both the initiation of the policy by Irene and its execution subsequent to the death of Leo IV. ANASTOS, *CMH* [2], IV : 1, 84, alludes to the policy but dates it after 784.

scheme of events. It seems unlikely, though, that one of the empire's premier generals would haphazardly abandon the honors and benefits accrued by a long career. Such an argument strains credulity and suggests that a stereotype of dubious validity has superseded a highly complex event. Tatzates' act should be construed as an indication of internal unrest and imminent change in the imperial administrative and military establishment accompanied by a significant reform of state policies of which the most notable was the return of icon worship. Behind this change and responsible for it was the ambitious and determined Irene.

Tatzates' flight and the events of 782 are fairly well established and documented and details of his career in Byzantine service, though in some places existing in outline only, can be elicted from the available evidence. No source, however, provides direct testimony to the time of his entry into the empire though a plausible date may be inferred from the Armenian historian Ghevond. A contemporary of Tatzates, Ghevond identified him as a member of the Andzevatsik family which is included among the *nakharars*, the powerful landed aristocracy of Armenia (5). By birth and heritage, then, Tatzates was accustomed to the exercise and employment of political and military power as well as extensive prestige and influence. Wealth was also a characteristic asset of the Armenian *nakharars* and that of the Andzevatsik family was considerable since the family's retinue of cavalry numbered five hundred men (6). Despite this indication of wealth nothing more than the location of the family estates, to the southwest of Lake Van, is known concerning the resources available to Tatzates (7).

(5) GHEVOND, pp. 150, 153. On the *nakharars* and the nature of the Armenian aristocracy see Sirarpie DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenia and the Byzantine Empire* (Cambridge, Mass., 1945), pp. 15-16 and C. TOUMANOFF, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963), pp. 34-36. On Ghevond see J. LAURENT, *L'Arménie entre Byzance et l'Islam* (Paris, 1919), p. 362, who notes that "Ghevond a vécu dans la deuxième moitié du VIIIe siècle".

(6) TOUMANOFF, *Studies*, pp 229-39, discusses the Military Register of the Armenian princely families which indicated their military potential between 531/579 and 750. The cavalry provided by the Andzevatsik family represented part of their feudal obligations but at the same time reflects their ancestral wealth and social standing.

(7) The estates of the Andzevatsik family comprised one of the cantons of the province of Vaspurakan. See TOUMANOFF, *Studies*, p. 198.

The motives which caused Tatzates to leave Armenia and seek his fortunes in Byzantium remain unknown. Possibly the continual struggle for the control of Armenia, a conflict characterized by Arab oppression, Armenian revolts, and vigorous reprisals, caused him to depart. The prospect of lucrative service in Byzantium must also be considered as sufficient cause (8). While Tatzates' ultimate reason for leaving Armenia may defy solution a likely date for his departure may be obtained. It has been suggested previously that he entered the empire and Byzantine service about 750 at a time following great unrest in Armenia and extensive border campaigns conducted by Constantine V into the area of Theodosiopolis and Melitene (9). Such a proposal, however, is unfounded and expressly contradicts the evidence of Ghevond, the only pertinent source. In the context of Tatzates' flight Ghevond states explicitly that he fled Byzantium after having served the empire twenty-two years (10). On this authority it is more probable that Tatzates entered Byzantine service about 760. Since this is the only date supported by primary evidence it seems unreasonable to reject it in preference to ill-founded speculation.

Ghevond's account indicates that soon after Tatzates arrived in the empire he was recruited for imperial service by Constantine V (11). Despite this bit of evidence, details of the early phase of Tatzates' career are all but lacking. In a highly schematic account, Ghevond records only that Tatzates served in Constantine's numerous campaigns against the Bulgars and won renown for his bravery and ability. The talent and proficiency which he demonstrated on the Bulgarian battlefields brought him once more to Constantine's at-

(8) As suggested (in general for all Armenian emigres to Byzantium) by DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenia*, p. 18. GHEVOND, pp. 153-54, alludes twice to Tatzates' return to Arab service during the events of 782. The implication of this is only that Tatzates served with the Arabs before entering Byzantium ; there is no evidence which indicates that he deserted the Arabs or illuminates his service with them.

(9) LAURENT, *L'Arménie*, p. 193, n. 3 and Peter CHARANIS, *Ethnic Changes in the Byzantine Empire in the Seventh Century*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIII (1959), 35. On Constantine's border operations cf. THEOPHANES, A.M. 6243, de Boor, I, 427 and A.M. 6247, de Boor, I, 429 ; NICEPHORUS, *Opuscula Historica*, ed. by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1880), pp. 65, 66 ; and MICH. SYR., II, 518, 521, 523.

(10) GHEVOND, p. 153. This key passage reads "et Tadjate passa ainsi au service de l'empire grec pendant vingt-deux ans".

(11) GHEVOND, p. 153.

tention (12). Capable officers and leaders are invaluable in any period of history and it is not surprising to learn that Tatzates subsequently received a promotion to a major command. Ghevond, disinterested in this aspect of Tatzates' career, provides no clue to which command it was, stating only that it was sixty thousand men strong (13).

Ghevond's figure must be rejected yet at the same time he does provide additional and more reliable evidence. In 776, following the accession of Leo IV, Tatzates was one of three Byzantine generals who led a large force against the Arabs through Cilicia and into the area of Samosata (14). Again Ghevond is remiss in specifying Tatzates' command. But this reference is supplemented by Theophanes who states that on two occasions, in 778 and 782, Tatzates was *strategos* of the Bucellarion theme (15). This should provide adequate evidence to indicate that Tatzates commanded the same thematic army, the Bucellarion, in 776 as in 778 and later. Confirmation of this is Ghevond's specific association of Tatzates' appointment with Constantine rather than his son Leo (16). Further there is no indication that Leo ever shuffled the thematic generals or in any way tampered with the fine military organization created by Constantine beyond

(12) GHEVOND, p. 153. DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenia*, p. 22, suggests that Tatzates directed the Bulgarian campaigns. No evidence supports this statement as Ghevond only says that Tatzates participated in the campaigns.

(13) GHEVOND, p. 153. The number cited by Ghevond, perhaps to enhance Tatzates' stature, does not inspire confidence. Numerical strength of the Byzantine *themata* in the ninth century did not exceed fifteen thousand men (the Anatolikon) and it seems doubtful that they were larger at this time. See E. W. BROOKS, *Arabic Lists of the Byzantine Themes*, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXI (1901), 72-76.

(14) GHEVOND, p. 150.

(15) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6270, de Boor, I, 451, and A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456.

(16) GHEVOND, p. 153. The exact date of this appointment is unattested but may be placed confidently between 767/8 and 775. The death of Constantine V in September, 775 provides an accurate *terminus ante quem*. By this time Tatzates had replaced Manes, the first known *strategos* of the Bucellarion, who held this command in 767/8 (THEOPHANES, A. M. 6258, de Boor, I, 440). In conjunction with this position Tatzates was elevated to the dignity of patrician. A. Pertusi (ed.), *Constantino Porfirogenito De Thematibus*, *Studi e Testi*, 160 (Vatican City, 1952), p. 134, points out that the official nomenclature of the *strategos* of the Bucellarion was either *ὁ πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν βουκελλαρίων* (*Tact. Usp.*, p. 113) or *ὁ ἀνθύπατος πατρίκιος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῶν βουκελλαρίων* (*Klet. Phil.*, p. 146).

filling vacancies caused by death and promotion ([17]). In conclusion it was command of the Bucellarion which Tatzates received from Constantine as a reward for his service against the Bulgars. Despite the paucity of evidence for this early phase of Tatzates' career the years following from 776-782 are better, though not completely, documented. During this time Tatzates conducted himself not only with distinction and skill, but also with decided loyalty to the empire he served.

Arab attacks into the empire were apparently encouraged by the death of the Emperor Constantine and the accession of Leo his untried son. The Caliph Mahdī, seeking to exploit this opportunity, sent an army under the command of his brother al-Abbās which drove deep into the empire and established a siege around Kasin the site of a subterranean granary ([18]). Assault tactics were abandoned by the Arabs who literally smoked the garrison into submission and then withdrew bringing their prisoners with them. In this manner Theophanes recorded the rather inauspicious beginning of Leo's reign. But this however is not the whole story. Ghevond adds, and is confirmed by Arabic sources. that in this year a substantial offensive was mounted by the Byzantine army which itself penetrated the Arab-Byzantine frontier and advanced into Syria ([19]). The invasion force was

(17) Leo's apparent reluctance to antagonize the thematic generals is demonstrated most vividly by his consent to their demand that his son Constantine be elevated to co-emperor (THEOPHANES, A. M. 6268, de Boor, I, 449-50). Such readiness to appease the generals is indicative perhaps of both their strength and Leo's dependence upon them as well as his aversion to disrupting the military structure which he had inherited.

(18) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6268, de Boor, I, 449. Cf. BROOKS, p. 734, who cites Arabic sources (i.e. Ibn Wadhih) which indicate that during this raid al-Abbās advanced as far as Ancyra before turning back. This is confirmed by the testimony of AGAPIUS OF MENBIDJ, *Histoire universelle*, transl. by A. A. Vasiliev, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, VIII (1912), 547, who recorded that al-Abbās' incursion against Ancyra was futile. It is most likely that Kasin fell on the return march probably because the Arabs needed the grain stored there. On the location of Kasin see W. M. RAMSAY, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London, 1890), p. 356, who places it, because of its underground description, in the plain of Venasa near Sasima and Malakopaia, in the southern region of the Anatolikon.

(19) GHEVOND, p. 150 and BROOKS, p. 734. Peter CHARANIS, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, XXII (1961), 199, confuses this cam-

led by three *strategoi*: Tatzates Andzevatsik, Artavasdos Mamikonian (both of whom are identified as Armenian *nakharars*), and a third whom Ghevond identifies only as belonging to the Greek army. Such a vague allusion makes a positive identification difficult but the third general was probably Michael Lachanodracon. Accordingly the three thematic armies which were assembled for this campaign were the Bucellarion, the Anatolikon, and the Thracesion, and they appear to have achieved notable success ([20]). The Byzantine forces descended on the area around Samosata and proceeded to destroy the surrounding cities and villages while at the same times repulsing Arab counter-attacks. Numerous prisoners and a rich booty were taken, and once their objectives were completed the Byzantine forces withdrew. The prisoners were resettled within the empire while the three generals returned to Constantinople where they were honored by the emperor for their achievements ([21]).

Arab raids continued in 777 but the evidence is so meager that little more than the name of the Arab general is provided ([22]). In the following year, however, a major effort was mounted by both sides and when all was decided it was the Byzantine forces which triumphed. Early in 778 an Arab army led by the experienced commander Thumama invaded the empire and encamped at a place called Dabek and from this base ravaged the surrounding area ([23]). Though the

paign with a similar but larger Byzantine offensive conducted in 778. This seems clear from Ghevond's account which indicates that this campaign occurred soon after Leo's reign began. Since it was the first military action of his reign it probably was initiated in the spring or summer of 776.

(20) Evidence for the armies which these generals commanded is provided by THEOPHANES, A. M. 6270, de Boor, I, 451.

(21) GHEVOND, p. 150. Tatzates' role in this campaign defies isolation because of the brevity of the passage. But the success which was achieved indicates that all three generals were competent commanders. The timing of this campaign (after Leo's accession) and its leaders (generals who had served with Constantine V) suggests that the expedition was a display of force designed to demonstrate to the Arabs that though Constantine was dead Byzantine policies would remain aggressive. Such a victory also explains the generals' demand on Leo that he elevate his son Constantine to co-emperor (see *supra*, n. 17).

(22) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6269, de Boor, I, 451 (the Arab general was Thumama).

(23) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6270, de Boor, I, 451-52 and BROOKS, p. 735. Thumama's raid and the Byzantine offensive occurred sometime in late March or

exact chronology is vague it appears that while Thumama's force was thus engaged another Byzantine offensive (such as that of 776) was launched and its objective was the Syrian city of Germaniceia.

The Byzantines evidently hoped to duplicate their earlier success, and to improve their prospects added the strength of two additional thematic armies. The dimensions of this campaign so impressed Theophanes that he carefully enumerated the participating *themata* and their commanders. In addition to Tatzates of the Bucellarion the Byzantine generals were Michael Lachanodracon of the Thracesion, Artavasdos Mamikonian of the Anatolikon, Caristerotzes of the Armeniakon, and Gregory of the Opsikion (24). This imposing force, whose size precludes the possibility that a border raid was its mission, swept down on Germaniceia and effectively put it under siege (25).

Subsequent events are obscure as Theophanes apparently allowed his prejudice and hatred for Michael Lachanodracon to obscure the sequence of events. After the Arabs had either been forced to seek the refuge of Germaniceia or to flee the area the Byzantines were preparing to take the city when they were unexpectedly diverted. Theophanes' slanderous accusation that Michael accepted bribes from the Arabs in order to detain the Byzantine assault must be rejected (26). It is far more likely that a dispatch arrived bringing report of

early April, 778 as Thumama's defeat preceded Easter which, according to GRUMEL, *La chronologie*, p. 249, fell on April 19th. This is indicated by THEOPHANES : *καὶ τῇ παρασκευῇ ὑπέστρεψαν. ἦσαν γὰρ εἰσελθόντες τῇ κυριακῇ*. For the location of Dabek see RAMSAY, *Historical Geography*, pp. 339-40, (who identifies Dabek as Thebasa) who locates it in western Lyconia and perhaps on the direct road to Iconium.

(24) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6270, de Boor, I, 451-52. See DER NERSESSIAN, *Armenia*, p. 22, who alludes to the Armenian background of four of these five generals (Michael Lachanodracon is probably of non-Armenian origin). N ADONTZ, *L'âge et l'origine de Basile I*, in *Byzantion*, IX (1934), 242, argued for a similar identification.

(25) CHARANIS, *Ethnic Changes*, pp. 30-31 refers to the campaign as a "raiding expedition" but this seems to minimize unduly the Byzantine effort whose apparent goal was the capture of Germaniceia. The mobilization of five thematic armies would not be undertaken for a border raid but only for a major invasion.

(26) Such an assertion is contradicted by Theophanes himself when he records the honors accorded the generals by Leo after their return. If Michael was guilty of treasonous activity it seems unlikely that he would have remained in his command let alone be honored.

Thumama's army and its activities around Dabek. This news forced the Byzantines to the dangerous expedient of dividing their own army, one part remaining at Germaniceia while the other quickly marched against Thumama (27). This latter force included Michael Lachanodracon and the Thracesions and though there is no evidence, it is tempting to anticipate the campaign of 781 and suggest that Tatzates accompanied Michael on this march. Regardless of who accompanied Michael, the result was the defeat of Thumama's army which lost, according to Theophanes, five emirs and two thousand men killed (28). After this victory the Byzantine army regrouped and returned home along with a large number of Syrian Jacobites from the vicinity of Germaniceia. The victorious generals were received by the Emperor Leo in Constantinople where they were honored with a triumph for their achievements (29).

Arab attacks and Byzantine counterattacks continued through 778-780 but there is no evidence of Tatzates' participation in these campaigns (30). But in the campaign of 781, the first immediately

(27) This is suggested by the Arabic sources which indicate that Michael — with an advance guard — fell upon Thumama unexpectedly despite the warnings of his own scouts. See BROOKS, p. 735.

(28) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6270, de Boor, I, 451. The heavy losses, caused by Thumama's negligence, are confirmed by Arabic sources (cf. BROOKS, p. 735).

(29) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6270, de Boor, I, 451. The extent of Tatzates' role in this campaign is not revealed primarily because Theophanes is more eager to castigate Michael for his alleged perfidy. The triumph accorded the generals, though, reflects imperial recognition and appreciation for their victory which Tatzates helped achieve.

(30) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6271, de Boor, I, 452 and A. M. 6272, de Boor, I, 452-53 ; cf. with BROOKS, pp. 735-37. In the latter campaign (that of 780) the young prince Hārūn conducted his first invasion into the empire, launching an assault on the fortress of Semaluos which was taken after a lengthy siege (on the location of this fortress see now the recent work of Friedrich HILD and Marcell RESTLE, *Semaluos Kastron*, in *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik*, XXIII (1974), 265, 267). F. OMAR, *s.v. Hārūn al-Rashīd*, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*[2] (1971), III : 1, 232 observes, however, that "it cannot be assumed that Hārūn, hardly more than a boy (he was born in either February, 766 or March, 763) played a leading role in these expeditions" (i.e. those of 780 and 782). On both of these expeditions he was accompanied by high-ranking officials and veteran officers. In 780 he was accompanied by four of the Barmakid family, Khālid b.-Barmak and his brothers al-Ḥasan and Sulaymān as well as Khālid's son Yaḥyā b. Khālid. Yaḥyā

following the accession of Constantine VI and the regency of Irene, Tatzates played a major role in repulsing the Arab invasion. In the month of June (781) Irene ordered all the Asian *themata* (*πάντα τὰ περατικὰ θέματα*) into the *kleisurai* in anticipation of the Arab raids. Command of these forces, however, was not entrusted to any of the veteran generals of Constantine V and Leo IV but to John the *sacellarius* an inexperienced bureaucrat and Irene's house steward ([31]). The appointment of a palace official, whose loyalty was to Irene alone, to such a high level command reflects the empress's distrust for the "old guard" officers as well as a demonstration of her intention to strip them of their power and influence. Despite this affront the *themata* performed up to their established levels of conduct in the fighting which followed that summer.

Shortly after this deployment of the Byzantine forces a battle was fought north of the pass of Adata between the Byzantines and an invading Arab army. In spite of the Byzantine victory Theophanes records only that the Arabs, commanded by a general named Keber ('Abd al-Ḳābir in Arabic chronicles), were defeated at a place called Melos and suffered many casualties ([32]). Al-Ṭabari, recording the same event but with more detail, states that al-Ḳābir encountered the armies of the patricians Michael and Tatzates and because of the latter's presence retreated rather than offer battle ([33]). Theophanes' account is perhaps more reliable, but Ṭabari's is not irreconcilable. The evidence provided by these sources suggests that Ḳābir attempted to force his way past the two thematic armies (the Thracesion and the Bucellarion) and in the battle which resulted was beaten badly. Both

and the caliph's *maula* al-Rabī were Hārūn's closest advisors to whom he turned for all advice. Cf. OMAR, *ibid.* and BROOKS, p. 736. That a similar campaign structure would be required in 782 seems readily apparent.

(31) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6273, de Boor, I, 455 in which John is described as *εὐνοῦχον ὄντα καὶ οἰκειακὸν αὐτῆς*. For definition of the term applied to John cf. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, *s.v.* *οἰκειακός* and L-S-J, *s. v.* *οἰκιακός*.

(32) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6273, de Boor, I, 455 : *ἠττῶνται οἱ Ἄραβες, καὶ κτείνονται ἐξ αὐτῶν πολλοί*. On the location of Melos see RAMSAY, *Historical Geography*, p. 355, who locates the place "in or near one of the *kleisourai* leading from Cilicia acrosss the Tauros".

(33) BROOKS, p. 737. The reference to Tatzates and Michael as patricians supports the arguments noted *supra*, n. 16.

Theophanes and Ṭabari agree that Ḳābir retreated in humiliation and Ṭabari adds further that the Caliph Mahdī was so enraged by this defeat that he was dissuaded from executing the unsuccessful general only with difficulty (34).

Since the Arab sources identify Michael Lachanodracon and Tatzates as the Byzantine generals responsible for Ḳābir's defeat it appears that John, despite his appointment, was in effect a mere figurehead. The *themata* were apparently brigaded into forces of varying size so that a wide area could be effectively surveyed. Such deployment certainly reflects the initiative of the generals themselves, who realized that John could not be allowed to exercise the command given him by Irene. The success of this tactical arrangement is self evident and after Ḳābir's withdrawal the military threat for the year was ended. Ḳābir's defeat at the hands of Tatzates and Michael Lachanodracon is viable proof of the continuing competency and loyalty of both officers to the empire. But the appearance of John the *sacellarius* probably irritated them and provoked resentment. Their discontent was clearly confined to private expressions of dissatisfaction as it did not interfere with their conduct and performance of duty. At the same time apprehension concerning their own future may have been aroused by the appointment of a court favorite to the command of the imperial army.

The defeat of ʿAbd al-Ḳābir in summer, 781 and the Caliph Mahdī's subsequent rage was perhaps the catalyst which sparked an intensification of the Arab effort in the next campaigning season. This is the implication of the large size of the Arab army assembled and the status of its nominal commander, Hārūn, the Caliph's son (35). But as in the expedition of 780, however, Mahdī took the precaution of sending several of his closest subordinates and advisors, including al-Rabī his *maula* and at least one of the Barmakids, to advise and assist the young prince during the expedition (36).

After extensive preparations were completed the Arab forces depar-

(34) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6273, de Boor, I, 455 and BROOKS, p. 737.

(35) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456 : *μετὰ δυνάμεως καὶ ἐξοπλίσεως ὑπερβαλλούσης ἀπό τε Μαυροφόρων καὶ πάσης Συρίας καὶ Μεσοποταμίας καὶ τῆς ἐρήμου*. Cf. BROOKS, p. 737.

(36) BROOKS, p. 737. See discussion *supra*, n. 30.

ted on the XVIIIth of Dju-hidje II 165 (= the IXth of February 782) for what was undoubtedly a major invasion (37). Soon after crossing the frontier the Arabs stormed the fortress of Magida, located near Loulon, and the first on the Syrian border. From this point they advanced on Nacoleia where Hārūn left behind part of his army under al-Rabī to conduct a siege while also providing a rear guard (38). The object of the Arab invasion was clearly Constantinople, but to confuse the Byzantines and to disperse their resistance another diversionary attack was ordered. To effect this, one of the Barmakids led another element of the Arab army into Asia and directly towards the Thracesion theme. This force was intercepted by Michael Lachanodracon who met the Arabs in set battle at a place called Dareno. In a bloody battle the Thracesions were defeated with heavy losses and were most likely left incapable of further resistance (39).

Meanwhile Hārūn and the main force continued their advance towards Constantinople and while en route defeated another Byzantine force, the Opsikions under the command of Nicetas, which attempted to stop them (40). The failure of the Opsikions to repel Hārūn's advance obliged the Byzantines to commit their last reserve,

(37) BROOKS, *ibid.* By the usual method of calculation the date of February 7th would be computed. But, as BROOKS (in n. 81) observes, the irregularity of the Arabic calendar and the procedure of beginning a month when the moon became visible would push the date ahead to February 9th.

(38) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456 : *καταλιπὼν τὸν βούνουσον πολιορκεῖν τὴν Νακώλειαν καὶ φυλάττειν τὰ νῶτα αὐτοῦ*. As BROOKS, p. 737, notes the Arab commander was Mahdī's *maula* al-Rabī ibn Yūnus.

(39) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456, whose account of Michael's defeat is supported by MICH. SYR., III, 2, "Bournikê livra bataille et tua dix mille Romains". It is this battle which OSTROGORSKY, *Byzantine State*, p. 182, argues brought about peace with the Arabs. This, however, is not what the evidence of Theophanes indicates. See discussion *infra*. RAMSAY, *Historical Geography*, p. 159, attempts to emend Dareno to Barenos and place this battle on the river Barenos which is the Granicus of ancient times. No such emendation, though, is suggested by de Boor, and Ramsay's account of this event, erroneous in several places, must be rejected.

(40) BROOKS, p. 738 : "And the horsemen of Nicetas, Count of Counts (i.e. Count of the Opsikion), met him (Hārūn) ; and Yazīd the son of Mazyad went out against him. And Yazīd *was unhorsed* (i.e. by Nicetas) and then Niketas *stumbled* ; and Yazīd smote him until he was *wounded*. And the Romans were put to flight, and Yazīd took possession of their camp".

the imperial *tagmata*, which Theophanes reports were finally sent at Irene's order. Under the command of Antonius the Domestic, this force seized Lake Banes and the mountainous area east of Nicomedeia and established a strong defensive position (41). When Hārūn reached this point, as he was following the invasion tract along the Sangarius River valley, he found that his line of march was blocked by the elite of the Byzantine army (42). Before the Arabs could evade this force, another division of the Byzantine army, closing in from the south or south-east, closed the escape route and Hārūn along with his whole army was trapped. The consensus of the sources is that this occurred in a place situated between a mountain and the Sangarius River while the Byzantines controlled all means of escape (43).

(41) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456 : *ἡ δὲ βασίλισσα πέμψασα Ἀντώνιον τὸν δομέστικον σὺν τοῖς τάγμασιν ἐκράτησε τὴν βανὴν καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν αὐτούς*. Banes, or its alternate form Baanes, is identified by RAMSAY, *Historical Geography*, p. 189, as "the lake now called Sabandja Göl, (which) is often alluded to by Byzantine writers". These authors (cited below) probably added *λίμνη* to their accounts in order to explicate Theophanes and to insure that the proper identification was made. The *tagmata's* arrival and seizure of Lake Banes is recorded in similar terms by George MONACHUS, *Chronicon*, ed. by C. de Boor (Leipzig, 1904), p. 767 ; ZONARAS, *Epitomae Historiarum*, ed. by Th. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn, 1897), XV, 10. 13-17 ; and Leo GRAMMATICUS, *Chronographia*, ed. by I. Bekker (Bonn, 1842), p. 193. These accounts are confirmed by Arabic sources which record that after defeating Niketas, Hārūn "went to the domestic at Nikufudiya" (Nicomedeia), BROOKS, p. 738.

(42) On the invasion route cf. Hélène AHRWEILER, *L'Asie Mineure et les invasions arabes (VIIe-IXe siècles)*, in *Revue Historique*, CCXXVII (1962), 9, who suggests that the Arabs followed an invasion route "de la Lycaonie ils se dirigeaient soit vers la Phrygie et la Bithynie, pour aboutir par la vallée du Sangarios au littoral du Pont et de la Propontide ...".

(43) This is explicitly indicated by both GHEVOND, p. 153 and MICH. SYR., III, 2 ; such a situation seems certain also from the Greek sources. The location suggested can easily be found on any detailed map of the region ; for example see the Deutsche Heerskarte, Herausgegeben vom OKH/Gen. Std. H, (1941) Turkey (1:200,000), D-V (Izmit) or any (modified) polyconic projection map such as that prepared by the U.S. Army Map Service (1959), Series 1302 P (1 :1,000,000), 323 (Marmara Sea — Mediterranean Area). The difficulty of the terrain is clearly revealed by either map, as is confirmation of Hārūn's march. A route from Nacoleia in the south would likely pass through the narrow Sangarios River valley (perhaps on the road mentioned in PROCOP., *Aed.*, 5.3.12-15) as there are few roads which traverse the mountainous area south of Nicomedeia and Nicaea. The situation

Antonius could not have executed such an operation unaided, and must have been cooperating with an independent Byzantine force which presumably followed the Arabs from a distance and then closed quickly once they were forced to stop. Since both the Thracesions and Opsikions had previously been defeated elsewhere it is unlikely that they could have carried out such a manœuver. Choice falls on either the Anatolikon or the Bucellarion (the Armeniakon is probably too far east to be readily available), and of these the Anatolikon was engaged against the Arab force at Nacoleia, perhaps even pursuing it across the border (44). By this process of elimination it seems reasonable to conclude that the Byzantine force which closed the trap was the Bucellarion led by its veteran general Tatzates. This argument is strengthened further by the fact that Tatzates was the only *strategos* present in the events which followed (45).

The tactical superiority held by the Byzantines put them in a position either to destroy the entrapped Arabs or to dictate an advantageous settlement in return for their safe withdrawal. In the events which followed, however, the Byzantines lost not only the initiative and their superior position but also the leading men in their government. Responsibility for this may be attributed directly to Tatzates who secretly negotiated with Hārūn and after receiving a promise of safe conduct into the caliphate and other pledges assisted him in extricating the Arab army (46). Hārūn and his advisors cer-

described by Ghevond and Michael Syrus, and Theophanes to a lesser extent, is made comprehensible by both the known Arab routes and the geography of the area.

(44) MICH. SYR., III, 2, records that this force, which he erroneously put under the command of 'Abd al-Malik, was defeated by the Byzantines and sent in flight across the border. Since Nacoleia is located in the Anatolikon it seems most logical that forces from this theme would respond to the Arab siege. The error in Michael's text is insufficient to cause rejection of his account. THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor I, 456, notes that Nacoleia was not captured by the Arabs, for when they withdrew after the peace he records they did so *ἀφήσαντες καὶ τὸ κάστρον Νακωλείας*. The implication of this is that Nacoleia had not fallen and evidence regarding its repulse of the Arab siege is provided by Michael's testimony.

(45) This is made clear from Theophanes' account of the event.

(46) GHEVOND, p. 153, records that "il lui demanda un sauf-conduit scellé par le serment, qui l'autorisât à revenir dans sa patrie ; il s'engageait en retour à dégager les Arabes du blocus et à les conduire dans leur propre pays". These

tainly realized the desperate situation which confronted them and would have seized this opportunity to escape.

With a plan provided by Tatzates, Hārūn asked for negotiations and this request was conveyed to the imperial officials present, including Stauracius, logothete of the drome and the most powerful figure in Irene's government (47). Such a request would not seem unusual, given the predicament of the Arab army, and it is probable that Tatzates, who had conceived the plan, would have added his authority and advised acceptance of the plea as well as a parley with the Arabs. Antonius the Domestic and Peter the Magister were both veteran officers and had probably known Tatzates for years since all of them had served under Constantine V and Leo IV (48). It is unlikely that they would have perceived (or even considered) any duplicity on Tatzates' part and would have approved of his counsel and joined him in advising Stauracius to arrange a meeting with Hārūn to discuss his proposal.

The arrangements were made, but perhaps because the Byzantines were over less confident they omitted the precaution of a preliminary exchange of hostages (or was this also part of Tatzates' plan?) and entered into the negotiations certain of their impending diplomatic triumph. But immediately upon entering the Arab camp Stauracius, Antonius, and Peter were seized and at once put in chains while Tat-

negotiations are suggested by the other sources (i.e. Michael Syrus, George Monachus, Zonaras, and Leo the Grammarian) which imply that a stratagem was used by the Arabs to escape from the trap. But THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456, is most precise on this, indicating plainly that Tatzates gave a plan to the Arabs, *δοὺς αὐτοῖς βουλήν*.

(47) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456, describes Stauracius as *πρωτεύοντα πάντων τῶν τηνικαῦτα ὄντων καὶ τά πάντα διοικοῦντα*. While there is no evidence which alludes to the identity of the Byzantine commander it seems most probable, given Stauracius' stature in Irene's government as well as his presence in these events, that he had been entrusted with the overall command of the imperial forces. Such a command was not beyond the competence of the logothete of the drome and Stauracius did exercise a similar command in the following year against the Slavs (THEOPHANES, A. M. 6275, de Boor, I, 456). On this military development of the logothete's functions see D. A. MILLER, *The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period*, in *Byzantion*, XXXVI (1966), 461-62.

(48) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6259, de Boor, I, 442, describes both as loyal and iconoclast officers of Constantine V.

zates, who had probably remained behind as senior commander, observed the skillful execution of his plan (49). The now leaderless Byzantine forces were easily eluded with Tatzates' aid and Hārūn advanced on to Chrysopolis with his prisoners in tow (50). Irene was plainly in no position to bargain. With her highest officials and generals in enemy chains and her armies defeated or leaderless, she could only acquiesce to Hārūn's every demand (51).

After the successful conclusion of negotiations the Arab army began its withdrawal from Byzantine territory on the XVIIth of Muharrem 166 (= the Ist of September 782) (52). Tatzates naturally accompanied the Arabs and Theophanes records that he brought along his wife and all of his supporters (53). When the expedition finally returned home Hārūn kept his pledge to Tatzates and honored him with many rewards for his timely aid. An interview with the Caliph was also arranged and Mahdī added to the gifts already presented to Tatzates. The best expression of the Caliph's gratitude, however, is exemplified by the command over Armenia which was entrusted to Tatzates. This position, referred to as *Sparapet*, established Tatzates as the commander of Arab occupied Armenia which not only set him over the other *nakharars* but made him the supreme commander of their levies (54). Despite this high command Tatzates' ser-

(49) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456. Cf. also the accounts of George MONACHUS, p. 767, ZONARAS, *Epit. Hist.*, XV, 10, 13-17, and Leo GRAM., p. 193, which substantiate Theophanes' account.

(50) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456.

(51) For the terms of this settlement cf. DÖLGER, *Reg.*, 340 and BROOKS, p. 738.

(52) BROOKS, p. 739. Brooks also suggested that this day coincided with the completion of the negotiations and the actual signing of the treaty.

(53) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456 : *ἐπῆρε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ταζάτης τὴν γυναῖκα ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πᾶσαν ὑπόστασιν.*

(54) GHEVOND, p. 154, "le calife lui témoigna sa profonde reconnaissance, le combla de riches présents de son trésor royal, et, après l'avoir investi de la dignitié de commandant de l'Arménie ...". The *Sparapet* (or the High Constable as it is translated by Toumanoff) was concerned only with military matters and his single function was to command the army which the Armenian princes provided as part of their feudal obligations. See further TOUMANOFF, *Studies*, p. 209, or Nicolas ADONTZ, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, trans. with partial revisions, a bibliographical note, and appendices by Nina G. Garsoian (Lisbon, 1970), pp. 341, 354-55.

vice with the Arabs was brief. In 785 the Arabs and Armenians launched a joint campaign against the Khazars who had invaded the Caucasus and in the course of the expedition Tatzates died (55).

The evidence for Tatzates' career in Byzantine service is sufficient to demonstrate his loyalty, devotion, and competency for an appreciable period of time (760-782) during which he displayed no hint of treachery. In his post he served with distinction and it should perhaps be emphasized that in the campaign immediately preceding his flight (summer, 781) the Arab invasion was repulsed because of his action while in the campaign of 782 the encirclement of Hārūn's army was completed by Tatzates and the Bucellarions. Nor should there be any doubt of imperial esteem for Tatzates and his service to the empire. Constantine V honored him upon his arrival in Byzantium and then later, after achieving distinction against the Bulgars, with the appointment to the Bucellarion. These honors were duplicated on at least two occasions by Leo IV who allowed Tatzates (and other generals as well) to celebrate triumphs for his victories over the Arabs. In conclusion, the imperial advancement and recognition accorded Tatzates parallels the proficiency of his service and the loyalty which he devoted to the empire.

In light of this appraisal of Tatzates' career, his final act as a Byzantine officer appears somewhat anomalous. In spite of his recent victories and achievements over the Arabs, not to mention the preceding twenty-two years of distinguished service, modern authorities contend that Tatzates was simply a treacherous deserter who chose an opportune moment to enhance his own position and wealth. The explanation of this is ostensibly provided by Theophanes who states that it was hatred (*μῖσος*) for Stauracius which prompted Tatzates to this act of treachery (56). This allegation, however, is plainly inadequate and provides at best only a superficial explanation. Theophanes' conjecture is unable to reconcile either the sudden lapse in Tatzates' loyalty or his apparent nonchalance in abandoning the honors accrued by his lengthy career. There should be little doubt that the cause for Tatzates' flight is considerably more complicated than Theophanes admits.

(55) GHEVOND, p. 154.

(56) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6274, de Boor, I, 456: *προσέφυγε δὲ αὐτοῖς Τατζάτιος ... μίσει τῷ πρὸς Σταυράκιον ...*

The deficiency in Theophanes' explanation of Tatzates' flight is suggested first by an internal contradiction within his own account. In describing Tatzates' act Theophanes uses the verb προσφεύγω to characterize the general's defection to the Arabs. The definition of this verb is either to flee for refuge or to claim protection and it appears that this is Theophanes' intended meaning in respect to Tatzates (57). His use of the verb in this context is paralleled in another account, that of the flight to Byzantium of the Bulgarian khan Telerig whom Theophanes states "προσέφυγε ... εἰς τὸν βασιλέα" where he was received with great honor (58). Telerig was clearly a refugee and it seems reasonable to conclude that so too was Tatzates. The implication of Theophanes' language is that Tatzates was the object of an attack or purge rather than the protagonist in the struggle with Stauracius to which Theophanes alludes. Distinguished and powerful generals are reluctant to relinquish titles, influence, and wealth unless they are compelled to do so through loss of favor with those who govern. It is in such a situation that the cause of Tatzates' flight is to be found rather than from hatred provoked from an unattested quarrel with an imperial minister.

The evidence for Tatzates' loss of favor with Irene's regime is both explicit and implicit in nature. The explicit testimony is provided by Ghevond in the context of his discussion of Tatzates' career. In elucidating the flight and circumstances which prompted Tatzates' defection, Ghevond states clearly that the general sought refuge with the Arabs only after Irene had openly declared herself against him (59). The significance of this passage is twofold. It directly substantiates Irene's initiation of an imperial policy of flagrantly antagonizing and rebuffing the generals whom Constantine V and Leo IV

(57) All of the lexica support this definition: cf. L-S-J, *s.v.*, SOPHOCLES, *s.v.*, and LAMPE, *s.v.*

(58) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6269, de Boor, I, 451. The use of προσφεύγω in this sense is paralleled by other authors as well including Constantine PORPHYROGENITUS, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by G. Moravcsik and transl. by R. J. H. Jenkins (Budapest, 1949), where it is used in the definition cited at pp. 119, 149, 153, 155, 161, 163, 165, 181, 227 and 231.

(59) GHEVOND, p. 153. "Mais lorsque Constantin et Léon, son fils, furent morts, et que le trône impérial fut occupé par Constantin, sa mère Irène se déclara ouvertement contre Tadjate".

had so assiduously cultivated. Such an act would demonstrate to them that their former influence and prestige at the imperial court was now no more than a distant memory (60).

While the origin of this policy can be attributed to Irene, its implementation was probably delegated to subordinate officials and herein is the final significance of Ghevond's testimony. Stauracius, Irene's most trusted servant, was surely the most appropriate official to execute such a program. This inference is supported by Theophanes' assertion that it was hatred for Stauracius that caused Tatzates to flee. Consequently it appears that while Irene conceived the policy it was Stauracius who was the tool used to carry out her designs.

Tatzates' loss of favor, which he shared with the rest of the thematic generals, is implicitly reflected in Irene's choice of commanders from the beginning of her regency. In the campaign of 781 Irene entrusted the command of the Asian *themata* to the inexperienced John the *sacellarius* whose redeeming virtue was his close association with the imperial household. The implications of such an appointment are unmistakable. Irene clearly considered that the loyalties of the *strategoi* were questionable which led her to suspect that they would remain obedient to the policies set forth by Constantine V and Leo IV (61). Long years of devoted service to these emperors had shaped the affections and interests of these generals. They represented a potential threat of resistance to Irene, especially if any attempt might be made to supplant the youthful Constantine VI. In her eyes they were thus unreliable, but even more important, they posed a continual menace to her ambitions so long as they remained with their armies. To counter this threat Irene entrusted the command of the army to those whom she considered loyal to herself and the eunuchs of her household offered a reliable source from which to draw.

The deployment of the *themata*, however, in summer, 781 suggests that the generals were able to frustrate Irene's efforts to displace them

(60) On the influence of the generals cf. n. 17, *supra*.

(61) The loyalty and devotion of the *strategoi* to the iconoclast emperors is indicated by W. E. Kaegi, Jr., *The Byzantine Armies and Iconoclasm*, in *Byzantinoslavica*, XXVII (1966), 61.

as they relegated John to a nominal position despite his imperial appointment. Military expediency surely dictated this act to the generals who recognized the folly in permitting John to direct the campaign against the Arabs. It is doubtful, though, that Irene would have considered their action as anything other than perfidy and she is likely to have been confirmed in her belief that the generals posed a latent threat to her. Irene took precautions in the campaign of 782 to insure that there would be no repetition of the initiative shown by the generals in the preceding year. Once the threat of Hārūn's invasion was realized, Irene entrusted the command to Stauracius, again circumventing the generals and depriving them of their authority and influence.

Irene's policy of appointing favorites and palace officials to these strategic military commands could have at best only marginal success. As long as the *themata*, the field force of the Byzantine army, remained under the command of these generals Irene's appointees would be unable to exert much influence. This circumstance almost compelled the empress to take more drastic measures which, as indicated above, focused on the elimination of the thematic *strategoi* appointed by the iconoclast emperors. The example usually cited to exemplify Irene's policy was the removal of the notorious iconoclast Michael Lachanodracon who was discharged as *strategos* of the Thracesion theme sometime before 790/1 (62).

But the best evidence has remained unnoticed. The suggestion of a purge of the army high command at Irene's initiation seems likely from the evidence yet accounts of it do not take into consideration Tatzates' flight and its attendant conditions. It is explicitly indicated that Tatzates fled to the Arabs only after Irene came to power. Before this event, and for the preceding twenty-two years, Tatzates had been an excellent soldier and a paradigm of loyalty. Irene's presence in itself appears to be sufficient cause to suspect that the purge was underway and that Tatzates was one of the first to fall. Ghevond's

(62) THEOPHANES, A. M. 6283, de Boor, I, 466, in which Michael appears as an imperial envoy to the Armeniakon. BURY, *LRE*, II, 485, pointed out that such a duty was not that of a *strategos* and concluded that Michael had been discharged as a result of Irene's policy. There is no indication in Theophanes suggesting when this might have occurred.

evidence makes this suspicion even more certain. Irene's declared hostility for Tatzates is specifically indicated by Ghevond as the cause for his defection to the Arabs. It becomes obvious then that Tatzates realized that he and the other *strategoi* no longer enjoyed the favor and appreciation of the imperial family. This could easily be perceived as favorites such as Stauracius, John, and Nicetas (count of the Opsikion) took an increasingly greater role in the assignments which had traditionally been the prerogatives of the *strategoi* (63). Tatzates saw that there was little he could do to alter the situation and his only alternatives were ignoble retirement or service with the Arabs. For an Armenian aristocrat there was no real choice.

Irene's dismissal of the iconoclast *strategoi* was responsible for Tatzates' flight which should not be considered solely as a treacherous act of disloyalty. The twenty-two years of loyal service that Tatzates gave to the empire and the successful military career that elevated him to a distinguished position must be evaluated in conjunction with Irene's policies. Moreover, her requirement to be free from military intervention should dictate a more cautious approach. If Irene was to be successful, she would have to proceed slowly as well as methodically in order to remove the generals without alarming them. A major turnover in personnel might provoke a civil conflict which Irene had little chance of winning. But by replacing these powerful generals, perhaps one at a time, Irene could achieve her aim without imperiling her regime. When these considerations are weighed, the conclusion is difficult to avoid that Tatzates' flight was none other than one of self-preservation evoked by an imperial policy which aimed at nothing less than securing the position of the Empress Irene.

The immediate effect of Irene's purge of the thematic generals was a decline in the army's ability to wage war. In the years which followed the Arabs invaded the empire practically at will, pillaging

(63) In conjunction with this, the purge of December, 780, in which the Caesar Nicephorus and his adherents, including Bardas a former *strategos* of the Armeniakon, were removed and replaced, presumably by people Irene considered loyal to herself (Theophanes, A. M. 6273, de Boor, I, 454), ought perhaps to be reconsidered. The appointment of Nicetas to the Opsikion (Brooks, p. 738) may also reflect Irene's reorganization as Nicetas saw later service in Irene's regime (see n. 1 to Brooks, *ibid.*). Thus by 782 replacement of the thematic commanders had already begun and Tatzates and Michael Lachanodracon were soon to follow.

and plundering the land, while Byzantine armies recorded few victories. The efficient military organization created by Constantine V and Leo IV appears to have been thoroughly shattered. New armies could be assembled but the severest loss would continue to be felt in the upper levels of command which Irene had effectively purged. Imperial favorites proved generally incompetent and were a poor substitute for the experienced and talented generals, such as Tatzates Andzevatsik, who commanded the armies of Constantine V and Leo IV.

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THE "CRUSADE" OF JOHN TZIMISCES IN THE LIGHT OF NEW ARABIC EVIDENCE

I

New Arabic Sources

In 975, as he had in 972 and 974, the Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces took to the field against the Moslems on his eastern front (1). The authors of many sources in several languages note the existence of a major Byzantine offensive in Syria during this year, but when a French translation of Matthew of Edessa's Armenian chronicle appeared in the XIXth century, this event began to take on major implications for both Byzantine and crusading history. Matthew had included in his text what purports to be a letter from the Emperor himself to his vassal-ally Ashot III, the ruler of Armenia (953-977). In this letter, or at least in the Armenian translation of it, Tzimisces gave a full and complete, if boastful, report of his military exploits for this year.

Gustave Schlumberger and Ernest Honigmann, the most important modern scholars to write in detail about this campaign, reconstructed

(1) On the problem of the chronology of Tzimisces' campaigns against the Moslems see M. Canard, *La date des expéditions Mésopotamiennes de Jean Tzimiscès*, in *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, II (Brussels, 1950) : 99-108, and the references there. Canard in this article is mainly concerned with establishing the existence of an expedition led by the Emperor in 972. The Arab sources are often unclear, confusing sometimes the *Domesticus* and the Emperor. Cf. D. Anastasievitch, *Die Zahl der Araberzüge des Tzimiskes*, in *Byz. Zeitchr.*, XXX (1920-30) : 400-405 ; and *La Chronologie de la guerre russe de Tzimiscès*, in *Byzantion*, VI (1931) : 337-343, and also F. Dolger, *Chronologie des grossen Feldzuges des Kaisers Johannes Tzimiskes gegen die Russen*, in *Byz. Zeitschr.*, XXXII (1932) : 275-292.

the Emperor's itinerary in 975, largely from his own account (2). Moreover, because of the sensational and compelling nature of this major source, it continues to dominate judgements of the importance of this event in almost all subsequent accounts of the pre-crusades and of this period of Byzantine history. In spite of this some writers have been uneasy with what they sensed were exagerations on the part of the Emperor. Tzimisces' own version has him capturing Baalbek, Damascus, Tiberias, Nazareth, the Decapolis, Acre, Caesarea, Beirut, Sidon, Byblos, and a number of Moslem-held forts of northern Syria. He proclaims : " ...there remained nothing up to Ramla and Caesarea, neither sea nor land, which had not submitted to Our Imperial Majesty ...", and that, " ...all Phœnicia, Palestine, and Syria have acceded to the rule of the Romans" (3). If all of this were in fact true, it would have been one of the most remarkable feats of Byzantine arms.

The general tone of the letter gives the unmistakable impression that the campaign of 975 was indeed a crusade. Tzimisces states clearly what he hoped to accomplish : "We ... were intent on delivering the holy sepulcher of Christ our God from the bondage of the Moslems". Accordingly, modern historians of the crusades have been especially interested in it, particularly as this event occured 124 years before the first of the Latin crusades. "L'objectif de la croisade byzantine était tout naturellement Jérusalem ...", wrote Grousset in a section of *Histoire des Croisades* entitled "La croisade Byzantine sous

(2) Gustave SCHLUMBERGER, *L'épopée Byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, I (Paris, Hachette, 1896) : 281-308 (hereafter cited as Schlumberger), and Ernest HONIGMANN, *Die Ostgrenze des Byzantinischen Reiches* (Brussels, 1961) : 98-103 (hereafter cited as Honigmann).

(3) *The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa*, translated from the original Armenian, with a commentary and introduction by Ara Edmond Destourian (Ph. D. dissertation, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J., 1972). As this text was made after a fresh collation of existing manuscripts, it appears to be vastly superior to the Armenian text published by Dulaurier in Jerusalem in 1869 or to his French translation which appeared in 1868. Although the Tzimisces material was available in a French translation as early as 1811, Dulaurier's 1868 version is the source of nearly all subsequent quotations. It was reprinted, for example, in the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades : Documents Arméniens*, I (Paris, 1869) : 13-20. A Russian translation of Tzimisces' letter by Kučuk-Joannesov also appeared in *Vizantijskij Vremennik*, X (1903) : 19 f.

Jean Tzimiscès" (4). And Ostrogorsky remarked that this campaign, "...breathed the veritable crusading spirit" (5).

To allow such an interpretation, however, means to accept Tzimisces' version as it stands in Matthew's Armenian chronicle. Since this text was first published, there have been few significant contributions clarifying the problem of the letter's authenticity and re-evaluating what actually was accomplished by the Emperor. In 1925, Bartold challenged Tzimisces' claim to have entered Palestine suggesting that it was all in the realm of fantasy (6). He thus came down in favor of the testimony of Yaḥyā of Antioch and all known Greek and Arabic sources which mention no such conquests. In 1934, on the other hand, Nicolas Adontz investigated a shorter letter by Tzimisces, appended to the main one and also recorded by Matthew. His research seemed to strengthen the case for authenticity (7). Honigmann, writing in 1935, relied basically on sources available to Bartold and Adontz. Since then, however, significant Arabic sources have come to light which have yet to be used in this regard.

This material comes from two, now apparently lost, primary accounts which are partially extant in secondary recensions. One report of Tzimisces' activities in Syria comes from the initial section of Ibn al-Qalānisī's *Dhail Ta'rīkh al-Dimishq*. Although the text was published in 1908 (8), it was ignored until Marius Canard translated it and called attention to its account of Tzimisces' campaign in 1961 (9). It is a good source of information as it is rich in details,

(4) René GROUSSET, *Histoire des Croisades*, I (Paris, 1934), xviii. Cf. his more cautious evaluation done later in his *Histoire de l'Arménie des origines à 1071* (Paris, Payot, 1949): 494-500. There, he has used the articles of Bartold and Adontz cited below.

(5) George OSTROGORSKY, *History of the Byzantine State*, rev. ed., transl. Joan Hussey (New Brunswick, Rutgers Un. Pr., 1969): 297.

(6) Reprinted in V. V. BARTOLD, *Sochinenia* (Moscow, 1966), vol. 6, 580.

(7) Nicolas ADONTZ, *Notes Arméno Byzantines, II, La Lettre de Tzimiscès au roi Ashot (Ašot)*, in *Byzantion*, IX (1934): 371-377. This article also appears in a collection of his works entitled *Etudes Arméno-Byzantines* (Lisbon, 1965): 141-147.

(8) *Ta'rīkh Abī Ya'lā Hamza b. al-Qalānisī* known as *Dhail Ta'rīkh Dimishq*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, Brill, 1908). (Hereafter cited as Ibn al-Qalānisī).

(9) Marius CANARD, *Les sources arabes de l'histoire Byzantine aux confins des*

though only for events associated with the city of Damascus. On the Emperor's conquests before and after the taking of that city, it is unfortunately vague and hopelessly confused.

The other account comes from a pro-Fatimid writer living in Cairo at the time of these wars. It is Ibn Zūlāq's *Sīra* or *Life* of the Fatimid Caliph al-Mu'izz (d. 975) ([10]). It is of particular i importance because it gives us material often absent from other Arabic histories. In it, the author has made chronologically arranged entries of news reaching him in Cairo at that time. While this journal is fragmented and lacks any sense of narrative continuity, the incidental information it contains not only clarifies the situation in Syria but helps fix the dates of certain events connected with Tzimisces' involvement there ([11]).

It is essential to note that although this work is no longer extant, it was consulted by many later Egyptian chroniclers. Ibn al-Dawādārī refers to Ibn Zūlāq as a source for his history of the Fatimid

X^e et XIe siècles, in *Revue des études byzantines*, XIX (1961) : 284-314. The pertinent material from Ibn al-Qalānisī is translated on pages 293-295.

On the problem of the authorship of this section, Claude CAHEN, *Note d'historiographie Syrienne, la première partie de l'histoire d'Ibn al-Qalānisī*, in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A. R. Gibb* (Cambridge, Harvard Un. Pr., 1965) : 156-167.

The accounts of al-Ḥamdānī, *Ṭakmila Ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (ed. Albert Kan'ān, Beirut, Catholic Pr., 1961), al-Makīn Ibn al-'Amīd, *Historia Saracenica* (ed. and trans. Thomas Erpenius, Leyden, 1625), and Abū al-Faraj Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography* (Eng. trans. Wallis Budge, vol. 1, London, Oxford Un. Pr., 1932) depend upon this same source, and many other Moslem histories written later obviously used material from this section either as it appeared in Ibn al-Qalānisī's work or in its original form. Ibn al-Athīr used it but seems to have neglected Tzimisces' exploits altogether and al-Maqrīzī, who frequently quotes from Ibn al-Athīr, derives his reports on the Greeks in this period from Ibn Zūlāq. The question, however, of contamination of sources or the possibility of it is a nightmare which may never see an adequate resolution.

(10) Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Ibrāhīm b. Zūlāq (306/919-387/997). On him see *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., s. v. "Ibn Ẓūlāq".

(11) In this period, a day by day diary or journal is very rare. Ibn Zūlāq's notes as they appear in extant quotations, however, are not dated day by day but appear to be arranged in chronological order. Months and years are clearly designated, sometimes half months, but it is difficult to be more exact. Even that, however, is a significant step forward.

dynasty (12) and al-Maqrīzī includes substantial sections of the *Sīra* of al-Mu'izz in a work on the Fatimids which he called *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā* (13). Al-Maqrīzī goes out of his way to indicate that he was highly impressed by its value (14). In general, Ibn al-Dawādārī's chronicle parallels that of al-Maqrīzī but provides less information on the whole, although it occasionally differs and therefore cannot be ignored.

Thes Arabic sources supply all together so much new evidence that it seems desirable to reconstruct afresh the whole sequence of events before and during the Byzantine campaign of 975 and the Moslem reaction to it. What follows, therefore, is such a reconstruction though based primarily on new information. Peripheral details, known from sources long available and adequately dealt with elsewhere have been omitted. Finally, a new look at this now famous campaign will give us the opportunity to re-evaluate its importance to the history of the crusades.

II

Moslem Forces in Syria on the Eve of Tzimisces' "Crusade"

When the Fatimid general Jawhar entered Egypt in 969, it meant that the Byzantines would face a new, though relatively familiar, enemy in the buffer territory between their outpost at Antioch and whatever Palestinian possessions the Fatimids might inherit from the Ikhshidids, the previous rulers of Egypt and Palestine. The Byzantines may not have guessed, however, the extent to which the Fatimids had organized and spread their propaganda even in Syria. In the main this was directed against their rivals for the caliphate and was, therefore,

(12) Abū Bakr ibn 'Abdallah ibn Aybak al-Dawādārī, *Die Chronik des ibn al-Dawadari : Der Bericht über die Fatimiden*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munaggid (Cairo, 1961). Arabic title : *Kanz al-Durar wa jāmi' al-qhurar : VI, al-Durra al-Mudīya fī Akhbār al-Dawla al-Fāṭimīya* (Hereafter cited as Ibn al-Dawadari).

(13) Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn 'Alī al-Maqrīzī, *Itti'āẓ al-Ḥunafā bi Akhbār al-A'imma al-Fāṭimīyīn al-Khulafā*. Vol. I, ed. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl (Cairo, 1967). (Hereafter cited as al-Maqrizi). The passages concerning Tzimisces in Syria do not appear in the older editions of this work.

(14) Al-Maqrizi, p. 232.

part of a Moslem sectarian struggle. Byzantine territories, however, also served the same organization as a field of potential conquest and the here-to-fore successful Greek armies were pictured as bogeymen by Fatimid agents in order to frighten non-cooperative fellow Moslems. The successful campaigns of Nicephoras Phocas, which culminated in the fall of Antioch and the submission of the Hamdanid territories in Syria, were used by the Fatimids as an excuse for their own conquest of Egypt and Syria ([15]).

Almost immediately after Egypt had fallen, Jawhar dispatched Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ, a Berber chieftain, with contingents of his Kutama tribesmen toward Palestine and Syria. In a relatively brief campaign, the Berbers under Ja'far took Ramla and then Damascus. Further efforts brought Tripoli into the Fatimid camp and it became the capital and, from then on, mainstay of their attempt to hold Syria. Finally Ja'far dispatched Futūḥ, his own subordinate, with a fairly large force against the great city of Antioch. The Byzantines, however, were firmly entrenched there and five months later, the Fatimid armies, having over-extended themselves and suffering large losses in an attempt to capture Alexandretta, were compelled to withdraw as the Qarmatians threatened to invade Syria from the east ([16]).

This defeat for the Fatimids presaged others which followed quickly. In 360/971, Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ was killed by the Qarmatians before Damascus. The Qarmatian threat to Egypt did not pass quickly and only in Ramadan 363/May-June 974, when certain of their Arab auxiliary troops were bribed to desert the field of battle did they finally depart homeward to al-Aḥsā in Bahrain ([17]).

(15) M. CANARD, in *L'Impérialisme des Fatimides et leur propagande* (*AIEO-Alger*, VI, p. 167 f.), cites more interesting evidence of this from the famous Arabic poet Ibn ai-Hāni and the geographer Ibn Ḥawqal. The argument made to the Egyptians for Fatimid occupation of Egypt, i.e. to conduct the holy war against the enemy, was clearly expressed in the safe conduct (*al-Amāna*) which Jawhar gave the Egyptian delegation that came to him and suggested the surrender of Egypt. See AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 103-106.

(16) New evidence from AL-MAQRIZI, p. 126, and IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 133, seems to confirm the account given by the Byzantine sources that the Arab-Berber army was severely weakened and demoralized by their defeat before Alexandretta. See Paul WALKER, *A Byzantine Victory over the Fatimids at Alexandretta* (971), in *Byzantion*, XLII (1972) : 431-440.

(17) AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 202-206 ; IBN AL-QALANISI, pp. 3-4 ; IBN AL-

Immediately the Caliph al-Mu'izz sent a detachment of his Berber troops under Abū Maḥmūd, son of Ja'far ibn Falāḥ, in pursuit (18). At the same time the Caliph appointed Ẓālim ibn Mawhūb al-'Uqailī governor of Damascus (19). Soon Abū Maḥmūd arrived there with Berber troops chasing the main Qarmatian army and camped at Ẓālim's invitation on the outskirts of the city.

The Arabic sources clearly specify that the armies of the Fatimids in this period were composed of Maghribis (20), that is North Africans, thereby perhaps implying that they were mainly Berbers. The Fatimid leaders must have known full well the danger of using such Berber troops in strange territories, but although they had a certain amount of local support in Syria, it was totally unreliable as the events of Tzimisces' 975 campaign were to prove. Thus, when Tzimisces later speaks of the "abominable Africans" who prevented his march into Jerusalem, he puts his finger on this point. The only absolutely loyal troops the Fatimids had in Syria, perhaps also in Egypt, were the Kutama Berbers (21).

DAWADARI, pp. 159-160. It should be noted that the Qarmatians, not the Abbasids, were the main rivals of the Fatimids for Moslem control of Syria, and that their rivalry seriously weakened Moslem resistance to Byzantine advances.

(18) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 206 ; IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 3 ; IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 160 ; IBN AL-ATHIR, *Al-Kāmil fi al-Ta'rīkh*, VIII (ed. Tornberg, Leyden, Brill, 1862), p. 470. It is reported by Ibn al-Dawādārī that Abū Maḥmūd was given 10,000 horsemen. Al-Maqrīzī gives the figure 20,000 for the whole force.

(19) Ẓālim ibn Mawhūb was a member of the Banū 'Uqail, a powerful and influential family in Ḥawran and Bathanīya and the surrounding region. After the initial conquest of Syria by Ja'far ibn Falāḥ, they were defeated and reduced in power. Accordingly Ẓālim was sent to the Qarmatians in al-Aḥsā to urge them to invade Syria and repel the Berbers. The Qarmatians, however, needed no urging ; they had just lost the tribute from Syria. Incensed, they moved toward Syria, apparently aided by Abbasid money and arms. In their train followed many of the defeated Syrian Arabs like Ẓālim. In the general retreat after the Fatimid victory, Ẓālim returned to Damascus and seems to have wrangled an appointment as governor of Damascus from the Fatimid Caliph. IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 4 and IBN AL-ATHIR, p. 470.

(20) "*Maghāriba*" (plural of *Maghribī*) that is the inhabitants the *Maghrib* which is equivalent to the modern Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco.

(21) This is an often misunderstood point. It is easily seen that Tzimisces' main opposition came from the newly installed ruler of Egypt, but al-Mu'izz's basic support lay neither in Cairo nor in Syria. His army was transplanted from Tunisia, and

For various reasons, the citizens of Damascus reacted strongly against these Berber troops. From Shawwāl 363/June-July 974, there ensued a continual battle in the various streets and quarters of Damascus between the two (22). Ultimately Abū Maḥmūd succeeded in ousting Ẓālim and he appointed his nephew, Jaish ibn al-Ṣamṣāma, governor of the city. There was little calm, however, and the trouble continued. Al-Mu'izz, disturbed by reports of the killing, burning and general destruction commanded his governor of Tripoli, Rayyān, a eunuch of Slavic origin, to proceed to Damascus in order to investigate and report on the true state of affairs there. He also instructed him to order Abū Maḥmūd to leave. Upon Rayyān's arrival Abū Maḥmūd departed Damascus, in Sha'ban 364/April-May 975, leaving most of his troops with Rayyān and heading toward Ramla (23). The situation in Damascus thereafter was momentarily calm and might have continued that way except for the arrival, late in the same month, of an entirely new element in Syrian politics.

it was almost entirely composed of Berbers. In many ways the Fatimids were as much strangers to Syria, in 975, as Tzimisces and his Greek-Armenian army, especially when that army contained a number of Arab auxiliary forces from the marches of the Syrian north. That is why Tzimisces distinguishes between the "abominable Africans" and the local Arabs.

(22) The troubles in Damascus occupy many pages of the Arabic chronicles and the situation seems extremely complex. In addition to the normal merchant-artisan groups, the governor, Ẓālim, and the Berber troops of Abū Maḥmūd, there were bands of Arab bandits in the surrounding areas and inside the city itself there were gangs of youths (*Al-Aḥdāth*) organized as civil militia. Above all the *Shurṭa*, a local police group under a strongly anti-Fatimid leader named Ibn al-Māward, tended to promote their own cause rather than cooperate with the Fatimid troops. IBN AL-DAWADARI, pp. 166-167, says that Abū Maḥmūd was unable to pay his soldiers and they therefore plundered the area for their compensation. Whether this is correct or not, violence between the Berbers and most of the other groups began and continued almost one full year. See also: IBN AL-QALANISI, pp. 3-9; AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 211-13; IBN AL-ATHIR, pp. 470-72.

(23) IBN AL-DAWADARI, pp. 166-67, 169; IBN AL-QALANISI, pp. 9-11; IBN AL-ATHIR, p. 472; AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 213-14. Al-Maqrīzī gives the date of Abū Maḥmūd's leaving Damascus and next refers to him as holding Tiberias. This implies that if he did indeed get to Ramla, he returned quickly. It is more likely that he got only as far as Tiberias when news of a Byzantine advance toward Damascus overtook him.

From the east, Abū Manṣūr Alptikīn (24), a Turkish adventurer and refugee from the recent struggle in Iraq between Turkish Mamluks and Būyid Emirs over the control of the Abbasid caliph (25), now entered Syria followed by four to five hundred horsemen. The arrival of the pro-Abbasid Alptikīn with this strong backing created a new challenge to the Fatimids and a new opportunity for their enemies (26). At this particular moment Syria was as firmly in the hands of the Fatimids as it had ever been. Damascus was under the watchful eye of the lately arrived Rayyān, Ẓālim ibn Mawhūb, who had been forced out of the governorship of that city in January 975, by Abū Maḥmūd, had moved to Baalbek as governor. Abū Maḥmūd and his nephew Jaish ibn al-Ṣamṣāma waited at Tiberias. And for reasons to be discussed later, al-Mu'izz in Jumāda 1st 364/January-February 975, had sent Nuṣayr, another eunuch commander of Slavic origin, with yet another army described as large, to Syria. It was now in Beirut (27).

The Turks camped first at Jūsiya, a small village between Hims and Baalbek (28). From north of Jūsiya in Hims, Abū al-Ma'ālī ibn Ḥamdān, the *de jure* ruler of Aleppo and northern Syria, as son of the great Saif al-Dawla, took an immediate interest in these uncommitted Turkish soldiers (29). At the same time that Ẓālim set out against Alp-

(24) The spelling of Alptikīn's name varies considerably. Some have it Alftikīn, Haftikīn, or Aftikīn (in Arabic). Some have it AL-PETHGAN (Bar Hebraeus). It is clear, however, that it is the Turkish name Alp Tikīn.

(25) The complications and troubles in Baghdad at the close of Bakhtiyār's reign are described in nearly all the Arabic sources of the period. The best, however, and the most accessible is IBN MISKAWAIH, *Tajārib al-Umam* (Text and English trans. by Amedroz and Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, 7 vols., London, 1920-21).

(26) Alptikin's group apparently numbered about 400 horsemen. IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 167, and AL-MAQRIZI, p. 219. Tzimisces, if the "person called Turk" is really Alptikīn, says he had about 500 knights (MATTHEW, p. 24).

(27) Both WUSTENFELD (*Geschichte der Fatimiden-Chalifen*, Gottingen, 1881, p. 127) and QUATREMERE (*Vie du Khalife Fatimide Moęzz-li-din-Allah*, in *Journal Asiatique*, III, 1837, p. 200) report this without noting their source. AL-MAQRIZI, p. 218, implies that Nuṣayr was not sent until *Jumāda al-Ukhra*, February-March. In any event there is a strong hint that these troops were sent to offset a Byzantine build-up north of Tripoli.

(28) On Jūsiya see Guy LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems* (Beirut, Khayats, 1965), pp. 39, 40, 467.

(29) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 219; IBN AL-DAWADARI, pp. 168-69; IBN AL-ATHIR, p.

tikīn from the south, Abū al-Ma'ālī dispatched his eunuch Bishāra from Hims with a company of men to aid Alptikīn. When, subsequently, Bishāra informed Ẓālim by letter of his intentions, Ẓālim gave up his attempt to capture Alptikīn and returned to Baalbek. Alptikīn then proceeded with Bishāra to the outskirts of Hims where he was much honored by Abū al-Ma'ālī.

At first, Alptikīn asked to be appointed governor of Kafar Tāb, as vassal to Abū al-Ma'ālī ([30]), but as a secret plea for aid arrived from Ibn al-Māward, the anti-Fatimid leader in Damascus, he withdrew this request giving the excuse that he was returning to Baghdad. Instead, he proceeded south to Damascus and reached its vicinity on the last days of Sha'ban 364/2nd week of May 975 ([31]).

Since Alptikīn's Turks fled Iraq only the 14th of Jumāda I, 364/January 30, 975, these events must have passed rapidly.

483. In 359/970, the Byzantines had been able to seize Aleppo from its *de facto* ruler Qar'uwaih, once a Mamluk of Saif al-Dawla and theoretically the representative of Abū al-Ma'ālī in that city. The terms of the treaty, however, gave the Greeks virtual sovereignty over Aleppo although they had allowed Qar'uwaih to retain his position. Also as part of this treaty Hims, Hamah and many other towns and fortresses of northern Syria fell under Byzantine protection. Abū al-Ma'ālī therefore ruled almost without a kingdom.

(30) IBN AL-DAWADARI, pp. 168-69; AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 219-220. Ibn al-Dawādārī reports that it was Abū Taghlib ibn Ḥamdān rather than Abū al-Ma'ālī but the former was still governor of Mosul and in any case not near Jūsiya or Kafar Tāb. On the other hand Abū al-Ma'ālī, mentioned by al-Maqrīzī, should have been in Hims. Kafar Tāb is a small town in the Hims district (LE STRANGE, *Palestine*, pp. 35, 39, 40, 473).

(31) Stories of Alptikīn's coming to Damascus differ considerably. In one place al-Maqrīzī, pp. 218-19, reports that Alptikīn wrote to al-Mu'izz asking permission to proceed to Damascus and that the Caliph responded by mobilizing forces to send against him. Yaḥya ibn Sa'īd of Antioch, *Histoire* (ed. and trans. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, fasc. II, *Patrologia Orientalis*, XXXIII, 1932, p. 368) agrees with regard to Alptikīn's letter and Ibn al-Qalānisī, p. 12 and Ibn al-Athīr, p. 484, confirm that an army was being prepared to go against Alptikīn. They report, however, that al-Mu'izz wrote first inviting him to join the Fatimid cause and come to Cairo. Unfortunately, Ibn al-Qalānisī couples this event with the death of al-Mu'izz and that would place this exchange long after Alptikīn's arrival. In view of the lack of time between his coming into Syria and reaching Damascus and al-Maqrīzī's report (in another place), p. 220, that Rayyān left the city unguarded, it seems unlikely that these letters were exchanged until after Tzimisces' campaign, if ever.

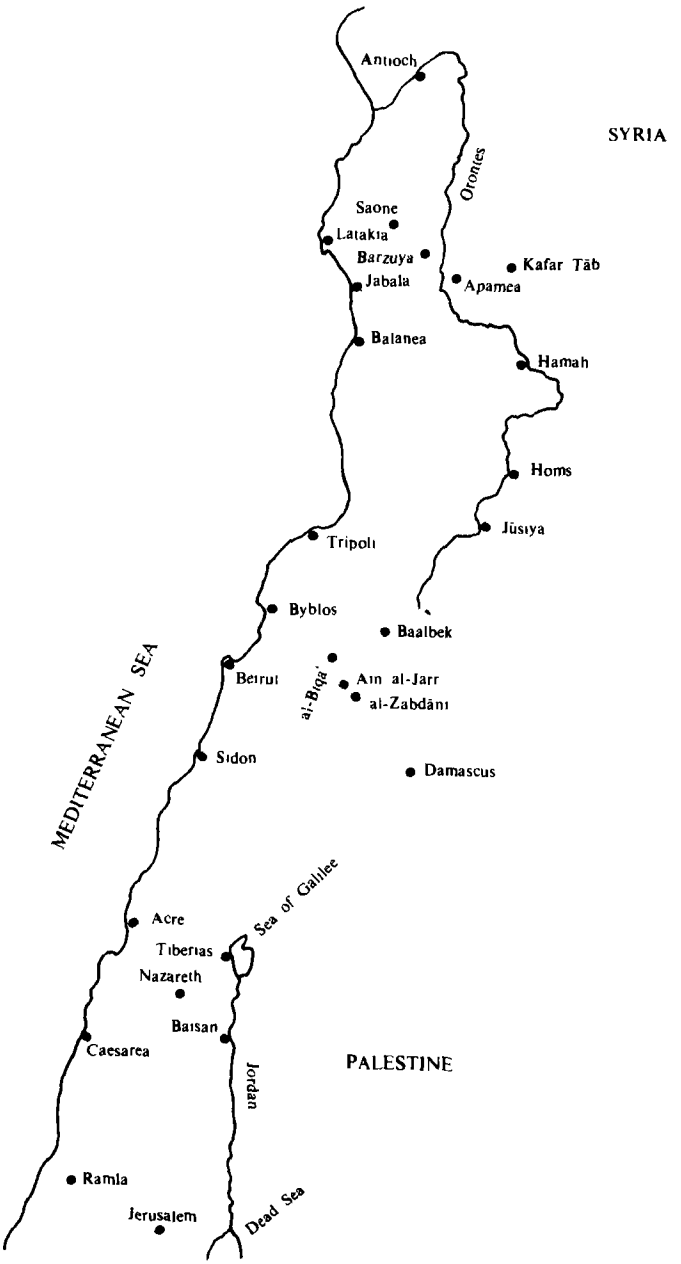
Likewise, the period of Rayyān's administration of Damascus up to this moment could not have been more than two or three weeks, and even before Alptikīn arrived, he set out with his army through the Dummar pass toward Baalbek and Tripoli. He had been moved to abandon Damascus because of the news, reported from Tripoli, that the "enemy", i.e. the Greeks, were afield and he feared Tripoli was their main objective. Ironically, as Alptikīn was approaching Damascus through the Eagle's Pass (*Thaniya al-'Uqāb*), Rayyān departed with his entire force on another route (32).

Camping on the outskirts of Damascus, Alptikin received the notables of the city who invited him to take command of them and end the depredations of the Egyptian forces and the gangs of youths who had been causing their troubles. Alptikīn then assumed control. He changed the Friday citation (*Khuṭba*) from that of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allah, the Fatimid Caliph, to that of al-Ṭā'i', the Abbasid master he had just left, and he tried to rectify the affairs of the city although he was to leave again within less that two weeks.

It was the middle of May 975, and definite news now reached Damascus that Ibn Shimishqīq (Tzimisces), "King of the Romans", had moved his army from Antioch up the Orontes valley to Hims (33). With that, one more faction entered the Syrian free-for-all.

(32) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 220, gives these details. On Dummar pass, see *Yacut's Geographisches Wörterbuch* (ed. F. Wustenfeld, Leipzig, 1866), vol. II, p. 587 ; and for *Thanīya al-'Uqāb*, the same, vol. I, p. 936. IBN AL-DAWADARI, pp. 169-70 ; IBN-AL-QALANISI, pp. 11-12 ; IBN AL-ATHIR, pp. 483-84. IBN AL-ATHIR and ABU AL-FIDA, *Kitāb al-Mukhtasar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Cairo, 1907), vol. I, p. 115, report, probably incorrectly, that Rayyān was forced out of Damascus by the inhabitants after Alptikīn arrived there.

(33) "Wa shā'a khabaru'l-adūwi annahu qad aqbala fī jaishin 'aẓīmin (and reports of the enemy spread that he was approaching with a great army)", AL-MAQRIZI, p. 200. "Wa kāna qad waradat al-akhbāru anna'l-'adūw min al-rūm wa huwa Ibn al-Shimishqīq wa huwa yawm'idha dumustuq al-rūm qad kharaja yurī-du'l-bilād (and the news had arrived that the enemy from Anatolia, he being Ibn Shimishqīq [Tzimisces], who was then Domesticus of the Romans, had set out toward that region)", IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 169.


Antioch
SYRIA
Orontes
Saone
Latakia
Barzuya
Kafar Tāb
Jabala
Apamea
Balanea
Hamah
Homs
Jūsiya
Tripoli
Byblos
Baalbek
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Beirut
al-Biqa'
Ain al-Jarr
al-Zabdāni
Sidon
Damascus
Sea of Galilee
Acre
Tiberias
Nazareth
Baisan
Caesarea
PALESTINE
Jordan
Ramla
Jerusalem
Dead Sea

III
THE BYZANTINE CAMPAIGN

In 974, Tzimisces had moved a large, impressive army into Armenia. There he asked the aid of his vassal, King Ashot III, in a coming campaign. The Bagratid Armenian ruler, although reluctant, apparently furnished 10,000 armed troops and general provisions (34). The Emperor then marched into northern Syria, though the exact itinerary this year remains confused. The Arab chronicles took little notice of these events and the facts concerning them reported by Matthew of Edessa are in part fanciful. Tzimisces' letter, however, seems to leave no doubt that he conducted operations against many villages and fortresses in the summer of 974 (35). The question is where? Some of our information indicates that the Byzantine army was active between Antioch and Tripoli and perhaps throughout northern Syria. These activities may have served as an exploration for major operations in the following year (36).

New evidence shows that in June of 974, an ambassador from the Byzantines arrived in Cairo. The exact nature of the message he carried is not reported although he spoke to the Caliph about an armistice and presented a letter to him. He died soon after his arrival, however, and al-Mu'izz sent him home in a coffin (37). If a motive

(34) Cf. the interesting discussion of the events leading up to this campaign from the Armenian point-of-view by GROUSSET, *L'Arménie*, pp. 489-498.

(35) MATTHEW, pp. 20-23.

(36) *Ibid.* IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 12, says that Tzimisces took possession of most of the *Thughūr* or fortresses on the Byzantine-Arab border. This tends to confirm Tzimisces' own account but since the chronology in Ibn al-Qalānisī is often confused, it is impossible to rely on his statement entirely.

(37) Reported by AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 208-209. He says: "and an ambassador of the Roman King came. The people accordingly gathered to see him and al-Mu'izz sat for him on a golden couch. He entered and kissed the floor several times. He was then permitted to sit on a cushion.

" 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusain, Judge of Adhana [*a town in the north of Syria*], was present and he spoke, 'Oh, Amīr al-Mu'minīn, God's prayers are on you. This (and he pointed to the Ambassador) is a plague on Islam and the cause of evil for Moslems and prisoners of war'.

"But al-Mu'izz gave him a disapproving glance and he went out. The Ambassador then spoke concerning an armistice and al-Mu'izz accepted his letter and

need be found for Tzimisces' campaign, apart from those mentioned in his own letter, the death in Cairo of his ambassador may suffice. Al-Maqrīzī, our source for this incident, does not indicate that foul play was involved, but certainly the Byzantines would have been suspicious. That same month "rumor increased", in Cairo, "of the movement of the Romans to Antioch", and signaled apparently the arrival in that city of Tzimisces' army ([38]). Accordingly, in the winter which followed, the Fatimid Caliph dispatched the eunuch Nuṣayr with a large army toward Syria.

It seems clear then that both sides were moving troops into position late in 974 and early 975. Tzimisces mentions taking up winter quarters apparently at Antioch ([39]). He himself may have returned to Constantinople that winter and rejoined his army only in the spring ([40]). While he was away, his army may have foraged far enough afield to alarm the pro-Fatimid inhabitants of Tripoli. In any case, the Emperor knew, perhaps from Arab allies, that major Fatimid armies occupied Tripoli, Damascus and Beirut by the end of the winter. The implied threat to Antioch did not escape him as in turn the Byzantine threat to Tripoli was clear to the Fatimids.

In April 975, Tzimisces was ready to go and he set his army in motion ([41]). Fresh evidence suggests that the first units were sent straight south to create the impression of a Byzantine advance toward Tripoli. In Cairo, news of a fight with the Greeks near Tripoli in Sha'bān/April-May was recorded ([42]). This report sufficiently alarmed the eunuch Rayyān in Damascus that he deserted it and moved toward the coast. The Byzantine ruse worked and the interior of southern Syria was consequently emptied of Fatimid troops. The Emperor, accordingly, moved hastily up the Orontes valley first to Hims which,

settled him in a house". Several pages later (p. 214) without warning al-Maqrīzī reports: "And in it [Dhū al-Qa'da 363/August 974] the ambassador of the Roman king died. So al-Mu'izz sent him to the land of the Romans in a coffin".

(38) Reported by AL-MAQRIZI, p. 214, "wa kathura al-irjāfu bimasīri 'l-Rūmī ilā Anṭakiya".

(39) MATTHEW, p. 23.

(40) SCHLUMBERGER, p. 284, n. 4.

(41) MATTHEW, p. 23.

(42) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 218.

under Abū al-Ma'ālī, was already a tributary of the Empire by treaty. So far, Tzimisces and the main body of his army were unopposed (43).

In the latter half of May, he proceeded on up the Orontes valley to Baalbek. According to al-Maqrīzī, Alptikīn also apparently moved to Baalbek at this moment in order to capture the pro-Fatimid Ẓālim. He intended, in addition, to end the depredations of various Arab bedouins who held the territory between Damascus and Baalbek, and he may have hoped to check Tzimisces. Ẓālim fled immediately leaving the town to Alptikīn and the bedouins suffered a defeat. Alptikīn then apparently tested the strength of the much larger Byzantine army which easily defeated him and he retreated to Damascus. Tzimisces besieged Baalbek, captured it on May 29th, 975, and took many prisoners, much gold, silver and beasts (44).

Byzantine cavalry and raiding parties continued their progress south by plundering the district of Baalbek and the surrounding areas (*al-Biqā'*). An attempt, however, to extend their activity to al-Zabdānī was repulsed by the inhabitants who occupied the narrow paths against them and prevented them from entering the valley (45).

Tzimisces followed his victory at Baalbek by threatening to move on Damascus. The account in Ibn al-Qalānisī, here, begins to supply detailed information (46). According to it, when it became clear that Damascus was to be Tzimisces' next target, one of the leaders of his

(43) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 220, and TZIMISCES (MATTHEW, p. 23), agree perfectly. IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 12, must be wrong, therefore, in reporting that Hims was taken by force. LEO THE DEACON, *Historiae* (ed. Hase, Bonn, 1828), pp. 165-66 (cf. SCHLUMBEGER, p. 294) would make Manbij (*Μέμπετζε*), a town in the district of Aleppo, fall first in this campaign. While this may have happened, it probably took place in the year before as it does not lie on the main route of the Byzantine army in 975. Leo further states that Tzimisces paused on his way south in order to capture Apamea (Apameia). Unlike Manbij, this town does fall along the route of the army, but it was already, at least in theory, under Byzantine control by the same treaty as that mentioning Hims. See IBN AL-ATHIR, p. 445, and IBN AL-'ADIM, p. 163.

(44) YAḤYA, p. 368 ; AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 220-21 ; MATTHEW, pp. 23-24. Al-Maqrīzī alone mentions the involvement of Ẓālim and Alptikīn. Yaḥyā alone gives the exact date, and adds that a certain Ḥusain ibn al-Ṣamṣām was captured.

(45) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 221.

(46) IBN AL-QALANISI, pp. 12-14. For a French translation, see CANARD, *Les Sources Arabes*, pp. 293-95. Cf. SCHLUMBERGER, pp. 295-97.

Arab auxiliary troops who had been recruited from vassal territories on the Byzantine-Moslem marches, Abū Bakr Ibn al-Zayyāt (47), wrote to Alptikīn and the people of Damascus advising them to submit to the Romans for their army was far too strong to be resisted. Those in Damascus, it continues, realized the truth of what Ibn al-Zayyāt reported. They apparently knew that with the almost continual civil strife in the city, since the Qarmatians departed one year before, they could do no better than beg leniency of Tzimisces and offer tribute in order to be spared the destruction which the Byzantine army would surely bring. Having reached an accord they wrote to Ibn al-Zayyāt accepting his advice and he in turn informed the Emperor. Tzimisces in agreement with his usual policy promised the safety of the city, its citizens and their possessions in return for their formal submission and a fixed annual tribute. The news was carried back to Damascus by Ibn al-Zayyāt himself. The townsmen and their Turkish allies were glad on the one hand to have saved themselves and their city and on the other to obtain a pledge of safety which would operate against the hated Berbers who still menaced them from several directions. They, therefore, responded enthusiastically to Ibn al-Zayyāt's further suggestion that they go out to meet the Emperor. Alptikīn led forth his Turkish cavalry arrayed in their finest attire and equipment and with him came the patricians and elders of the city. Tzimisces in turn received them with appropriate formalities and, with the mediation of Ibn al-Zayyāt, began to discuss the terms under which he would spare Damascus.

At this point it becomes difficult to reconcile the various accounts of what happened. This may be due to the variety of points-of-view represented by the original eye-witnesses. Of these only that of Tzimisces is known with certainty. The Arabic sources, however, also

(47) When the Fatimids were besieging Antioch in 360/971, a certain Ibn al-Zayyāt, Amīr of Tarsus and 'Arās, the leader of one group of Fatimid troops, made an attack on al-Iskandaruna (Alexandretta). (IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 133, and AL-MAQRIZI, p. 126, report the same incident in a slightly different fashion). See WALKER, *Byzantine Victory*. The Ibn al-Zayyāt mentioned by IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 12, as having joined the army of Tzimisces, must be the same. Only Ibn al-Qalānisī and BAR HEBRAEUS, p. 174 (where he is called bar-Zaiath 'Zawath') mention his involvement in Tzimisces' campaign.

appear to be based on eye-witness accounts though their actual source is unknown. They are, moreover, as rich in details as Tzimisces' own record. What follows is, therefore, pieced together from facts in all three primary accounts.

At the meeting arranged by Ibn al-Zayyāt those assembled apparently agreed to pay an annual tribute of possibly as much as 60,000 dinars. Tzimisces and the congregation then proceeded to Damascus, the Emperor to see its wonders and Alptikīn and the others to raise the required tribute (48).

A sum as large as this would have been difficult to draw out of a rebellious city already torn continually by internal conflict. Tzimisces apparently did not camp on the outskirts of Damascus but halted his army back in the region known as *al-Biqa'* (49). The townsmen along with Alptikīn tried during this brief waiting period to placate Tzimisces by taking gifts to him. Carefully advised by Ibn al-Zayyāt, Alptikīn attempted also to approach the Emperor and offer fealty. Tzimisces, according to Ibn al-Qalānisī's source, was impressed and pleased by Alptikīn's courtly demeanor and ordered him to ride. His equestrian skills also excited the Emperor's admiration and he further honored the Turkish leader. Finally he asked Alptikīn for his prize mount and his lance. Alptikīn, this story continues, withdrew briefly and returned with twenty horses and more arms and gifts. Tzimisces, however, refused the extra gifts and accepted only the original horse and lance. In return the Emperor gave Alptikīn quantities of silk brocade, jewelry, parade horses and mules: gifts which he carried

(48) TZIMISCES (MATTHEW, p. 24) mentions the sum of 40,000 dahekans (Armenian dinars); AL-MAQRIZI, p. 222, says Alptikīn collected 30,000 dinars for Tzimisces; YAḤYA, p. 368, says the tribute was to be 60,000 dinars; IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 170, says 30,000 dinars were collected which Tzimisces accepted and then left the remainder for Alptikīn. It seems possible, therefore, that Yaḥyā's figure is close to the correct one, although it is impossible to know for certain as the whole sum was apparently never collected. Cf. also BAR HEBRAEUS, p. 175 and IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 13, who mentions a sum of 100,000 dirhams. Cf. CANARD, *Les sources Arabes*, p. 294).

(49) Only IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 13, mentions Tzimisces going to Damascus to see it and his camping on its outskirts. It is possible he did this without moving the main contingents of his army. AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 221-222, clearly implies that he did not remain at Damascus if he ever went there at all.

with him especially for giving high honor to foreign princes (50). By these gifts and Alptikīn's repeated oath of fealty, they seem to have cemented their relationship and the Turkish adventurer became Tzimisces' commander in Damascus (51).

Alptikīn, in order to explain the slowness with which the tribute was being collected, described to Tzimisces the current state of affairs in the city, the constant strife, destruction and the impoverishment of the tradesmen unable to open their markets or carry on commerce. In Ibn Zūlāq's notes, Tzimisces is said to have responded, "We do not come just to take money. We came rather to seize the country by our swords. You have come to us with gifts and we have responded to your petition. Our goal in taking money is that it be said we took possession of the city. Therefore we take its gifts" (52). In response, Alptikīn further explained that since the city had been his only a short time, he had little control of its affairs. He then singled out Ibn al-Māward, who, he said, had prevented him from acting in the situation. Tzimisces ordered Ibn al-Māward seized to facilitate Alptikīn's raising of the tribute within the city (53). He also apparently remitted a significant part of the total sum to Alptikīn, perhaps to strengthen him and confirm his position as ruler of Damascus.

When the news of Alptikīn's defection to the Greek side and his compromising meeting with Tzimisces reached Abū Maḥmūd, who had just barely been removed from the Fatimid governorship of Damascus and who was then waiting at Tiberias, he attempted to reassert his leadership. He ordered his nephew Jaish ibn al-Ṣamṣāma to march on Damascus. Jaish and his forces, however, were soon delivered a severe defeat by Alptikīn's Turks and they took him as a

(50) These events are recorded by IBN AL-QALANISI, pp. 12-14; and BAR HEBRAEUS, p. 175. On the possible significance of Tzimisces' presents to Alptikīn, see SCHLUMBERGER, p. 297.

(51) AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 221-22, implies such a thing and TZIMISCES (MATTHEW, p. 24) states it clearly. Tzimisces' further assertion that he became a Christian is almost certainly a fabrication either on the Emperor's part or on that of his Armenian translator.

(52) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 221.

(53) *Ibid.* On Ibn al-Māward see note 22. Tzimisces mentions an old man who was governor of Damascus. Perhaps this man was meant, otherwise Alptikīn would have been considered governor.

captive to Tzimisces. The main force of Byzantines were stopped at the time at 'Ain al-Jarr, 18 miles from Damascus waiting there for the tribute money (54).

Upon receiving it, Tzimisces moved on without delay, and his own account states that from Damascus (55) :

> we went to the Sea of Galilee, where our Lord Jesus Christ had performed a miracle with one hundred and fifty-three fish. We were intent on laying siege to the town of Tiberias also, but the townspeople came in submission to Our Imperial Majesty and brought us many gifts like the Damascenes had done and also tribute in the amount of thirty thousand dahekans, not counting many other valuable presents. They requested that one of our commanders be put over them and gave us an affirmation of loyalty as had the Damascenes, promising to be subject to us perpetually and to give us tribute ceaselessly. On that basis we left them free of enslavement and did not devastate the town or the region ; moreover, we did not plunder them because the region was the native land of the holy apostles. We felt the same way about Nazareth where the Theotokos, the holy virgin Mary, heard the good tidings from the angel. We also went to Mount Tabor and climbed up to that place where Christ our God was transfigured. While we remained in that place, people came to us from Ramla and Jerusalem to beseech Our Imperial Majesty, looking for compassion from us. They asked a commander be appointed over them and became tributary to us, swearing to serve us ; all of these things which they asked we indeed did. We also were intent on delivering the holy sepulcher of Christ our God from the bondage of the Moslems. We established military commanders in all the areas which had submitted and become tributary to Our Imperial Majesty ; these were Baisan called Decapolis, Genesareth and Acre also called Ptolemais, and by a written statement they undertook to give tribute ceaselessly from year to year and to serve us. We went up to Caesarea which is on the coast of the great Mediterranean sea, and they also submitted and came under our rule. If the abominable Africans had not fled to the coastal fortresses where they had taken refuge because they feared us, by the assistance of God we would have gone to the holy city of Jerusalem and would have stood in prayer at the holy places of God. When we heard that the coastal

(54) AL-MAQRIZI, pp. 221-22. 'Ain al-Jarr is now found on modern maps as 'Anjar.

(55) MATTHEW, pp. 25-27.

> inhabitants had fled, then we brought to submission the upper part of the country, subjecting it to the rule of the Romans and establishing a commander there. We brought under our control many towns, besieging and assaulting those which did not submit ; having captured them we went by the coastal route which leads directly to the famous, renowned and heavily fortified town of Berytus, which today is called Beirut.

Here in the heart of Tzimisces' own letter is some of the most interesting and at the same time most doubtful information. The progress of the Byzantine army is well attested to by all sources up to the surrender of Damascus. From there, however, all accounts, except that of Tzimisces, say he marched directly west to the coast.

Until now the authenticity of Tzimisces' letter is unchallenged. Apparently preserved in the Armenian Royal Archives, probably in the original Greek, it survived and found its way into the XIIth century history of Matthew of Edessa (56).

In spite of its remarkable agreement with the Arabic sources in other details, the case against believing the letter with respect to the Palestinian conquests of Tzimisces is strong. Most significantly, these events are not mentioned by other historians, and it would be strange indeed if either the primary source of Ibn al-Qalānisī or that of al-Maqrīzī took no note of these dangerous military and political incursions so far toward Jerusalem, if they in fact happened. The Greek historians, likewise, do not record these triumphs of Tzimisces. There is also a strange inconsistancy in Tzimisces' own version of his itinerary. He would have us believe he went straight from Caesarea to Beirut and only later thought to return and capture Sidon. More telling, however, is the fact that Abū Maḥmūd, in spite of losing his nephew Jaish to the Turks, is mentioned as still holding Tiberias after the Byzantines have departed Damascus and attacked Beirut. This, it

(56) DULAURIER (*Chronique*, pp. XVI-XVII) argued that "Dans quelques passages, cette version présente des noms propres conservant les inflexions grammaticales qu'ils avaient dans le texte primitif. On y lit *Vridoun*, qui est le nom de la ville de Béryte à l'accusatif, Beryton ; *ovoulon* pour obolôn, génitif pluriel d'*ovolos*, obole". It is interesting that another Armenian historian, Samuel of Ani, who also mentions this letter but without giving the text, says Tzimisces penetrated to Jerusalem itself and wrote the letter from the holy city (SCHLUMBERGER, pp. 292-93). There was, therefore, something of a Tzimisces legend among some later Armenian historians.

would seem, cannot be reconciled with Tzimisces' claim that this city surrendered to him. In addition, as will be seen shortly, there were simply not enough days between the episode at Damascus and Tzimisces' return to northern Syria for all the events and accomplishments he claims to have made in Palestine. What then can explain his strange account, his claim to have climbed Mount Tabor, taken Tiberias, Nazareth, Caesarea and Acre, and his appointing military commanders over them? One of the many possibilities is that Tzimisces' letter lay untranslated in the Royal Archives from its arrival until many years after when the events of 975 were only dimly remembered. Tzimisces' sudden death in January 976, the intense internal struggles of Basil II's early reign, and most of all the successful Latin crusade of 1095-1099, probably facilitated this and pushed Tzimisces' triumphs far into the background. When they were remembered and when his letter finally was translated into Armenian, it might have been colored by misunderstanding and myth. It is also possible, however, that Tzimisces invented or exagerated his Palestinian exploits to enlarge his triumphs and his own glory, and for special reasons, suggested below, to justify himself to his Armenian allies. It seems clear now, with the weight of new sources, that Tzimisces and the main Byzantine army moved quickly from ʿAin al-Jarr to Beirut (57) and in all probability did not enter Palestine.

Abū al-Fatḥ ibn al-Shaikh, the leading figure, and the elders of the city of Sidon came to Tzimisces while he was besieging Beirut and negotiated a deal including tribute and gifts similar to that of Damascus (58). Thus he did not need to move his army south to that city. Beirut itself was still garrisoned by a Fatimid force under the eunuch Nuṣayr and he strongly contested the Byzantine attempt to seize it. However, when it became clear that the Berbers could not hold out, Tzimisces sent a message to them and to the inhabitants of Beirut saying, according to our Egyptian source, "I do not wish the destruction of your city nor do I wish to fight you. I only want you to surrender this eunuch and those with him to me, and I will appoint for you on my part a *Dharwār* (?) to defend you from those who

(57) As stated by AL-MAQRIZI, p. 222 and IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 171.

(58) IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 14 ; BAR HEBRAEUS, p. 175 ; MATTHEW, p. 27. Al-Maqrīzī does not mentions Sidon at all.

have designs against you". This offer was apparently opportune, for Nuṣayr and his followers, said by the Emperor to number 1,000, were soon surrendered. Tzimisces accordingly appointed a *Dharwār* (?) in Beirut to act on his behalf (59).

After the capture of Beirut, Tzimisces marched swiftly northward wasting little time in taking Byblos by force (60) and perhaps other cities before he reached Tripoli, which was then still held by the eunuch Rayyān with a large force of Berbers. The Byzantine attack, moreover, probably began long before the Emperor arrived. The first skrimish occured, according to Ibn Zūlāq, in late April or early May (61). Tzimisces himself reports that before reaching the city, he sent cavalry units of the *thematikoi* (Themes) and the *taxatoi* (garrison troups) into a defile near Tripoli where a party of some 2,000 Berbers, apparently foraging unawares, were ambushed and many killed or imprisoned. Nevertheless, the city itself did not yield and probably before the middle of June the Emperor reluctantly gave

(59) A short version of Tzimisces' message is found in AL-MAQRIZI, p. 222; and the longer, quoted here, comes from IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 171. The incident is confirmed by YAḤYA, p. 369. TZIMISCES (MATTHEW, p. 27), IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 14, and BAR HEBRAEUS, p. 175, report that Beirut was taken by force, after a violent struggle, but do not mention the exchange of messages.

The designation *Dharwār* or *Dhirwār* occurs only in Ibn al-Dawādārī. Al-Maqrīzī simply says that, "a person with 200 men (*shakhṣan fī mi'atay rajūlin*)", was appointed. The Arabic letter (dh) is often confused with (z) both in script and pronounciation and therefore this *Dharwār*, is obviously the holder of the office mentioned by IBN ḤAWQAL, *Kitāb Ṣūra al-'arḍ* (ed. J. H. Kramers, Brill, 1838), part I, p. 196, as *Zarāwira* (pl. of *Zarwāra* or *Zirwāra*). The person who holds this rank would be called, therefore, *zirwār*. See N. OIKONOMIDES, *L'Organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe-XIe siècles et le taktikon de l'Escorial, XIVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines: Rapports II* [Bucarest, 1971], p. 87. He suggests that the word applies to the commanders of small frontier themes — themes which were added to the Empire in the course of the 10th century. The use of the term in Ibn al-Dawādārī's report of Tzimisces' taking Beirut may, therefore, be especially significant if it indicates what actually took place. Did the Emperor hope to create a series of coastal themes under direct Byzantine control? At this point, it should be remembered, Tzimisces still thought he could also capture Tripoli. It is also noteworthy that he was content to dominate the interior by means of local puppets.

(60) MATTHEW, p. 27; IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 14.

(61) AL-MAQRIZI, p. 218.

up. Before lifting siege, the Byzantine army laid waste the gardens of the region by cutting down the vines, olive trees and date palms. The city, however, remained in Fatimid hands ([62]).

In Cairo al-Mu'izz received the news of the fighting at Tripoli and of the apparent defeat of the Byzantines near the middle of June. The failure of Tzimisces to take Tripoli elated the Caliph and he gave alms in thanks. In the latter half of July, the heads of Byzantine soldiers arrived and were paraded about the city as additional proof of Fatimid victory ([63]). Tzimisces, however, did not think himself defeated. His frustrating attempt to break the defense of Tripoli was an annoying but relatively minor setback. Later, on the return to Antioch, which occupied the rest of the summer, he added the fortresses of Jabala, Balanea, Saone (Sihyun), and Barzuya to his domain ([64]). At this time the Byzantine army was some distance from Fatimid troops and the struggle between the two seems to have ended with the lifting of the siege of Tripoli. Those areas of northern Syria which now fell to Tzimisces were almost certainly controlled independently by local Moslem forces. The major aim of Tzimisces had already been accomplished and, moreover, he apparently felt free to send an am-

(62) MATTHEW, p. 28 ; AL-MAQRIZI, p. 222 ; YAḤYA, p. 369 ; IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 14 ; IBN AL-DAWADARI, p. 171 ; LEO THE DEACON, p. 168. Some interesting details of the siege are given by Tzimisces, Ibn al-Dawādārī, and Ibn al-Qalānisī (take the cutting of the date palms around the city as applying to the siege of Tripoli not Antioch and therefore agreeing with Tzimisces' own account). IBN AL-QALANISI and AL-MAKIN (p. 290), who give the same account, seem to confuse Tzimisces at Tripoli with Nicephoras Phocas at Antioch in 359/969.

The story of the marvelous comet which appeared in August of this year, mentioned by Leo the Deacon, p. 168, is sometimes connected with this siege (Cf. SCHLUMBERGER, pp. 300-302). The news of the Byzantine defeat at Tripoli, however, apparently reached Cairo on, or soon after, the *'īd al-Fiṭr* (June 14, 975) according to al-Maqrīzī, p. 222. Therefore, it is more likely that Tzimisces had moved back into northern Syria before the appearance of the comet.

(63) Apparently, before the middle of *dhū al-Qa'da*/July 13-August 12, 975. IBN AL-QALANISI, p. 14, says the fighting around Tripoli lasted 40 days. If this is true, it is further proof that Tzimisces had units of his army there from the beginning of the campaign even though he arrived himself only in June.

(64) Yahyā, p. 369 ; Matthew, p. 28. Yaḥyā and Tzimisces mention all four and LEO THE DEACON, p. 166 and 168, confirms the capture of Barzouyah, and Valanias. See HONINGMANN, pp. 100-101.

bassador to al-Mu'izz in Cairo. Ibn Zūlāq, at any rate, recorded the arrival of an ambassador from the Greeks at the end of this summer (65). It is not clear what instructions this ambassador had, but it is surely safe to conclude that he was to negotiate some kind of formal end to the hostilities.

(65) Probably in Muḥarram/September-October, 975, as reported by AL-MAQRIZI, p. 225.

In the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa'l-Tuḥaf* (ed. Muḥammad Ḥamīd Allah, Kuwait, 1959, p. 82) of the QAḌI AL-RASHID IBN AL-ZUBAYR (d. 463/1070-71), there is a story of finding in the treasury of the Fatimid Caliph four saddles (with bridles) worked with black brocade, gold and white jasper. On them it was written that they were a gift to al-Mu'izz from the King of the Romans received after his entry into Egypt. If so, they were brought to Egypt by either the Byzantine embassy of 974 (see note 37) or that mentioned here.

Concerning this last embassy to al-Mu'izz, there is the following curious story about the cause of the Caliph's death related, by among others, IBN ABI DINAR (*al-Mu'nis fī akhbār Ifrīqīya wa Tūnis* [ed. Amari, *Bibl. Arabo-Sic., texts*, app. pp. 11-12]. "And the cause of his [al-Mu'izz] death was that a number of times the King of the Romans sent him an ambassador who visited him in Africa and in Egypt. One day he was alone with him (his name was Nikūla [?]), and al-Mu'izz li dīn Allah asked him, "Do you remember that you came to me when I was in Mahdīya [his residence in Tunisia] and I told you that you would come to me in Egypt and I would be ruling over it"? He replied, "Yes". So he said to him, "And I say to you now you will come to me in Baghdad and I will be caliph"! The ambassador replied, "If you will assure me of my safety and not get angry, I will tell you what I really think". He said to him, "Say what you think; you are safe". He replied, "The King sent me to you that year and I arrived [first] in Sicily where your governor met me with his troops and I witnessed wonders from him. Then I came to Susa and I saw in it your army so large it dazed my mind. Then I proceeded to Mahdiya and there was scarcely an end to the extent of your armies and servants and the multitude of your companions so that I almost died. I arrived at your palace and I saw a light which dazzled my sight. Then I entered into your presence and you were on your couch. I beheld your greatness and supposed you were the creator not a creature. If you had said to me that you would ascend to heaven, I would have believed you and would have been convinced of that. I have come to you now and I do not see such things. When I came upon this city of yours, there was a gloomy blackness in my eye. In your palace I entered into your presence but I did not find such awesomeness in you as there was that year. I knew that this was a sign of the future and that it is now the opposite of what it used to be". Al-Mu'izz bowed his head and the ambassador left him. The fever took hold of al-Mu'izz, his sickness grew heavier, and stayed with him until he died. God have mercy on him".

IV
The Results of the Campaign

Many of those forces shaping the course of events in Syria during and before the summer of 975 continued to play their respective roles in 976. If Tzimisces had seriously upset the balance of power or simplified a complex and confusing situation in the south, the effect was only slight and temporary. Damascus remained in the hands of Alptikīn, but the Byzantines apparently lost their influence there as soon as they departed. Even the Qarmatians could not continue forever to prop up Alptikīn in the face of the persistent Fatimid armies. The vastly increased force the Fatimids sent against him eventually brought him to defeat and capture, although by then he had managed to maintain himself in Damascus almost three and one half years (66).

Nevertheless, Tzimisces had gained one major accomplishment. Ja'far Ibn Falāḥ was able to send an army against Antioch in 971, and in 974-975, it was still theoretically exposed to attack by Fatimid armies. Tzimisces knew the danger of total Fatimid control in Syria. By his campaign in 975, he ended this danger and relieved Antioch, and possibly much of Byzantine Syria, from the real or imagined threat from Egypt. By helping Alptikīn to consolidate his position in Damascus, he created a buffer between the Empire and the Fatimids. It was consequently impossible for Egypt to move enough force north to attack Antioch again.

(66) The ultimate irony of the whole conflict between Alptikīn and the Fatimids began with his capture. Instead of being punished, he was given honors and a high position. Apparently those same chivalrous qualities which Tzimisces found so pleasing in him were recognized by the Fatimid Caliph al-'Azīz. In addition, however, al-'Azīz, unhappy at his own exclusive dependence upon Berber troops whose leaders were not always strictly obedient, saw a chance to create a private palace guard out of the captured Turks and use it was a wedge between himself and the Berber chiefs. In this, he was eventually successful, although not without opposition from the Berbers and his own bureaucracy. It is reported that the *Wazīr* Ya'qūb Ibn Killis had Alptikīn poisoned. In any case he died in 369/August 978-August 979, under unusual circumstances. Al-Maqrizi, p. 246 ; Ibn al-Dawadari, p. 189 ; Ibn al-Qalanisi, p. 21 ; Ibn al-Athir, p. 487. All except al-Maqrīzī implicate Ya'qūb Ibn Killis in his death.

The campaign of 975, however, though certainly brilliant in conception and execution, could hardly have been a crusade for the recovery of Jerusalem. Such a goal would have had exactly the opposite result to that which Tzimisces surely intended. Any threat to Jerusalem would have aroused and unified the Moslems and their consequent anger would have only aided the Fatimid cause. As it was, his quick thrust into southern Syria served to remind the Fatimids of the sphere in which Byzantine hegemony had been previously established and which the Byzantines were perfectly capable of defending. Tzimisces was, no doubt, generally satisfied with what he had accomplished. He had, in effect, put to rest the question of a Fatimid-Byzantine boundary in Syria and it is likely that the ambassador from the Byzantines, who arrived in Cairo in the late summer of 975, came to cement a formal agreement on this boundary.

Tzimisces' letter, while doubtful as to its accuracy regarding his conquest in Palestine, remains remarkably sound as a source in many other respects. It is clear nonetheless that an interpretation of it which pictures the Emperor undertaking and carrying out a crusade is hard to accept. Therefore, if his letter is to be considered entirely authentic, it might be useful to re-examine it, not as a record of what actually transpired but of its author's public policy toward the then semi-autonomous Armenians to whose king the letter was addressed.

Tzimisces' letter to Ashot III not only contains claims of unlikely victories in Palestine but it also explains that it was all done for the sake of a united Christendom. Why should such a letter be sent to the king of Armenia? One possible answer appears as a result of Adontz's, and later Grousset's, analyses of the significance of the second letter by Tzimisces which follows in Matthew's chronicle ([67]). It would seem that a period of great tension between Armenia and the Byzantine empire had existed just prior to Tzimisces' campaign against the Arabs in 974. The causes of this hostility include the Byzantine annexation of Taron (about 967 or 968) and long standing religious differences between the Armenian and Greek churches. Tzimisces' second letter indicates that the most immediate problem was a dispute over the occupancy of certain borderline fortresses.

(67) ADONTZ, *Notes Arméno-Byzantines*, II, and GROUSSET, *L'Arménie*, pp. 493-500.

Originally Tzimisces may have set out from Constantinople in 974 to quiet resentment and discontent in Armenia itself. Ashot for his part may have given the Emperor troops and provisions in order to placate him and divert him from the Armenian situation. In any case the Armenian soldiers must have been useful in the Arab campaigns and it is likely that Tzimisces' letter is recognition first of all of that fact. That, however, does not explain why he felt the need to emphasize his supposedly religious motives in this particular attack in Syria.

It should be remembered, in light of these justifications, that the Fatimids publicly excused their conquest of Egypt and Palestine, for example, with the argument that they were carrying the Holy War to the Christians. They hoped thereby to gain the sympathy of their Sunnite, Moslem opponents. Likewise, the Byzantines may have wanted a similar publicly stated policy to attract the heterodox Armenians. It is in this context then that the Emperor wrote his now famous letter to Ashot III. Accordingly, Tzimisces' exagerations were quite possibly contrived as part of an ongoing effort to enmesh the Armenian principalities in imperial policy. By the same token, it was apparently unnecessary to overplay this campaign in Constantinople where it earned notice more for the sacred relics brought back than for military conquests.

It is clear, especially from our new Arabic sources, that the Moslems felt no real threat to their control of Jerusalem in 975. In fact Tzimisces' incursion in southern Syria that year passed so quickly, they hardly reacted at all. For them, it was but a momentary interlude in the midst of civil wars. Therefore, although the war in 975 was in part religiously motivated, faith was more a public relations' excuse than the real cause which propelled the soldiers to fight. It was not the campaign itself which "breathed the veritable crusading spirit", but the Emperor's after-the-fact letter written to put the most diplomatically valuable face on his recent achievements.

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MÉMOIRES ET DOCUMENTS

FEUDAL OBLIGATIONS IN THE LATIN EAST

The contributions of the last thirty years to the institutional and social history of the Latin states in Syria and Palestine have done much to revolutionize our understanding of their development in the two centuries of their existence (1), yet many questions remain unasked. Although considerable advances have been made in the study of the organisation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, the history of the pre-fourteenth-century institutions of its sister-state, the kingdom of Cyprus, has received little attention (2). In both Latin Syria and Lusignan Cyprus, the Frankish ruling class constituted only a tiny minority of the population, but in both only western Christians, men *de la lei de Rome*, could hold fiefs burdened with military service (3). The social and legal position of the fief-holder is therefore of con-

(1) In particular by J. Prawer, J. Richard, C. Cahen, H. E. Mayer and J. S. C. Riley-Smith. For bibliography see J. PRAWER, *Histoire du royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1969-1970), i, 52-3 ; J. S. C. RILEY-SMITH, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1174-1277* (London, 1973), p. 232, n. 4.

(2) J. Richard has published a number of studies on Cyprus in the fourteenth century, in particular : *Le casal de Psimolofo et la vie rurale en Chypre au XIVe siècle*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*, lix (1947) ; *Un évêque d'Orient latin au XIVe siècle Guy d'Ibelin, O.P., évêque de Limmasol, et l'inventaire de ses biens (1367)*, in *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, lxxiv (1950) ; *La révolution de 1369 dans le royaume de Chypre*, in *B[ibliothèque de l']E[cole des] C[hartes]*, cx (1952) ; *Chypre sous les Lusignans. Documents chypriotes des archives du Vatican (XIVe et XVe siècles)* (Paris, 1962) ; *Le royaume de Chypre et le grand schisme à propos d'un document récemment découvert*, in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (1965) ; *La situation juridique de Famagouste dans le royaume des Lusignans*, in *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ πρώτου διεθνοῦς κυπρολογικοῦ συνεδρίου* (Nicosia, 1972), ii ; and with M. H. Laurent, *La bibliothèque d'un évêque dominicain de Chypre en 1367*, in *Archivum fratrum Praedicatorum*, xxi (1951).

(3) RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 10-11.

siderable importance, and the following article sets out to provide some insight into his role in society by examining the legal history of the twin institutions of military service and feudal tenure.

Two points must be made at once: there is good evidence that although the structure of feudal society was not identical in the two kingdoms, the feudal custom of Jerusalem also applied in Cyprus (4). This meant that Jerusalemite precedents could be cited in Cypriot courts (5) and *vice versa* (6), and also that treatises on feudal law written in either kingdom were of use in both; thus John of Ibelin, count of Jaffa, apparently revised his work which was written primarily for use in Jerusalem by inserting chapters culled from Philip of Novara who was writing in Cyprus (7); in the fourteenth century a version of John of Jaffa's treatise was given official status as a recognized work of reference in the Cypriot High Court (8), and in the sixteenth the Venetian authorities in Cyprus ordered it to be translated into Italian (9). On the other hand, institutions in the principality of Antioch and the county of Tripoli developed separately (10).

(4) Geoffrey LE TOR, *Livre*, in *R[ecueil des] H[istoriens des] C[roisades]. Lois*, i, 444; Philip OF NOVARA, *Livre*, in *RHC Lois*, i, 478, 523; *Documents relatifs à la successibilité au trône et à la régence*, in *RHC Lois*, ii, 404, 406; *Document relatif au service militaire*, in *RHC Lois*, ii, 428.

(5) But only with the court's express permission in the absence of a Cypriot precedent. Philip OF NOVARA, p. 524.

(6) For an example see *Documents relatifs à la successibilité*, pp. 404, 406, 408.

(7) Two principal groups of manuscripts originating from before 1369 survive of John of Ibelin's work. See M. GRANDCLAUDE, *Classement sommaire des manuscrits des principaux livres des Assises de Jérusalem*, in *R[evue] H[istorique de] D[roit] F[rançais et] E[tranger]*, ser. 4, v (1926), 442. The chief distinction between them is that the later group contains a number of interpolated chapters copied or adapted from Philip of Novara's treatise. That these interpolations were the work of John himself is indicated by the designation in one of them of John of Ibelin, the 'Old Lord' of Beirut, as 'mon oncle'. Philip OF NOVARA, p. 515; John OF IBELIN, *Livre*, in *RHC Lois*, i, 383, cf. 103, 112.

(8) John OF IBELIN, pp. 5-6; *Bans et Ordonnances des rois de Chypre, 1286-1362*, in *RHC Lois*, ii, 379.

(9) See M. GRANDCLAUDE, *Etude critique sur les livres des Assises de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1923), pp. 173-4.

(10) This article is only concerned with institutions found in Jerusalem and Cyprus. For Antioch see C. CAHEN, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris, 1940), pp. 436-52, 528-34. For Tripoli see

Secondly, though any study of feudal institutions in the Latin East must rely heavily on the treatises on feudal law written for the most part in the second half of the thirteenth century, it must be stressed that these treatises need to be used with care. Medieval lawyers were prone to write not what the law was but what they felt the law ought to be, and from the Latin East almost nothing survives of the legal or administrative archives against which historians of medieval England can check the statements of 'Glanvill' or Bracton. More specifically, the legal treatises have in recent years come under a close critical scrutiny from which they have not emerged unscathed. We have now to reject John of Jaffa's version of the founding of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the origin of its laws (11); the jurists' treatment of the *Assise sur la ligece* 'had little correspondence to reality' (12); John of Jaffa's ideas about a restricted baronial peerage were 'unhistorical and never, it seems, entirely accepted' (13), and his account of the day-to-day duties of the seneschal should perhaps be regarded with suspicion as well: certainly the seneschals of Cyprus are unlikely to have exercised the functions he described (14). Significantly, all the topics discussed in the legal treatises which have been called in question concern either constitutional law or the law as it affected the status of the greatest magnates; the jurists' descriptions of the more routine business of the courts and the law as it affected the less exalted feudatories have yet to be challenged. But it was precisely in their descriptions of the regular business of the courts that the jurists had least scope to indulge in flights of fancy, for herein lay the chief usefulness of their work. Probably they were sometimes anachronistic, but the standing of the authors and the extent to which later generations copied their works is a pointer to the validity of their ideas and to the accuracy of their accounts of legal institutions (15).

J. RICHARD, *Le comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102-1187)* (Paris, 1945), pp. 44-57.

(11) See J. PRAWER, *Les premiers temps de la féodalité du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, in *Tijdschrift voor rechtsgeschiedenis*, xxii (1954), 409-24.

(12) J. S. C. RILEY-SMITH, *The Assise sur La Ligece and the Commune of Acre*, in *Traditio*, xxvii (1971), 204.

(13) RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 20.

(14) See P. W. EDBURY, *The Feudal Nobility of Cyprus, 1192-1400* (unpublished Ph. D. thesis, St. Andrews, 1974), pp. 307-10.

(15) See RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, chap. 6. For fourteenth-century manuscripts of these treatises see GRANDCLAUDE, *Classement sommaire*.

I

With the difficulties of using the legal treatises in mind, we turn to the question of the performance of military services in the late thirteenth century. John of Jaffa placed military service at the head of his list of duties owed by those who held fiefs burdened with *servise de cors* :

> They (*les homes*) should go to serve *à cheval* and armed at (the lord's) summons in any of the places of the kingdom to which he may summon them or have them summoned with whatever service they owe, and (they should) remain there for as long as he shall have summoned them or shall have had them summoned — up to a year ; for one ought not to be summoned for longer than a year by the *assise* or *usage* of the kingdom of Jerusalem. And he who owes service of his body (*servise de cors*) and that of a knight or sergeant should perform his service anywhere in the kingdom, either with him or without him if he has been summoned as he should ([16]).

John then described the various forms that the service of counsel, *consilium* as opposed to *auxilium* or military service, could take, and concluded by mentioning three circumstances in which service was owed outside the kingdom : on the occasion of the king's marriage or that of any of his children, for the defence of the king's honour or faith, and for the evident need of the kingdom or the common profit of the land ([17]). Several points are noteworthy : military service could take the form of service as a knight or as a sergeant ; it could last up to a whole year ([18]) ; as men holding fiefs owing the service of more than one knight did not necessarily serve with the other members of their contingent, it would appear that a lord did not always serve in the host as commander of his own feudal retinue ; although service outside the kingdom had to be justifiable, the circumstances under which it could be owed were evidently open to wide interpretation. Behind all these aspects of service lay the assumption that military service would be performed, and performed in person.

(16) John of Ibelin, pp. 345-7 (following variant Ms. C).

(17) *Ibid.*, pp. 347-8.

(18) See also *La Clef des Assises de la Haute Cour du royaume de Jérusalem et de Chypre*, in *RHC Lois*, i, 598.

In view of the fact that by the second half of the thirteenth century there were numerous fiefs in England held by military tenure for which the holder would not ever have performed personal service, this assumption needs to be examined. The Latin Syrian legal writers of the period show clearly that in theory holders of fiefs burdened with *servise de cors* did perform their military services (19) ; indeed they even made withdrawal of personal service a sanction against a lord under the *Assise sur la ligece* (20). The most important piece of evidence for contemporary attitudes to military service is to be found in the depositions of 1271 in the dispute over whether the Cypriot knights owed service outside Cyprus (21). The dispute had arisen against the background of renewed Muslim advances at the expense of the Christian states on the mainland of Palestine and Syria. In the face of Baibar's major successes, King Hugh III had brought forces to Acre from Cyprus in 1265, 1266 (22), and probably in 1268 (23) and 1269, the year of his coronation as king of Jerusalem (24). In 1271 Hugh III again summoned his men, this time to join the Lord Edward who was then in the East on crusade, but, frightened perhaps by an abortive Mamluk raid on Limassol earlier that year (25) and concerned at the repeated summonses of the past few years to defend what by

(19) Besides the extract cited from John of Ibelin, see Geoffrey Le Tor, p. 436 ; Philip of Novara, pp. 510, 519, 520, 526, 531, 538-43, 552-3 ; John of Ibelin, pp. 24, 203, 211-12, 306, 356-9 ; James of Ibelin, *Livre*, in *RHC Lois*, i, 454-5, 457.

(20) Riley-Smith, *The Assise sur La Ligece*, p 183.

(21) *Document relatif au service militaire*, pp. 427-34. For confirmation of the date of the dispute, see Walter of Guisborough, *Chronica*, ed. H. Rothwell (London, 1957), p. 208. *L'estoire d'Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la Terre d'Outremer* in *RHC H[istoriens] Oc[cidentaux]*, ii, 462 wrongly gives the date as 1272.

(22) *Eracles*, ii, 450, 455 ; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, ed R. Rohricht and G Raynaud, *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, ii (1884), 452 ; *Les Gestes des Chiprois*, in *RHC Documents Armeniens*, ii, 759, 766.

(23) *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 453 ; Ibn al-Furāt, *Ayyubids, Mamlukes and Crusaders : Selections from the Tārīḫ al-Duwal wa'l Mulūk*, ed. and trans. U. and M. C. Lyons, with historical introduction and notes by J S. C. Riley-Smith (Cambridge, 1971), ii, 129-30, 232 ; *Chronique d'Amadi*, ed R. de Mas Latrie in *Chroniques d'Amadi et de Strambaldi* (Paris, 1891-3), i, 210

(24) *Eracles*, ii, 457 ; *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 454 , *Gestes*, pp. 772-3

(25) *Gestes*, pp. 777-8 ; Ibn al-Furāt, ii, 152-3.

then may have already seemed a lost cause, they objected. The Lord Edward agreed to arbitrate, and depositions were laid before him on the one hand, by King Hugh, and, on the other, by James of Ibelin, a son of John of Jaffa (26). Hugh asserted that the vassals owed service outside Cyprus by the terms of their enfeoffment and then listed a number of precedents on which such services had been enacted. James answered him point by point, denying that service could be owed outside the kingdom and alleging that when Cypriots had served abroad it was either as volunteers or because they were ignorant of their rights. At no point in his speech did James suggest that services were not owed within Cyprus, or that the system of feudal service was anachronistic and had ceased to function.

If Hugh could get his vassals to perform services outside Cyprus, there can be no doubt that services were owed and in fact performed in the island : though John of Jaffa's list of occasions on which they could be demanded abroad allowed a wide interpretation, he clearly implied that services at home were subject to even fewer restrictions. The question now arises as to whether the 1271 dispute shows that overseas military services were actually performed. Though some of the arguments which James of Ibelin used to challenge Hugh's use of historical precedents may well have been valid (27), his case was not convincing. His assertion that Cypriot feudatories could not be summoned to serve outside the island because the king had no right to demand 'service de mer' is unsupported (28), and the idea that service abroad must be illegal because Jerusalemite usage was derived from that of the West — from that of France in particular — and in the West service outside the borders of one's kingdom was unknown was

(26) For their relationship, see P. W. EDBURY, *The Ibelin counts of Jaffa : a previously unknown passage from the "Lignages d'Outremer"*, in *English Historical Review*, lxxxix (1974), 606.

(27) James's version of the circumstances of the Cypriot expeditions to Palestine in 1228 and 1231-2 (pp. 431-2 paras. 8-9, see p. 428 paras. 13-14) agrees with the account of these events as recorded by Philip of Novara. *Gestes*, pp. 681-2, 701-2.

(28) The *Assise de Belbeis*, an *assise* of King Amaury of Jerusalem, had laid down that a knight was not obliged to serve in a siege anywhere his horse could not carry him (*Gestes*, p. 721), but Hugh was not calling on his men to engage in naval battles, only to travel by ship to the scene of the campaign.

doubly erroneous : service abroad was claimed in the West (29), and in a recent judgement in Jerusalem which James would unquestionably have known about, a man whose case had rested partly on the contention that Latin Syrian law should follow French law had been overruled (30). As for the discussion of the precedents cited by Hugh, it is not easy to disentangle the conflicting statements of the two protagonists. But James was unable to conceal the fact that Hugh had succeeded in bringing his vassals to Acre following feudal summonses. James tried to cover himself by suggesting that they were ignorant of their rights, but this is unconvincing in view of his statement that the issue of feudal service abroad had been the subject of long debate (31). James's answer to Hugh's point that he confiscated the fief of a knight for failing to accompany the army to Syria following a summons is also inadequate : Hugh implied that the court had given judgement that the man was in default, thereby giving tacit acknowledgement of his right to summon abroad (32) ; James asserted that the man had commended his fief because he was too poor to perform the services demanded, and implied that because a lord held a man's fief for a year and a day following either commendation or default of service some confusion had arisen (33). But even if this were true, James did not explain why the knight found it preferable to surrender his fief for a year and a day rather than assert that the king had no right to summon him abroad and try to get his peers to support him in court.

Not only did Hugh bring feudal armies to Syria in the 1260s, but the compromise agreed in 1273 vindicated his right to continue to do so. By this agreement the Cypriots undertook to serve outside Cyprus, either in the Kingdom of Jerusalem or elsewhere in the East, for four months provided that the king or his son should lead them (34). This

(29) Bishop Subbs pointed out (*The Medieval Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia*, in *Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Medieval and Modern History* (Oxford, 1886), p. 179) that by summoning his knights abroad, Hugh III was only doing what the Lord Edward was himself to do in 1297.

(30) See *Documents relatifs à la successibilité*, pp. 404, 408, 411, 414-15, cf. pp. 406, 409-10, 413.

(31) *Document relatif au service militaire*, pp. 432-3 (para. 13, see para. 12).

(32) *Ibid.*, p. 429 (para. 20).

(33) *Ibid.*, p. 433 (paras. 16-18). See Philip of Novara, pp. 520, 555, 556-7.

(34) *Eracles*, ii, 463-4 ; Marino Sanudo, *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis*, ed.

compromise appears to have settled what was almost certainly the real point at issue : not whether services abroad were owed, but whether the king could insist on his full theoretical rights, thereby placing a greater burden on his vassals than they could reasonably be expected to bear. John of Jaffa, as has been seen, indicated that service could be exacted for as much as a year at a time. Unquestionably this was a far heavier burden than was normal in the West (35), and, although the practical impossibility of continuous mobilization had been recognized in the East since the first decades of the twelfth century (36), the agreement of 1273 is the earliest evidence for any formal reduction of this liability (37). It is to be assumed that lords did not normally exact anything approaching their theoretical rights, and that the dispute of 1271 followed a period in which demands for services had been heavier than usual. Marino Sanudo recorded a curious postscript : in 1279 Hugh III attempted to re-occupy Acre, then held by the Angevins, but his Cypriot vassals frustrated the expedition by leaving after four months (38) ; military service was being exacted, but under the terms of the compromise of 1273.

The amount of direct evidence for the continuing exaction of military services in Cyrpus in the fourteenth century is slender. For example, it is known that in the early part of the century at least, grants of fiefs owing services were still being made (39), but, on the

J. Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (Hanover, 1611), ii, 225. See *Annales Ecclesiastici*, ed. C. Baronius and O. Raynaldus, new ed. by A. Theiner (Bar-le-Duc/Paris, 1864-83), 1273 para. 36.

(35) See J. L. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 1100 to 1291* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932), pp. 141-4 ; Cahen, p. 529 ; R. C. Smail, *Crusading Warfare (1097-1193)* (Cambridge, 1956), p. 98.

(36) See Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg, 1913), p. 763 (s.a. 1125).

(37) By the second quarter of the fourteenth century the obligation to serve abroad seems to have been further reduced to three months in the year. *Formules*, in *RHC Lois*, ii, 385.

(38) Marino Sanudo, p. 228. See L. de Mas Latrie, *Histoire de l'île de Chypre sous le règne des princes de la maison de Lusignan* (Paris, 1852-61), ii, 131. It should be noted that the other sources for Hugh's attempt on Acre make no mention of the departure of the knights after four months. *Annales de Terre Sainte*, p. 457 ; *Gestes*, p. 784 ; *Amadi*, p. 214.

(39) *Texte officiel de l'allocution adressée par les barons de Chypre au roi Henri*

other hand, there is no information as to the terms under which Cypriot vassals served in the campaigns of Peter I in the 1360s. The grounds for believing that feudal *servise de cors* continued as an effective institution into the fourteenth century are based on the account of just one incident: in 1373 the Genoese invaded Cyprus, captured Famagusta and with it the young king, Peter II; Leontios Makhairas, the principal narrator of these events, recorded how that in November,

> The king sent, and the knights and many more of the vassals were summoned to come from Nicosia to Famagusta, with their horses and their weapons and the men to do the service which was owed for their fief: and at the king's command they started off and came to him (40).

If Leontios is to be believed, then surely we have here the description of a feudal summons. Many of the men who responded were promptly arrested by the Genoese, while others who set out in answer to it realized what was happening and turned back (41). A list of some sixty men who were held in prison in Famagusta in 1374 has been preserved, and it is likely that many of them were the same who had fallen into the hands of the Genoese when they answered the summons of the previous year (42). Although there is no way of knowing which of the men whose names appear in the document were arrested then, and which were seized at other stages in the invasion, it is perhaps significant that the list contains a number of the most prominent Cypriot vassals and many members of families long established in the Latin East.

The evidence adduced so far indicates that the military service which was owed for fiefs was not merely a part of a tidy, theoretical system of feudal relationships which existed only in the writings of the feudal jurists of the late thirteenth century, but was a contemporary

II de Lusignan pour lui notifier sa déchéance, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, *Revue des questions historiques*, xliii (1888), 538

(40) Leontios MAKHAIRAS, *Recital concerning the Sweet land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle'*, ed. and trans. R. M. Dawkins (Oxford, 1932), i, para. 418.

(41) *Ibid.*, paras. 418, 420, 422.

(42) *Nouvelles preuves de l'histoire de Chypre*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie, *BEC*, xxxiv (1873), 80-84. The list has clearly been altered to include others who were later taken to Genoa as exiles or hostages. For a comparable list see Leontios MAKHAIRAS, i, para. 542.

reality. Not only did Cypriot vassals, and it may be assumed those of Jerusalem as well, perform services in the 1260s and 1270s, but the institution of the feudal *auxilium* appears to have survived in Cyprus until at least the latter part of the fourteenth century.

II

In the passages quoted above, both John of Jaffa and Leontios Makhairas indicated that military services were to be performed by knights and by other categories of fighting men as well. But there is no question that the most important form of service was knight service. What distinguished 'servise de ... cors come chevalier' (43), from other types of service was the knight's arms and equipment. John of Jaffa gave a detailed description of the knight's armour in the mid-thirteenth century (44) : he wore a hauberk, a helmet with a vizor (45), and iron leg pieces ; he carried a lance, sword and shield ; the horse was protected by an iron head piece and mail to guard its legs and flanks. The number of mounts that a knight had to provide himself with seems to have varied but could be as many as four (46). From the 'Livre au Roi' it would seem that a vassal who failed to equip himself properly was liable to have his fief confiscated (47). Other fief-holders owed service as sergeants or turcopoles. A sergeant was either a foot soldier, or, from the late twelfth century, a mounted warrior ; with the development of heavier armour and notions of a noble caste, the term 'knight' became restricted to the wealthier, better-armed cavalry, and contemporaries found it necessary to distinguish the latter from the more lightly-armed mounted men, the *sergens à cheval* (48). It is likely

(43) *Document relatif au service militaire*, p. 430.

(44) John of Ibelin, pp. 170-71. The description is *à propos* the armour for appeal of battle in cases other than homicide, but it is clear from this passage and from the remarks of other writers (Philip of Novara, p. 485 ; *Clef*, p. 589) that this was the normal equipment at this period. From fourteenth-century tomb stones it would appear that by then plate armour was in use in Cyprus. T. J. Chamberlayne, *Lacrimae Nicossienses. Recueil d'inscriptions funéraires, la plupart françaises existant encore dans l'île de Chypre* (Paris, 1894), plates xviii, xxviii.

(45) For a knight with a vizer-less helmet (1229), see *Gestes*, p. 689.

(46) See Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 8, n. 43 (p. 236).

(47) *Livre au Roi*, p. 613.

(48) See Small, pp. 107, 110-11.

that the class of vassals who owed *servise de cors* as sergeants served mounted. In what is one of the earliest references to them in the East, it was recorded that at the time of the Latin settlement of Cyprus Guy of Lusignan enfeoffed two hundred *sergens à cheval* (49). At about the same period mounted sergeants who were liege men were known to the author of the 'Livre au Roi' (50), and in the thirteenth century mounted sergeants constituted an important section of the feudal military resources of the lordship of Arsur (51). But, as Philip of Novara made clear, it was the terms of service that distinguished feudal knights and sergeants; the rules governing the succession to their fiefs and the other conditions of their tenure were the same (52). Like the *sergens à cheval*, turcopoles were *equites levis armaturae* (53), and it is possible that the terms *sergens à cheval* and 'turcopole' came to be used interchangeably. One version of the account of the Latin settlement of Cyprus described turcopoles being enfeoffed where the other versions mentioned sergeants (54), and, indeed, what appears to be a fief-holding turcopole is found in a Cypriot charter of 1197 (55). On the other hand, there is a reference in 1306 to turcopoles who are differentiated from 'homini ligii fanti ha cavallo' (56), an expression which presumably is to be understood as meaning liege *sergens à cheval*. The turcopoles enfeoffed in the 1190s were to serve protected by a hauberk and with two mounts (57), and as a class of feudatories they continued to exist in the early fourteenth century (58).

(49) *Eracles*, ii, 188-9 (variant mss.); *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, ed. L. de Mas Latrie (Paris, 1871), p. 287.

(50) *Livre au Roi*, p. 613.

(51) *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx (Paris, 1894-1906), no. 2985.

(52) Philip of Novara, pp. 542-3, and see pp. 515, 519.

(53) William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *RHC HOc*, i, 925, 1097. See Smail, pp. 111-12.

(54) *Eracles*, ii, 192, cf. 188-9 (variant mss.). Describing events of 1231, Philip de Novara mentioned turcopoles and *valès à cheval* (*Gestes*, p. 700) whereas in the corresponding passage the author of *Eracles* (ii, 386) spoke of *sergens à cheval*.

(55) Mas Latrie, *Histoire*, III, 607.

(56) *Amadi*, p. 252. For another possible example of a passage in which they are differentiated, see *Eracles*, ii, 322. The historians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries never otherwise mention more than one type of lightly-armed mounted men below the rank of knight on any one occasion.

(57) *Eracles*, ii, 192.

(58) See *Amadi*, p. 264.

Many fief-holders held fiefs owing the service of just one knight, sergeant or turcopole, and under normal circumstances would have been expected to perform that service in person. A list of the *servitia debita* of the Kingdom of Jerusalem dating from the eve of the battle of Hattin shows that in the 1180s the occupants of the greatest lordships could owe as many as a hundred knights, while on the royal domain there were several examples of vassals owing between two and ten knights (59). From other evidence it is known that some vassals had to provide both knights and sergeants or turcopoles (60). For those feudatories with fiefs burdened with the service of more than one fighting man, the solution to the problem of how to make up the *servitium debitum* was either subinfeudation or the use of mercenaries. There were limits placed upon the proportion of a fief which could be subinfeudated (61), and partly for that reason, and partly, no doubt, for more general considerations of convenience, the practice of employing mercenaries, *compaignons*, was common (62). Some mercenary knights were evidently immigrants from the West who hoped to receive the grant of a fief or the opportunity to marry an heiress. In 1153 both Raynald of Châtillon and Walter of St. Omer were said to have served as mercenaries on Baldwin III's expedition to Ascalon (63). That same year Raynald, described by William of Tyre on this occasion as 'quidam stipendarius miles', married Constance of Antioch (64), and by 1159 Walter was lord of Tiberias (65). Gerard of

(59) John of Ibelin, pp. 422-6. See Smail, pp. 89-90 ; J. Prawer, *La noblesse et le régime féodal du royaume latin de Jérusalem*, in *Le moyen âge*, lxv (1959), 58-9. The list clearly pre-dates 1187, and could post-date May 1185. See J. Richard, *Les listes des seigneuries dans 'Le livre de Jean d'Ibelin'. Recherches sur l'Assebebe et Mimars*, in *RHDFE*, sér. 4, xxxii (1954), 570, n. 15. For fluctuations in the *servitia debita* with a possible example of a substantial reduction in the thirteenth century, see Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 9.

(60) John of Ibelin, p. 346. For an example of a fief in Antioch burdened with the service of one knight and one turcopole, see *Inventaire des pièces de Terre Saînte de l'ordre de l'Hôpital*, ed. J. Delaville Le Roulx, in *Revue de l'Orient latin*, iii (1895), no. 167.

(61) See below, p. 346

(62) See Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 9.

(63) William of Tyre, p. 796.

(64) *Ibid.*, p. 802.

(65) *Regsta Regni Hierosolymitani*, compiled R. Röhricht (Innsbruck, 1893-1904), no. 336. See William of Tyre, p. 790. Walter's rights to Tiberias were

Ridefort, later master of the Temple, came East and served both King Amaury and Raymond III of Tripoli as a mercenary; allegedly Raymond held out the prospect of marrying him to an heiress in Tripoli and when the marriage failed to materialise, Gerard and he quarrelled (66). Named mercenaries are comparatively rare in our sources, but it seems that another important group were those drawn from the ranks of noble families already established in the East. Writing of events in Cyprus in 1306-1310, the author of the so-called 'Chronique d'Amadi', a history now only known in an Italian translation, mentioned some thirty-five mercenary knights by name of whom about two thirds were evidently related to Cypriot feudatories (67). Presumably these men were either the sons of fief-holders or members of cadet branches of feudal families. In many cases they were probably employed by the crown, but some would have served as *compaignons* to relatives or other associates who held fiefs owing more than one knight.

Not all fiefs were burdened with *servise de cors*. Some were held in sergeantry, this is for a menial, non-military service (68), while others were free of service altogether. It is likely that in some instances a *fié franc* dated from the time of the Latin conquest (69), but John of Jaffa admitted the possibility that a lord might deliberately make a grant of a fief with no services attached (70). Thus in 1310 it was agreed that Hugh, son of Amaury of Tyre, 'should be free, quit and immune from performing personal service on account of the aforesaid fiefs (those inherited from his father and Khrysokhou which was then being gran-

evidently acquired by his marriage to the heiress, Eschiva of Bures, who continued to hold the lordship after his death.

(66) *Eracles*, ii, 50-52. The ambition of mercenaries to receive fiefs is alluded to by Leontios Makhairas (i, para. 79) in his description of events in Cyprus in the 1340s.

(67) *Amadi*, pp. 259, 264, 266, 269, 275, 294, 337, see p. 386. See also *Gestes*, p. 871. Among the families represented were Antioch, La Baume, Brie, Costa, Floury, Gibelet, Mainbœuf, Mimars, Montgisard, Montolif.

(68) See RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 4-5.

(69) For a use of this term by a thirteenth-century jurist, see JOHN OF IBELIN, p. 399. See PRAWER, *Les premiers temps*, pp. 413-14, 417-18; RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 7.

(70) JOHN OF IBELIN, pp. 215-16.

ted him) for as long as he shall live' (71). In a narrative account of the events of the same year we are told that Philip of Ibelin, count of Jaffa and one of the wealthiest Cypriot vassals, held his fiefs free (72). It is almost certain that such exemptions were rare ; exactly how commonly lesser nobles would have held their fiefs free from service is unknown, but there is no doubt that two other leading Cypriot vassals of the early fourteenth century, Hugh of Lusignan, later Hugh IV, and Balian of Ibelin, prince of Galilee, did owe feudal services (73).

Not every fief-holder owed service as a knight ; not every man who fought equipped as a knight held a fief. Use was made of both feudal and mercenary knights, and also of both feudal and mercenary sergeants. It is likely that sometimes knights would have served not for pay, nor in response to a feudal summons, but as volunteers, perhaps as crusaders or simply in the hope of winning booty on campaign and obtaining favours subsequently from their lords (74). Those feudatories who owed more than the service of one man could have made up their *servitium debitum* either with rear vassals or with mercenaries hired at their expense, but their retinues may well have included relatives and household retainers. Writing of events in Cyprus in 1232, Philip of Novara gave a portrait of the composition of a lord's military following. At the time of the battle of Aghirda, Balian of Ibelin was excommunicate, and his father, as overall commander of the royalist forces, removed him from his usual command for that reason. Despite his excommunication and his father's action, Balian was accompanied into battle by five knights :

> Of these five, one was Philip of Novara and another Raymond of Flace ; these two were his vassals and held from him ; Peter of Montolif was a third, a mercenary high in his favour, and the other two were Robert of Maumeni and Odo of La Fierté whom he had brought up and made a knight (75).

(71) C. PERRAT, *Un diplomate gascon au XIVe siècle : Raymond de Piis, nonce de Clément V en Orient*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'Ecole française de Rome*, xliv (1927), 80. See *Amadi*, p. 373.

(72) *Amadi*, p. 385. For the family's wealth, see MAS LATRIE, *Histoire*, ii, 215 ; EDBURY, *Ibelin counts*, p. 606.

(73) *Texte officiel*, p. 538 ; *Amadi*, p. 385.

(74) See *Document relatif au service militaire*, pp. 430-34.

(75) *Gestes*, p. 715.

In trying to obtain a picture of the mounted section of the field army of the thirteenth century, we have also to remember the frequent participation of contingents from the Military Orders and, especially after the middle of the century, from the foreign forces in the East such as the French garrison at Acre (76). Rulers had no part in the recruitment of the armies of the Military Orders or the foreign garrisons ; as for their own armies, while it is clear that *servise de cors* remained important, other forms of recruitment existed along side the feudal summons.

III

We have seen that feudal *servise de cors* still flourished in the 1260s and apparently survived in Cyprus until the latter part of the fourteenth century. If the thirteenth-century jurists are to be believed, the reasons for this survival lay partly in the terms under which fiefs were held. A fief would have had to be valuable enough to provide a livelihood for the holder and his family and to equip him to perform the amount of service due. Naturally a lord would not want to find that his vassal had alienated so much of his fief that what was left could no longer support his military obligations, and so alienation in *mortmain* was forbidden (77), and division or subinfeudation had to be accompanied by a corresponding division of services. The proportion of a fief that could be subinfeudated was limited, although the jurists were uncertain as to the extent of this limitation : a man had either to keep more than half his fief in his own hands, or at least retain a larger portion than that held by any one of his feoffees (78). As a rule fiefs could not be divided so that a new division owed only a fraction of the service of a knight or sergeant, although when a fief owing several knights was divided among heiresses fractionalisation was

(76) For the French garrison, see J. RICHARD, *Le royaume latin de Jérusalem* (Paris, 1953), pp. 297-9. For an example of its participation on campaign (1266), *Eracles*, ii, 455.

(77) Except with the lord's permission. See Philip OF NOVARA, pp. 530-31. See also John OF IBELIN, pp. 215-16.

(78) Philip OF NOVARA, pp. 553-4 ; John OF IBELIN, pp. 284-5. See RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 12-13.

allowed if the services could not otherwise be apportioned equally (79). Normally a fief owing the service of only one knight could not be divided at all (80), the only exception being for purposes of dower when the division would not be permanent. Furthermore, fiefs or parts of fiefs could not be sold except in cases of insolvency, and only then to someone of knightly status approved by the lord (81). In practice it may be assumed that fief-holders tried to circumvent these provisions : Julian of Sidon leased his lordship to the Templars, but King Hugh III later insisted that he perform services supported out of his income from the Order (82) ; fief-holders evidently tried to alienate feudal properties in towns by claiming that they were non-feudal *bourgesies*, a category of property which could be bought and sold freely (83). That fractionalized fiefs existed is plain from Philip of Novarra, but his only mention of them was in his discussion of the partition of fiefs among heiresses (84).

In addition to the rules which were designed to preserve the fief in its entirety and so guarantee the ability of the feudatory to perform services, there were others which ensured that the service would be performed even if the holder of the fief was unable to do it in person. A fief-holder who was an unmarried woman had to employ a mercenary (85) ; in a minority the services were the responsibility of the *bailli* (86) ; a man who inherited two separate fiefs each owing *servise de cors* had to provide a *compaignon* to make up the total *servitium debitum*, and on his death the fiefs would pass to two of his heirs instead of both going to his eldest heir (87) ; a man who was over sixty

(79) Philip of Novara, pp. 542-3. See John of Ibelin, p. 224

(80) Philip of Novara, p. 554 ; John of Ibelin, p. 284.

(81) *Livre au Roi*, pp. 638-9 ; Philip of Novara, pp. 500-501 ; John of Ibelin, pp. 288-94.

(82) Philip of Novara, pp 530-31.

(83) See J. Prawer, *The 'Assise de Teneure' and the 'Assise de Vente' : A Study of Landed Property in the Latin Kingdom*, in *Economic History Review*, ser. 2, iv (1951), 81-7. Prawer probably overestimated the effectiveness of Henry II of Cyprus's ordinance of 1297 to curb this abuse.

(84) Philip of Novara, pp. 542-3.

(85) *Ibid.*, p. 559.

(86) John of Ibelin, p. 281.

(87) Philip of Novara, pp. 538-41 ; John of Ibelin, pp. 223-4. See E. Meynial, *De quelques particularités des successions féodales dans les Assises de Jérusalem*, in *RHDFE*, xvi (1892), 409-20.

or disabled had to place his horse and arms at his lord's disposal (88).

These rules for the preservation of fiefs and the *servitium debitum*, which are known principally from the writings of the feudal jurists, underline the point that in theory military service was expected. The fact that they existed, however, does not in itself prove that services were exacted, any more than it proves that the rules themselves were adhered to. But it may be surmised that they were reasonably effective, if only because the performance of military services survived comparatively late in the Latin East. Two other factors help explain this survival : the absence of commutation of services and the level of feudal incidents.

There is no evidence that kings of Jerusalem or of Cyprus ever allowed their vassals to commute their military services to a money payment. As has recently been pointed out, this is particularly striking when it is remembered that the commutation of agricultural rents in kind was common in the East (89). In England the proliferation of fractionalized knight's fees was unquestionably stimulated by commutation in the form of the institution known as *scutage*. In the East fractionalization of fiefs was severely restricted ; in the absence of evidence to the contrary, it seems that this restriction was effective, and perhaps the comparative absence of fractional fiefs should be seen as a symptom of the absence of commutation. A man who wished to avoid performing *servise de cors* and could not arrange for a substitute to serve in his place had one of two courses open to him : he could commend his fief to his lord — and the lord could refuse to accept a fief in commendation if military needs were pressing — or he could simply fail to answer summons. In either case the vassal lost his fief, probably his only source of income, for a year and a day, and so neither alternative was attractive (90). If then there was no established method of commuting military service, a lord either exacted the service on pain of temporary confiscation, or received nothing from his

(88) John of Ibelin, pp. 358-9, see p. 362. See *Livre au Roi*, p. 641.

(89) Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 38-9.

(90) Philip of Novara, pp. 520, 556-7 ; John of Ibelin, pp. 282-3, 306, 392-3. If a man refused to answer summons when his lord's lands were under attack or if he insisted on commending his fief by abandoning it to his lord under similar circumstances, the lands were forfeit for life.

vassal for the fiefs he held from him. Consequently it was all the more important for the lord to be able to get his men to perform their services.

In feudal societies in the West, the lord was entitled not only to the services owed by the vassals for their fiefs but to certain other rights over the fiefs themselves. These rights, usually described collectively as feudal incidents, gave the lord a share in the financial returns of the lands or rents held by feudal tenure, and could be valuable. But although John of Jaffa wrote of the homage, services and 'totes les autres redevances que le fié deit' (91), it is clear from the thirteenth-century jurists that feudal incidents in Cyprus and Jerusalem were limited. There is no evidence for relief, the payment levied when an heir entered his feudal inheritance (92); similarly, as the son or daughter of a fief-holder who had died could, if he or she were of age, enter their father's fief without reference to the lord (93), it would appear that, in those circumstances at least, the lord had no right of *primer seisin*. Neither was wardship, or, to use the term current in the East, *bailliage*, of heirs under age the prerogative of the lord. The surviving parent brought up the heir and held his fiefs; if there was no surviving parent, the fiefs were administered by the closest adult heir, while the person of the minor was entrusted to a relative on the other side of the family. Only in the absence of a surviving parent or an adult heir did the lord have the right to take the wardship for himself (94).

In sharp contrast, a lord had the right to control the marriages of all women between the ages of twelve and sixty (95) who held fiefs or the *bailliage* of fiefs owing *servise de cors* (96). The justification for this institution, known as *servise de mariage*, was primarily that a

(91) John of Ibelin, p. 222.

(92) See Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 38 and n. 116 (p. 247). For relief in Antioch, see Cahen, p. 532.

(93) Philip of Novara, p. 494.

(94) *Ibid.*, pp. 494-5; John of Ibelin, pp. 261-7; James of Ibelin, p. 461. See Riley-Smith, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 38.

(95) For the age limits, see Philip of Novara, p. 559; John of Ibelin, p. 362.

(96) John of Ibelin, pp. 267, 279-82; James of Ibelin, p. 467. A widow was not required to perform *servise de mariage* for her dower portion.

suitable man could be found to perform services for a fief held by an heiress or a widow (97). *Servise de mariage* was, as the terminology suggests, regarded as a type of service : the procedures for summons and the showing of essoins were similar to those for military service (98) ; failure to perform *servise de mariage* was punishable, as was failure to perform *servise de cors*, by loss of fief for a year and a day, and failure to answer summons was also punishable by loss of fief for a year and a day (99). According to John, the 'Old Lord' of Beirut, John of Jaffa and Philip of Novara, marriage without permission was punishable by loss of fief for the duration of the marriage, but according to the author of the 'Livre au Roi' and Balian of Sidon, for life (100). The procedure for *servise de mariage* was straightforward : the woman was summoned to appear in the High Court where she was given a choice of three potential husbands ; a widow could not be summoned within a year and a day of her previous husband's death ; the prospective husbands had to be peers of the woman, or, in the case of a widow, of her former husband (101). The most celebrated example of the disparagement of a widow was the attempt of Peter I of Cyprus to marry Maria of Gibelet to an artisan (102). The ill-feeling caused by this incident led directly to Peter's murder in 1369, and in the *remède* enacted immediately after the murder it was ordained that the lord needed the approval of the woman's next of kin for the candidates for her hand ; this would appear to mark a reduction in his

(97) John of Ibelin, p. 348.

(98) Philip of Novara, p. 559 ; John of Ibelin, pp. 359-61 ; *Formules*, p. 389. See Leontios Makhairas, i, para. 277.

(99) Thus John of Ibelin, p. 361. Philip of Novara (p. 559) stated that in the event of failure to answer summons, the lord held the fief until the woman performed *servise*. Failure by a widow to do *servise de mariage* for the *bailliage* of her child's fief resulted in the loss of her dower as well as the fiefs held in *bailliage*. John of Ibelin, p. 282.

(100) *Livre au Roi*, p. 627 ; Philip of Novara, pp. 559-60 ; John of Ibelin, p. 365. Ralph of Tiberias argued that the penalty should be loss of fief for a year and a day. If the husband was a vassal of the same lord and had entered his wife's fief, he could be appealed for breach of faith. John of Ibelin, pp. 366-9. See *Livre au Roi*, p. 627.

(101) *Livre au Roi*, pp. 626-7, 628 ; Philip of Novara, p. 559 ; John of Ibelin, p. 359. See *Bans et Ordonnances*, p. 379.

(102) See G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940-52), ii, 364.

rights (103). The relatives had always been able to demand that the lord should summon an heiress to marry, a provision which seems to have been intended to prevent a lord who held the *bailliage* of the heiress's fief keeping her unmarried and thereby prolonging his enjoyment of her income (104). The careers of Beatrice of Courtenay and Isabella of Ibelin, lady of Beirut, show that on occasion heiresses did avoid *servise de mariage* (105), but it can be assumed that normally a king or lord could control marriages, and this gave both political and financial advantages. John of Jaffa mentioned financial incentives offered the lord by the relatives of an heiress to induce him to allow her to marry the man of their choice (106), and the way in which Henry II of Cyprus reserved his rights over a limited number of marriages in 1306 and 1310 at the same time as his income was agreed suggests that the profits were considerable (107).

There remain the incidents known as feudal aids. The jurists mention only one circumstance in which a lord could impose an aid on his vassals' fiefs : a one per cent levy to pay his ransom should he be captured, and this could only be applied if the sum required could not be raised from the lord's property or by loans (108). The insignificance of this obligation is placed in perspective when it is remembered that there is no evidence for tenants-in-chief in Cyprus or Jerusalem ever being called upon to tax themselves in this way to ransom their king. On the other hand, there is evidence for taxation in the form of aids taken from fiefs both in Jerusalem in 1183 when the rate was two per cent and in Cyprus from 1289 (109).

If the level of feudal incidents was limited, and, with the exception of the returns from *servise de mariage*, the profits accruing small, the value to the lord of lands and fief-rents held from him in feudal tenure would have lain predominantly in the services owed. Furthermore, if services were not commuted to money payments, the im-

(103) *Bans et Ordonnances*, p. 379. See RICHARD, *La révolution de 1369*, pp. 110-11.

(104) John OF IBELIN, pp. 264-6.

(105) See RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 28, 147, 224.

(106) John OF IBELIN, p. 264.

(107) *Texte officiel*, p. 539 ; *Amadi*, p. 329 see p. 302.

(108) John OF IBELIN, p. 397.

(109) William OF TYRE, p. 1111 ; *Texte officiel*, p. 535.

plication would be that the performance of the *servitium debitum* was normally all a lord exacted. Thus rulers would have had a strong incentive to preserve the system of feudal services, and this partly explains the regulations designed to keep fiefs and therefore services intact. Similarly, if the burden of incidents on the vassals was light, there would have been less incentive for them to devise methods of avoiding them along the lines of the English system of feoffment to use. It can therefore be suggested that the level of feudal incidents in the East was a factor which helped preserve feudal tenure and services.

IV

There can be no disguising the fact that for our knowledge of the rules for preserving fiefs in their entirety, our knowledge of the provisions for ensuring that services would be performed, and our knowledge of the extent to which a lord could profit from feudal incidents, we are dependent almost exclusively on the writings of the feudal jurists of the second half of the thirteenth century. These writers rarely disagreed with each other on these issues, although frequently one might give details on a particular point which were ignored by the others. They were also broadly in agreement with the much earlier 'Livre au Roi' (*c.* 1197-1205) ([110]), a work which unfortunately left many aspects of feudal law unmentioned. The measure of unanimity among the later thirteenth-century jurists is a pointer both to the accuracy of their descriptions of legal conventions and to the fact that individual conventions were well established at the time their treatises were written. The jurists, however, only tell us what the law was in theory, or what, in their view, the law should have been, and there is every reason to assume that in practice evasion of particular rules or exemptions from certain obligations were not unusual: as has already been mentioned, Julian of Sidon alienated his lordships to a Military Order and there are two known examples of heiresses

(110) For example, the regulations governing *servise de mariage*, the position of a man who inherited two fiefs, and the sale of feudal property (pp. 626-8, 633-4, 638-40) were similar. On the other hand, the obligations of a knight over sixty or disabled (p 641) were not the same as those described by John of Ibelin (pp. 358-9).

avoiding *servise de mariage* (111). How vigorously the law as described by the jurists was applied is impossible to assess, but we can assume that their account of it provides at least the theoretical basis from which practice deviated.

The picture that emerges of feudal institutions in the thirteenth century is one in which the military services owed for fiefs were performed — this is independently attested — while the fiscal potentialities of the fief — commutation of services, feudal incidents — were not much exploited; the tenurial system was geared to perpetuating this arrangement. The question that must now be asked is what of the period between the foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the time the jurists were writing? how did these feudal institutions develop and what can be said of their origins?

In certain instances it is known that individual aspects of feudal convention were modified during the century and a half following the capture of Jerusalem. In particular, there seem to have been important changes in the regulations governing *servise de mariage* and in those concerned with the succession to fiefs. Philip of Novara stated that originally there had been no seigneurial right to control the marriage of heiresses who could thus marry whom and when they chose; the lord subsequently took full control of marriages, and the system described by Philip and the others emerged as a compromise designed to allow some influence to the woman's relatives (112). If this account of the development of the institution is true, then what was to become the only appreciable incident of feudal tenure did not exist for some time after the conquest. The position of heiresses was further changed in the twelfth century by the introduction of the rule that, in default of a male heir, a fief would be divided among sisters with the services shared proportionately; previously the eldest heiress had inherited the entire fief. According to the thirteenth-century sources, this change was made on the advice of Count Stephen of Sancerre who is known

(111) See above p. 347. Another probable example of an unsactioned alienation to a Military Order was Balian of Arsur's transfer of Arsur to the Hospitallers. See RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, p. 224. For the enforcement of *servise de mariage*, see the remarks of Balian of Sidon. Philip OF NOVARA, p. 560. See also CAHEN, pp. 608-9. For an exemption from *servise de mariage*, see MAS LATRIE, *Histoire*, ii, 148.

(112) Philip OF NOVARA, pp. 558-9. See PRAWER, *La noblesse*, pp. 51, 56.

to have been in the East in 1171 ([113]). There were at least two other changes in the laws of succession in the twelfth century : whereas in the thirteenth a man who inherited two separate fiefs each burdened with *servise de cors* could enjoy both of them but had to provide *compaignons* to make up the requisite *servitium debitum* and on his death the fiefs passed to two of his heirs instead of being both inherited by his eldest son, previously the lord could take one of the fiefs into his own hands and after his vassal's death bestow it upon a younger child or any of his other descendants ([114]). The date of this change is unknown, but it evidently occurred in the twelfth century as the thirteenth-century arrangement was known to the author of the 'Livre au Roi' ([115]). The other change concerned a more basic principle of inheritance. In Jerusalem fiefs were granted either to the first holder and all his heirs, or to the first holder and the heirs descended from himself and his espoused wife only. The latter condition restricted the number of possible heirs by excluding collaterals, and by limiting the possible heirs a lord would have had a far greater expectation of recovering the fief, either permanently through the failure of heirs, or temporarily due to the minority of the heir and the absence of a parent or another potential heir who could hold the *bailliage*. It is clear that the practice of granting fiefs to a man and all his heirs was superseded in Jerusalem during the twelfth century by the more restrictive form of enfeoffment : grants to a man and his heirs by his espoused wife only are first found in 1152, and as all enfeoffments in Cyprus were on this basis it appears that the older practice had completely died out by the 1190s ([116]). But the continuing development of feudal law was not a feature solely of the twelfth century. Philip of

(113) Philip of Novara, pp. 542-3. For Stephen see *Documents relatifs à la successibilité*, pp. 408, 409 ; Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, ed. R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I* (RS 82), iv, 249 ; William of Tyre, p. 988. Henry Le Buffle, after whose death the first division among heiresses was said to have been made, is last known in 1165. *Reg. Hier.*, no. 412. See also *Les Lignages d'Outremer*, in *RHC Lois*, ii, 454.

(114) Philip of Novara, p. 538.

(115) *Livre au Roi*, pp. 633-4.

(116) *Ibid.*, p. 643 ; Philip of Novara, pp. 504, 537 ; John of Ibelin, p. 235. For the earliest examples of grants to the first holder and his espoused wife, see Prawer, *La noblesse*, pp. 62-3.

Novara noted that it was not until after the Ibelin-Longobard war (1229-1233) that children of traitors born before their fathers' treachery lost their rights to their ancestral fiefs; previously only children born after the offence were disinherited in consequence of their father's guilt (117).

In the light of our knowledge of feudal military services and the associated aspects of tenurial law in the thirteenth century and also of these examples of changes in feudal institutions, it is now possible to put forward a hypothesis about the period in which these institutions first took shape and the circumstances which influenced their development. There can be no doubt that notions of feudal dependence and the idea of the feudal contract involving the holding of a fief in return for service were introduced to the East with the conquest, and were strengthened by waves of immigration from the West in the years immediately following it. The critical period for the establishment of the framework of feudal law was thus the opening decades of the twelfth century, and two features of this period, both abundantly illustrated by the narrative sources, should be regarded as having had a profound influence: the shortage of man-power and the continuous state of warfare (118).

The shortage of troops and their almost constant deployment dictated that a knight who came to the East could expect to receive a heritable fief for his service, and that a ruler would be willing and able to pay that price in order to acquire permanent military settlers to defend his expanding frontiers. Rulers were dependent partly on the feudal host, partly on mercenaries and partly on pilgrim armies, and of these it was the feudal troops who formed 'the backbone of the army of the Latin kingdom' (119). Pilgrim armies, however valuable on a particular campaign, were transitory and not always amenable to royal control (120); mercenaries are known from this period, but seem

(117) Philip of Novara, p. 498.

(118) See for example, Fulcher of Chartres, pp. 388, 563. See also Prawer, *La noblesse*, pp. 42-4. For the wider effects of the continuous warfare on Frankish society, see C. Cahen, *La féodalité et les institutions politiques de l'Orient latin*, in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei fondazione Alessandro Volta. Atti dei convegni*, xii (1957), 173-4.

(119) La Monte, p. 158; Smail, pp. 23, 88.

(120) See Smail, pp. 94-5.

to have been less common than later; they required ready cash, a commodity which was not always available, and yet lacked a stake in the well-being of the Kingdom ([121]). Perhaps mercenary knights were few for the simple reason that any knight worth employing and who intended to stay in the East could obtain a fief. If mercenary knights were hard to find, this could explain why an ordinary knight who inherited two fiefs was not thought capable at first of serving with a *compaignon* and so was relieved of the military responsibilities (and income) of one of them ([122]). Kings and lords were not only prepared to enfeoff knights, but were prepared to do so on generous terms both to induce knights to settle and to outbid other lords who also needed to attract followers. Provided that the all-important military service was forthcoming, they were prepared to surrender much that was becoming customary in various places in the West. If a vassal left a son to carry on his father's service, the last thing the lord would want to do would be to discourage him from remaining in the East by making him buy back his patrimony: therefore, no relief and no *primer seisin*. Similarly, who looked after a minor heir and his fief or who decided who an heiress should marry was irrelevant as long as the *servitium debitum* was performed. Service, not financial profit, was what was wanted from fiefs, and it is scarcely surprising that no tradition of commutation of services developed. The rules governing the succession to fiefs were designed to attract settlers and were biased towards the provision of able-bodied knights. Grants to a man and all his heirs could, it has been argued, serve to encourage collaterals still in the West to come East ([123]). The fact that fiefs passed to the closest heir of the last in seisin and not to the representative heir would have tended to produce heirs who were more likely to be already of age ([124]). That women could inherit feudal property may have been intended as an incentive to settle, as the idea that a hard-won fief would continue to be held by one's descendants even if

(121) *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 32, 94, 102.

(122) For an alternative explanation, see PRAWER, *La Noblesse*, p. 49.

(123) *Ibid.*, pp. 48-9.

(124) Philip OF NOVARA, pp. 503-4. See *Livre au Roi*, p. 630. A representative heir would most commonly have been the grandson of the fief-holder, the son of his deceased eldest son; a second son would be the closer heir, and in these circumstances far more likely than the grandson to have reached his majority.

there were no male heir would have been attractive (125). A further incentive may have been provided by the rule known to Philip of Novara but apparently not exercised in the thirteenth century which allowed the first holder of a fief to divide it among his sons as he pleased (126). But these incentives to settle do not always seem to have been sufficient, for there is evidence that the early kings of Jerusalem had to take steps to discourage fief-holders, and also owners of non-feudal tenements, from abandoning their property by promulgating an *assise* that all claim to title lapsed after the absence of a year and a day (127).

In the early years of the twelfth century, not all knights were occupying their lands by virtue of enfeoffment ; some held their lands by right of conquest. As William of Tyre explained : when a town was taken by assault whatever a man seized for himself, he and his heirs would lawfully possess (128). Such lawful seizures of property were evidently common at the time of the conquests following the First Crusade, and the result was that although a knight could be a personal dependant of a lord, he would own property from which no service was due. Examples survived into the thirteenth century, but it is assumed that in many instances such allodial holdings were turned into fiefs, perhaps on the insistence of a lord as the price of confirmation of title (129). Nothing concrete is known about this process, but just as generous terms of feudal tenure were offered to attract military settlers to accept fiefs, so it is likely that the same generous terms, with the condition that services were owed, would have made the change from allodial holdings easier.

Later in the twelfth century the military resources of the Latin Kingdom were still not adequate to guarantee its security. The feudal host, however, thanks partly to the advent of the Military Orders, no

(125) PRAWER, *La noblesse*, p. 48. See M. GRANDCLAUDE, *Liste d'Assises remontant au premier royaume de Jérusalem (1099-1187)*, in *Mélanges Paul Fournier* (Paris, 1929), p. 335.

(126) Philip OF NOVARA, pp. 545-6.

(127) PRAWER, *The 'Assise of Tenure'*, pp. 79-82. This *assise* later came to be applied only to non-feudal property. See pp. 83-4.

(128) William OF TYRE, p. 805.

(129) See PRAWER, *The 'Assise de Tenure'*, pp. 82-3 ; PRAWER, *Les premiers temps*, pp. 413-14, 417-18.

longer bore the full responsibility for defence, and it seems also that the acute shortage of Frankish knights had abated. In consequence, we may suggest, the kings could afford to be more restrictive in their grants of fiefs and in the terms under which fiefs were held, while at the same time, presumably because of pressure from the feudatories, at least one of the rules designed to protect services slackened somewhat. It has been observed that it was more difficult for a newcomer to get into the feudal hierarchy at this period and also that the use of mercenaries was becoming commoner ([130]). Possibly these features were related: a greater supply of men could have meant that the kings no longer needed to offer heritable fiefs to recruit their armies; a salary for as long as a man's services were required was sufficient, and so money which might earlier have gone to provide fief-rents could be diverted to hire troops on a more temporary basis. Similarly, if there were more men available as mercenaries, the individual feudatory who found himself bound to find a *compaignon* would be in less difficulty, and so the rules concerning the inheritance of two separate fiefs were relaxed in the vassal's favour ([131]). Another possible effect of the reduced pressure to recruit knights through infeudation was the growth of the practice of granting fiefs to the first holder and his heirs by his espoused wife only; as has been mentioned, these terms were less attractive, since the possibility of the lord recovering the fief by escheat was enhanced, while the first holder could not expect his lands to pass to a brother or nephew if he himself died without children ([132]). The kings also extended their rights over existing fief-holders: there is the example of the aid levied in 1183, and at an unknown date the crown assumed control of the marriages of heiresses and widows; the subsequent arrangement whereby heiresses were to have the choice of three candidates was clearly a concession to

(130) PRAWER, *La noblesse*, p. 53; SMAIL, p. 94.

(131) See above, pp. 288, 295. Philip OF NOVARA (p. 538) explained the change in the law as the consequence of the fear that the fief taken by the lord would be permanently lost if the ancestor's *seisin* and the rights to succession passed beyond the memory of the court. Prawer (*La noblesse*, pp. 55-6) has argued that the change was to allow the nobility the chance of concentrating fiefs in their hands and so build up their power.

(132) Prawer's suggestion (*La noblesse*, p. 63) that this change would have benefitted the barons rather than the crown, though ingenious, is unconvincing.

the nobility, although neither can this change be dated (133). Another concession which could ultimately have led to the loss of military service as it allowed for the fractionalization of fiefs was the decision in 1171 to allow their division among heiresses.

Much work has been done since Bishop Stubbs pronounced his verdict that 'The Assizes of Jerusalem' — and by these he meant the feudal law as described by the thirteenth-century jurists — 'lay like a crystal block, a model of usages, incapable of enforcement and incapable of growth' (134). Enforced and developed they most certainly were, but at the back of Stubb's statement stands one important truth : in the absence of legislation, feudal law tended to fossilize. The jurists have much to say about the legislation of the twelfth-century kingdom which was enshrined in the *Letres dou Sepulcre* and lost for ever at the time of the fall of Jerusalem ; to them feudal law was customary law, and it was not always known whether a particular element had its origin in usage or in a conscious legislative enactment (135). What the jurists do not say is that there had been no legislation to change the rulers for military service or feudal tenure in the period between the fall of Jerusalem and the time they were writing. Without legislation, though usage may gradually and imperceptibly have changed, the law was in theory immutable. The consequence of this conservatism, it is suggested, was that despite major changes in conditions in the Latin East, for example, the loss of territory and the long periods of peace in the thirteenth century (136), many of the features of feudal law such as the insistence on the performance of military service, the rules of inheritance and the comparative absence of incidents, which can perhaps be seen as the product of the chronic warfare and shortage of man-power a century earlier, survived. In the early twelfth century Frankish society had to

(133) See PRAWER, *La noblesse*, p. 56. GRANDCLAUDE, (*Liste d'Assises*, pp. 340-41) suggested that it was not yet operating in 1177, but the example he cited in support of his suggestion, the marriage of William of Montferrat to Sibylla, the heiress-apparent to Jerusalem, would scarcely have been typical of feudal practice at that time.

(134) STUBBS, *Medieval Kingdoms*, p. 168. He was referring specifically to fourteenth-century Cyprus.

(135) See RILEY-SMITH, *Feudal Nobility*, pp. 133, 134-5.

(136) See RICHARD, *Le royaume latin*, p. 161.

be geared to warfare to preserve its existence : in this it succeeded and many of the institutions apparently created at that time proved to be so durable that they continued to the end of the Latin Kingdom and for long afterwards in Cyprus (137).

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(137) I am indebted to Dr. J. S. C. Riley-Smith and Dr. R. C. Smail for reading and commenting on a draft of this article.

NOTES ET INFORMATIONS

Distinction

Nous sommes heureux de signaler ici que la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique a décerné le Prix Suzanne Tassier (10e période biennale, 1975-1976) — destiné à récompenser un travail scientifique important, écrit par une femme belge, sur un sujet d'histoire ou de philologie — à Mme Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH, chargé de cours à l'Université Libre de Bruxelles, pour l'ouvrage en deux volumes *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle*, qui forme le tome 6 de la «Bibliothèque de *Byzantion*».

THEOPHYLACT'S KNOWLEDGE OF LATIN

The Slav monarch Musocius is brought into the narrative of Theophylact with the following epexegesis : *τὸν λεγόμενον ῥῆγα τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ* (6, 9, 1). It is generally inferred from this formula that Theophylact was ignorant of Latin (1). The present article suggests that this may not in fact have been the case ; also that, if it was, Theophylact still deserves credit for trying to use more precise terminology than many other late Greek historians.

Theophylact was no ignorant monkish chronicler. He derived from Egypt, and was both eparch and *magister scrinii* (2). Proficiency in Latin

(1) See, e. g., BURY, *LRE*[1], 2, 171, n. 2 ; Alan CAMERON, *Wandering Poets : A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt*, in *Historia*, 14 (1965), 495 ; Averil CAMERON, *Agathias* (Oxford, 1970), 79.

(2) According to PHOTIUS, *Bibl.*, cod. 65.

was common amongst Egyptian men of letters in the fourth and fifth centuries (3), and there is evidence that Virgil was still being read there in the sixth (4). One would not have expected a man with the background of Theophylact to be so spectacularly deficient in Latin.

To move from inference to fact. This work contains a number of explanations of Latin words for offices and other technical terms (5). Unless it be assumed that these were taken over from earlier writers and inserted for the sake of stylistic convention, they would appear to indicate some acquaintance with Latin on the part of Theophylact.

Is it credible that an historian who knows about praetors, quaestors, *scribones*, and so on could think that *rex* was a Gothic term? Especially in the light of other linguistic interests elsewhere displayed by Theophylact, notably his preservation of the earliest specimen of Vlach (6).

It should be added that Theophylact need not have been fluent in Latin to appreciate the pedigree of *rex*. A distinction between *rex* and *βασιλεύς* (that is, between Roman king and Roman emperor) was early developed. It is made manifest by Plutarch (7), not the most improbable author for a Byzantine to have read. John Lydus is clear on the difference (8). That, of course, proves nothing: John's Latin was untypically good for his time. The most eloquent and pertinent case is Procopius, who (*BG*, 1, 1, 26) emphasises the constitutional position of Theodoric *vis-à-vis* Anastasius as that of *rex*, not *βασιλεύς*.

This distinction is maintained over the first few centuries of Byzantine history. The *Suda* (9) preserves a definition of *ῥῆξ* similar to that of

(3) Brilliantly demonstrated by Alan CAMERON, *art. cit.*, 494-5.

(4) For the papyrological evidence, cf. R. CAVENAILE, *Corpus Papyrorum Latinarum* (Wiesbaden, 1958). It is worth recalling that the one extant poem of Christodorus of Thebes commemorates not only Virgil but also Apuleius (*AP*, 2, 303-5, 414-6).

(5) To the register in Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, 154, add the term *πραίτωρ* (1, 4, 6; 6, 10, 6, 14). Notice that Theophylact will also employ a Latinism such as *φαμιλία* (1, 5, 15) without attaching an explanation.

(6) *Torna, torna* (2, 15, 9); cf. THEOPHANES, *Chron.*, AM 6079, who adds *fratre*. See BURY, *LRE*[1], 2, 123; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (Oxford, 1973), 563.

(7) *Quaest. Rom.*, 63; *Numa*, 21, 2. Cf. H. J. MASON, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto, 1974), 120.

(8) *De Mag.*, 1, 2; cf. 2, 24.

(9) R 136 (Adler).

Theophylact : *ὁ τῶν φράγκων ἀρχηγός*. This can be related to the *De Caerimoniis* of Constantine Porphyrogenitus where (2, 48) the formula for the Frankish king is (with suitable adjectival adornments) *ῥῆξ*. Diplomatic relations between East and West were on occasion strained by alleged misuses of these titles. Basil I, for example, criticised Lewis II in the period 869-71 for calling himself *βασιλεύς* ; the touchy Liutprand was furious when his master Otto was dubbed *ῥῆξ* by Leo, brother of Nicephorus I ([10]). All of this dates back to the formal distinction between Odovacar and Theodoric in the West and Zeno and Anastasius at Constantinople ([11]).

A word on the formulae of explanation employed by Theophylact is instructive. The piece of Vlach adduced above has the attached phrase *ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ*. When Franks are imported into the narrative (6, 3, 6), their name is explained as equivalent to Celts *τῇ νεωτέρᾳ γλώττῃ*. Had Theophylact regarded *ῥῆξ* as a Gothic term, it would have been more consonant with his practice to attach the formula *ἐπιχωρίῳ γλώττῃ* to identify a barbarian word. Here it ought to be subjoined that Theophylact has one other use of *ῥῆξ*. It is applied (6, 10, 13) to the king of the Lombards, and Theophylact has simply the expression *λεγομένου ῥῆγος*, with no reference to barbarian etymology.

In view of all this, it might be argued that Theophylact was aware that *rex* was Latin. His formula can be understood as meaning "as the barbarians call their leaders". That would be a proper way of showing the distinction between *rex* and *βασιλεύς*. Indeed, it is the only simple way. Given Byzantine usage, the term "Roman" was impossible. And "Latin" is employed by Theophylact as equivalent to "Roman" ([12]).

It might still be objected that "language" is the most natural, if not the only, translation of *φωνή*. Which does not nullify the present paper. For even if Theophylact did make such an egregious error over *rex*, he should still be given some overdue credit for accuracy of terminology. Our historian is in the tradition of Olympiodorus of Thebes, who uses *ῥῆξ* of the

(10) On these upsets, cf. TOYNBEE, *op. cit.*, 553, n. 1.

(11) See A. H. M. JONES, *The Constitutional Position of Odoacer and Theoderic*, in *JRS*, 52 (1962), 126-30.

(12) As can be determined from the index of de Boor's Teubner ; cf. BURY, *loc. cit.* ; Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, 79. Theophylact only once (1, 4, 7) uses the formula *Λατινίδι φωνῇ* ; he is defining *scribon*. Cf. AGATHIAS, 3, 14, 5 ; R. Keydell's edition (Berlin, 1967) oddly signals Agathias' definition as unique (p. 217).

chief of an individual tribe or race and φύλαρχος of a confederacy ([13]). Other writers were less exact. Priscus ([14]) uses βασιλεύς of barbarian chieftains. Malchus employs phylarch in the strict sense, but never uses ῥῆξ, preferring ἀρχηγός ([15]). Apart from flowery periphrases, Agathias appears to use only βασιλεύς of tribal leaders ([16]). More distinctive, but not more preferable, is Menander Protector's indulgence in μόναρχος to indicate a barbarian chief ([17]).

Thus, regardless of the state of his Latin, Theophylact merits some praise. Such precision may seem surprising, even implausible, in a writer so deservedly notorious for prolixity. It would, however, not be totally untypical. For when Theophylact alludes (5, 7, 7) to the emperor Vespasian, he properly ([18]) employs αὐτοκράτωρ rather than the vague βασιλεύς.

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(13) Exemplified with full references by E. A. THOMPSON, *Olympiodorus of Thebes*, in *CQ*, 38 (1944), 43-52.

(14) *E. g.*, fr. 3.

(15) Fr. 1 (phylarch); fr. 2 (of Theodoric).

(16) *E. g., proœm.*, 30; 2, 18, 6. See *proœm.*, 30 also for a typical periphrasis; Theophylact, of course, frequently indulges in these (3, 17, 7; 6, 3, 7; 6, 10, 7; etc.).

(17) Fr. 24 (of the Lombard king).

(18) Cf. MASON, *op. cit.*, 117-20. Notice that Theophylact also uses φύλαρχος with the precision of Olympiodorus (2, 2, 5; 7, 4, 13).

THE WALLS OF THESSALONICA

Two problematical dates in the history of Thessalonica are intimately connected. One is the time that the walls were built, the other the date by which the Hippodrome of Galerius had fallen into disuse. In the foundations of both the east and west walls of the city were found seating blocks which Papageorgiou recognized as belonging to the Hippodrome (1). Presumably, therefore, the Hippodrome was partially dismantled to build the walls, and afterwards, it would appear that the Hippodrome was no longer used.

The conventional date for the walls, ca. 380, is based upon an inscription (2) found in the wall on the east side, above the Protestant cementary. The first line is illegible (it probably gave the name of the emperor) but the second line begins : *τεί[χ]εσιν ἀρ[ρή]χτοις Ὁρμίσδας ἐξετέλεσε τήνδε πόλ[ι]ν* ... The date, therefore, depends upon the identification of Hormisdas, and O. Tafrali (3) argued that he was Hormisdas the Younger, commander of the Egyptian troops of Theodosius I in Thessalonica in 380. However, a decade later, the Hippodrome was still in use, for in 390 it was the site of the riot where Buthericus, among others, was killed, in return for which Theodosius took terrible revenge (4). Hence Michael Vickers (5) has

(1) P. N. Papageorgiou, *Ἐργατῶν σήματα καὶ ὀνόματα ἐπὶ τῶν μαρμάρων τοῦ θεάτρου τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης*, in *Ephemeris Archaeologike*, 1911, pp. 168-73, esp. p. 172.

(2) *IG*, x, ii, 1 (Berlin, 1972), no. 43.

(3) *Topographie de Thessalonique* (Paris, 1913), 32-40.

(4) Sozomen, vii. 25, 3.

(5) *The date of the walls at Thessaloniki*, in *Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzerleri Yilligi*, 15-16 (1969), 313-18 ; *The Hippodrome at Thessaloniki*, in *JRS*, 62 (1972), 25-32 ; *The late Roman Walls of Thessalonica* in *Roman Frontier Studies, 1969*. (Eighth International Congress of Limesforschung, ed. E. Birley, B. Dobson, M. Jarrett, Cardiff, 1974), 249-255 ; *Further Observations on the Chronology of the Walls of Thessaloniki*, in *Makedonika*, 12 (1972), 228-33.

recently argued for a mid-fifth century date. The Hormisdas of IG x, ii, l. 43 he attempts to identify with a *praefectus praetorio Orientis* of the mid-fifth century (6). As *p. p. Orientis*, Thessalonica would not have been under his jurisdiction, but this Hormisdas is also attested by a law of early 448 (7), where he is named simply prefect, without indication of his prefecture. Vickers proposes that before Hormisdas became *p. p. Orientis* in late 449, he was *p. p. per Illyricum* and in this capacity, built the walls. So the walls must be dated fairly exactly to the period just before the peace treaty with the Huns in 448.

One piece of literary evidence suggests, however, that the Hippodrome may have been in use even later than 450. Procopius indicates that both the father and grandfather of Belisarius' wife, Antonina, had been charioteers, who had displayed their skills in Byzantium and Thessalonica (8). Belisarius died in 565 and Antonina outlived him (9). If both her grandfather and *her father* were charioteers in Thessalonica, we are virtually forced to believe that the Hippodrome was still in use until the last quarter of the fifth century.

There are two possible conclusions. The walls may be even later than Vickers proposes, and the Hormisdas of the inscription is unknown. The other possible conclusion is that the walls were built in some haste to meet the Hunnic threat in the 440's, and *faute de mieux*, the Hippodrome was cannibalized for building material. But chariot racing was not discontinued (or perhaps it was resumed later) and the Hippodrome was repaired, perhaps with wooden seats replacing the missing stone blocks, in order to accomodate the spectators whose numbers may have decreased since the days of Galerius. In any case, it appears that there was chariot racing in Thessalonica later than 450.

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(6) *CJ*, xi, 22, 1 (late 449 or 450).
(7) *CJ*, i, 113.
(8) *Anekdota*, i, 11.
(9) See my *Procopius* (New York, 1972), 128.

THE EGYPTIAN PLAGUES IN THE *PALAEA HISTORICA*

Professor Flusser has justifiably remarked the importance of the Byzantine *Palaea Historica* (1) as a source for Jewish and early Christian traditions. I wish here to call attention to a remarkable tradition preserved in this text, failure to notice which has led Flusser (and undoubtedly others) astray. The *Palaea* contains a section on Moses and the exodus from Egypt. It includes an account of the plagues. To our surprise, it begins with Darkness. Flusser comments (2), "the first of the ten plagues erroneously became darkness". But no error is present here. For the strange fact is that in his account of the number, order, and nature of the plagues the author is following not the Book of *Exodus* but rather the Septuagint of *Psalms*, 104, 28 ff. Thus, in contrast to *Exodus*, both *Psalms*, 104 and the *Palaea* begin the plagues with darkness, present *κνόμια* before *σκνῖπες*, leave out the (fifth and sixth) plagues of *θάνατος* and *ἕλκη* and introduce a plague called *βροῦχος*. But the dramatic intervals, i. e., the continuing conflict between Moses and Pharaoh, is an embellished version of the *Exodus* narrative. What is particularly remarkable here is that, to my knowledge, none of the numerous accounts of the plagues that exist in post-Biblical Jewish and Christian literature follow the version of *Psalms* 104 aside from this in the *Palaea* (3). Whether the author drew directly on *Psalms* or on a tradition that had grown out of or was parallel to that of the *Psalms* is an interesting question but one not readily answered.

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(1) The text has been edited by A. Vassiliev in his *Anecdota Graeco-Byzantina* (Moscow, 1893).

(2) *Scripta Hierosolymitana*, 22 (1971), p. 68, n. 70. The account of the plagues is at Vassiliev, pp. 232-234.

(3) Thus, for example, S. E. Loewenstamm writes in his well-known book, *The Tradition of the Exodus in its Development* (Jerusalem, 1972²), p. 36 that *Psalms*, 104 (= 105) is the only account of the plagues that does not report blood as the first plague.

"THE EDUCATION PRELIMINARY TO LAW": AGATHIAS, *HISTORIAE*, II, 15, 7

ἐμοὶ δέ γε καὶ αὐτῷ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτοῦ διατρίβων παιδείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τῶν νόμων) δεδιέναι προσῆει, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπὶ λίαν σμικρᾷ τῇ κινήσει, κτλ.

πρὸς all mss. except the *Leidensis*, which has *πρὸ*.

While describing the effects of the earthquake of July 551 on various localities of the East Roman empire, Agathias mentions his own experience in Alexandria. "I too, indeed, (for I happened to be residing in Alexandria for the sake of the education in law), shared in the general panic, despite the smallness of the tremor", etc. The above text, printed by Professor Keydell in his edition of Agathias, requires us to take *πρὸς* in the sense of *at the hands of, by* (1). Grave doubt, however, is cast on the soundness of this text by a historical circumstance; in 533 Justinian confined the teaching of law to the universities of Constantinople, Rome and Berytus, and there is no evidence that law was afterwards taught at Alexandria during his reign (2). Acccordingly, a more recent critic has preferred *πρὸ*, "the education prior to legal study" (3). We know that Agathias studied law at Constantinople (*Anth. Pal.*, I, 35), and it is therefore very likely that he had gone to Alexandria in order to follow the course of liberal studies which regularly preceded the legal education (4). In my opinion, however, both *πρὸ τῶν νόμων* and *πρὸς τῶν νόμων* are corrupt.

(1) *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum Libri Quinque*, recensuit R. KEYDELL, Berlin, 1967, p. 60. For *πρός* in this sense see LIDDELL and SCOTT (9th ed.), s. v. A, II, 1. In a passage of this style and date the personification of *οἱ νόμοι* would involve no difficulty.

(2) *Digest, Const. Omnem*, 7. See my review of Keydell's edition, *C. R.*, (*n. s.*), XIX, 1969, p. 53.

(3) Averil CAMERON, *Agathias*, Oxford, 1970, p. 140. So Niebuhr and Irmscher. In *G. R. B. S.*, VIII, 1967, p. 243, n. 11, I too preferred *πρὸ* on historical grounds, but at that time I did not know the reading of the *Vaticanus*, q. v. *infra*.

(4) Parallel instances are collected by Averil CAMERON, *loc. cit.* In his monograph *L'Enseignement de Droit des Antécesseurs* (Leyden, 1970), p. 6, Prof.

A contemporary of Agathias, Menander Protector, distinguishes between the same two stages of higher education in the autobiographical introduction to his *History*. In so doing, he uses an expression relevant to the present problem (5) :

> *Ἐμοὶ πατὴρ Εὐφρατᾶς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ὁρμωμένος ἦν · οὗτος δὴ οὖν ἥκιστα τῆς τῶν λόγων μετειλήχει παιδείας. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν ὁμόγνιός γε (6) μοι, τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἀπογευσάμενος παιδείας εἶτα ἀφηνίασε τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς · ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὔτι χρῆναι ᾠόμην μὴ καὶ νόμοις ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ ἐς τέλος ἱκέσθαι τῶν πόνων · καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην, ὡς μοι ὑπῆρχε δυνατόν.*
>
> *Suda*, s. v. *Μένανδρος* (III, p. 360, 20 Adler).

"My father Euphratas came from Byzantium, and he to be sure had no liberal education. My brother Herodotus, however, first tasted the education leading to law, and then rebelled against these pursuits. But I thought it inexpedient not to consort with the laws into the bargain, and to reach the goal of my labours. And behold, I arrived there as best I could". That is, Herodotus only advanced as far as the rhetorical course preceding the legal education, which Menander expresses by the phrase *τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον ... παιδείας* (7). Thus all mss. of the *Suda*. L. Dindorf substituted *τῶν νόμων* for the accusative singular, and in so doing destroyed the sense of the

H. J. Scheltema makes the interesting suggestion that our passage refers to a course of instruction in the Latin language. "Il (s.c. Agathias) n'avait pas encore entamé les études de droit proprement dites, mais il suivit la rhétorique, c'est-à-dire un cours de latin que suivait beaucoup d'étudiants grécophones pendant leur première année d'études. Comme Béryte avait été transformée en ruine, il poursuivit ses études de rhétorique à Alexandrie". (Also *ibid.*, p. 12). Some knowledge of Latin must certainly have been a requisite for intending *scholastici*. But, aside from the crucial objection that Agathias was already in Alexandria at the moment when Berytus was destroyed, the literary and philosophical character of the Greek *παιδεία* preliminary to law is well attested. Moreover, when Agathias wishes to allude to higher education in Latin, he does so in completely unambiguous terms ; compare his description of Germanos, son of Dorotheus, whom Justinian brought to Constantinople to be educated at the age of eighteen : *τοῖς τε γὰρ τῶν γραμματιστῶν ὡμίλει διδασκαλείοις καὶ πρός γε ἀνὰ τὰ φροντιστήρια φοιτῶν τῆς τῶν Λατίνων μέτεσχε παιδείας*, *Hist.*, V, 21, 3.

(5) As Prof. Keydell and Mrs. Cameron have noted.

(6) *γε* ***Sudae*** cod. V, *δέ* rell. codd.

(7) "The education for law, leading to law". *πρὸς in reference to* or *for a purpose*, Liddell and Scott s. v., C, III, 3, A'.

passage (8). For the words *ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὔτι χρῆναι ᾠόμην μὴ κ α ὶ νόμοις ὁμιλῆσαι κτλ.* require to be preceded by an expression with the force of "previous to law", and *πρὸς τῶν νόμων* does not mean this. There is in fact no reason to doubt the transmitted text of the *Suda* (9). This being so, we should, I think, read *πρὸς τὸν νόμον* in Agathias also ; for Menander was the continuator and imitator of Agathias, and could well have copied the whole expression from him. The oldest witness to Agathias' text, *Vat. Gr.*, 151 (10-11c), has *πρὸς* ; we can readily suppose that *πρὸς τὸν νόμον* was altered or corrupted to *πρὸς τῶν νόμων* (as *Vat.*, etc.), and that *πρὸ τῶν νόμων* was an attempted correction of this.

Dubiety might originally have arisen in some copyist's mind not because the singular *ὁ νόμος* meaning "the concept of law, the Law" is in itself difficult or rare, but because its use in juxtaposition to the plural involves a certain incongruity (cf. II, 15, 3 *τοὺς Ῥωμαίων ... ἀναλεξόμενοι νόμους*, ib. 4 *οἱ τῶν νόμων ἀφηγηταί*) (10). There is, however, a good parallel for this latter element in Zacharias Scholasticus' dialogue on the creation of the universe, written about sixty years before the *Histories* of Agathias. Zacharias represents himself as conversing with a young student who has come to law-school in Berytus after a period of philosophical study in Alexandria under the pagan Ammonius. Mention of Ammonius revives in Zacharias the recollection of his own student-days in Alexandria, and he proceeds to recount three conversations which he had with Ammonius and the iatrosophist Gessius on the subject of whether the universe is co-existent with God or was created by God (11). The opening words of the dialogue, after a brief hypothesis, are as follows :

> A. (= Zacharias) *Τί νεώτερον γέγονεν, ὦ φίλε ἑταῖρε, ὅτι σὺ τὰς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταλιπὼν διατριβὰς καὶ τὸν Νεῖλον, τό τε μέγα τοῦ Μακεδόνος ἄστυ, ἐνθάδε νῦν διατρίβεις* ;

(8) *Historici Graeci Minores*, vol. II, p. 1 (Leipzig, 1871).

(9) Dindorf's conjecture has found a too-ready acceptance, even among recent critics. I cite only P. LEMERLE, *Le premier Humanisme byzantin*, (Paris, 1971), whose account of this passage assumes *πρὸς τῶν νόμων* : "Ménandre, dans son prologue, raconte que son père, le Constantinopolitain Euphratas, était peu porté aux choses de l'esprit, et que son frère Hérodote, *après avoir goûté au droit*, s'en détacha", etc. (p. 77).

(10) Mrs. Cameron rightly observes : "Were it not for the awkwardness of the singular, one might be tempted to read *πρὸς τὸν νόμον* in Agathias as in Menander, and take *πρὸς* as meaning 'with a view to' ". (*Op. cit.*, p. 141).

(11) On Zacharias' dialogue, see most recently P. MERLAN in *G. R. B. S.*, IX, 1968, pp. 193 ff.

B. (= the student) *Νόμων με, ὦ φίλος, ἔρως ἄγει παρὰ τὴν μητέρα τῶν νόμων · καὶ ἰδοὺ Ἀριστοτέλη τἀμὰ παιδικὰ καταλιπὼν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν αὐτουργιῶν μυσταγωγοὺς, τῇ Φοινίκῃ ἐπιδημῶ, εἴ που δυναίμην μαθεῖν ὅπως νομίζουσι τῶν Ῥωμαίων οἱ νομοθέται. Βούλομαι γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ νόμου δίκαιον πυθέσθαι.*

P. G., LXXV, 1017 ff.

"What untoward event has made you abandon your stay in Egypt, and the Nile, and the great city of Alexander, and come to live here?" — "My love of the laws draws me to the mother of the laws. And behold, I have deserted my old love Aristotle, and those teachers who initiate men into private studies ([12]), and have come to live in Phoenicia, in the hope that I may be able to learn the practice of the Roman lawgivers. For I wish also to learn the justice of the Law" The difference in nuance between "the laws" and "the Law" in this passage is very similar to that between *οἱ νόμοι* and *ὁ νόμος* in Agathias. Zacharias does not, indeed, duplicate the phraseology which I am suggesting for Agathias ; but as we have seen, Menander provides an exact parallel for this. I believe that we can with confidence read *πρὸς τὸν νόμον* in Agathias.

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(12) For *αὐτουργίαι*, *one's private concerns*, see *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. G. W. H. Lampe (Oxford, 1961 ff.), s. v., which cites this passage.

A PROPOS DE ZOSIME 1, 34, 3

La note de O. Lampsidis sur Zosime 1, 34, 3 met à juste titre ce passage en relation avec 2, 26, 1 et 3. J'aurais au moins dû signaler ce rapprochement en note. Quant à la graphie et à la traduction différentes proposées par Lampsidis, elles sont peut-être, mais non certainement, justifiées. En effet, en 2, 26, 1, Zosime précise : *τὸ λεγόμενον Ἱερὸν ἄκρον*. Ainsi, il n'y a dans ce passage aucune ambiguité, et la désignation raccourcie qui apparaît dix lignes plus loin est aussi parfaitement claire du fait même de cette proximité. En 1, 34, 3 en revanche, la désignation est vague ; il peut certes s'agir du toponyme ; mais Zosime peut aussi nommer le sanctuaire lui-même qui donne son nom au site ; cf. mon édition, p. 217, n. 36. J'avoue que pour la graphie en 1, 34, 3, je me suis simplement laissé guider par Mendelssohn, qui met aussi une minuscule ; il considère donc pour sa part le terme en question comme un appellatif, et pas comme un nom propre. Editeurs anciens et traducteurs font comme lui. A mon avis, l'hésitation reste permise.

François PASCHOUD.

PSELLOS AND THE BIBLIOTHECA TEUBNERIANA

Editions of some major groups of writings of Michael Psellos are being prepared for the *Bibliotheca Teubneriana* (BSB B. G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, Leipzig). Whether the project can, and should, eventually be expanded into a complete collected edition will be a matter for later consideration. For the present the following volumes are in preparation :

Orationes hagiographicae (Elizabeth A. Fisher, Washington).
Orationes funebres (K. Snipes, Chapel Hill, N. C.).
Orationes panegyricae ; *orationes forenses* (including documents) (G. T. Dennis, Washington).
Oratoria minora (A. R. Littelwood, London, Ontario).
Commentarius in librum de interpretatione (J. Whittaker, St. John's, Newfoundland).
Tractatus philosophici (J. M. Duffy and D. J. O'Meara, Washington).
Poemata didactica (L. G. Westerink, Buffalo).

The volumes are scheduled to appear approximately in the years 1982-1987. The format will be the usual one of the series : a definitive critical text with full indices for each volume. The project does not attempt to supersede existing editions with translation or commentary or make future publications of this kind superfluous. Since, however, Psellos' extant work totals over four thousand Teubner pages, only a few hundred of which have been properly indexed, it is felt that this is the only way to make this vast body of writing accessible for the purposes of history, theology, philosophy and lexicography.

L. G. WESTERINK.

CHRONIQUE

CHRONIQUE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE (*)
(Suite et fin)

Athos

Paul M. MYLONAS, *Athos. Formes dans un lieu sacré*. Avec une préface de Paul LEMERLE et deux textes inédits de Manolis CHATZIDAKIS et Phoivos ANOYANNAKIS. Athènes, 1974. 1 album 33 × 49 cm de 24 photographies en couleurs avec 25 pages de texte.

Conçu sur le modèle des beaux albums de l'Unesco, ce recueil nous présente 24 photographies originales en couleurs de sites, d'extérieurs de bâtiments, d'intérieurs d'églises, de chapiteaux sculptés, de peintures murales, d'icones peintes ou en mosaïques. Chaque photographie est accompagnée de l'«état-civil» du monument ou de l'œuvre : indications sur le site, l'altitude, les matériaux de construction, les principales dates pour les bâtiments ; sur la localisation, les procédés techniques, les dimensions, la date, l'artiste pour les peintures murales et les icones. On trouvera aussi en face de chacune d'elles des textes d'époque byzantine et post-byzantine ou d'érudits et d'écrivains contemporains destinés à faire valoir leur signification spirituelle, historique et artistique. Comme M. Lemerle le souligne dans sa préface où il a consigné en termes émouvants les réflexions que lui a inspirées sa longue et profonde expérience de l'Athos, cet album est «comme un accompagnement et un divertissement aux austères travaux» de M. P. Mylonas, qui, à la tête d'une importante équipe, a entrepris de dresser les relevés exacts de tous les bâtiments encore debout à l'Athos (y compris les peintures murales), de les photographier, de les étudier, de les décrire et de les dater ainsi que de constituer les catalogues des documents artistiques.

(*) Voir la première et la deuxième parties de cette *Chronique archéologique*, dans *Byzantion*, t. XLVI (1976), pp. 128-208 et pp. 429-549.

Salonique et la Macédoine

L'existence d'une école macédonienne, la localisation des foyers d'où elle aurait rayonné et la définition de l'aire sur laquelle elle se serait étendue posent de difficiles et délicats problèmes. Une des exigences primordiales en ce domaine est la publication de monuments encore pratiquement inédits. Plutôt que d'assez vaines discussions, où en plus les susceptibilités nationales peuvent intervenir, on préférera des études sur la personnalité des peintres, l'évolution de leur style, leur place dans la vie intellectuelle de leur époque, leurs conceptions théologiques telles qu'elles peuvent ressortir de l'iconographie qu'ils ont pratiquée.

Paola CATTANI, *La Rotonda ed i Mosaici di San Giorgio a Salonicco*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1972. 1 vol. 16 × 24 cm, VIII-121 pp., 16 figg. (STUDI DI ANTICHITÀ CRISTIANE. Collana diretta di GIUSEPPE BOVINI. 10). Prix : 2.800 lires.

E. KLEINBAUER, *The Iconography and the Date of the Mosaics of the Rotunda of Hagios Georgios. Thessaloniki*, dans *Viator*, t. 3, 1972, pp. 27-107, 22 figg. sur pll.

Maria G. SOTIRIOU, *Sur quelques problèmes de l'iconographie de la coupole de Saint-Georges de Thessalonique*, dans *Εἰς μνήμην Παναγιώτου Α. ΜΙΧΕΛΗ*, Athènes, 1971, pp. 218-230.

Hans Peter L'ORANGE, *I Mosaici della cupola di Hagios Georgios a Salonicco*, dans le *XVII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna 8-21 Marzo 1970*, Ravenne, A. Longo, pp. 257-268, 2 figg.

André GRABAR, *A propos des mosaïques de la coupole de Saint-Georges à Salonique*, dans les *Cahiers archéologiques*, t. XVII, 1967, pp. 59-81, 22 figg.

Hjalmar TORP, *Mosaikkene i St. Georg-Rotunden i Thessaloniki. Et hovedverk i tidlig-bysantinsk Kunst*. Oslo, Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1963. 1 vol. 21,5 × 27,5 cm, 87 pp., 62 figg., 3 pll. en couleurs (KUNST OG KULTURS SERIE).

Stylianos PELEKANIDIS, *Gli affreschi paleocristiani ed i più antichi mosaici parietali di Salonicco*. Ravenne, A. Longo, 1963, 1 brochure 17 × 24,5 cm, 60 pp., 35 figg. (COLLANA DI QUADERNI DI ANTICHITÀ RAVENNATI, CRISTIANE E BIZANTINE. 2). Prix : 1500 lires.

Mme P. C. a visé à faire le point des apports des publications récentes sur Saint-Georges dans un exposé d'ensemble qu'elle a enrichi d'aperçus personnels. Elle a tiré parti de la publication des mosaïques par M. Torp après

le nettoyage dont celles-ci avaient été l'objet au printemps de 1953 en vue du IXe Congrès international des Etudes byzantines, et des remarques judicieuses d'A. Grabar dans les *Cah. arch.* (t. XVII), qui avait dégagé certains des principes selon lesquels s'est ordonnée la composition des sept panneaux de la zone inférieure de la coupole, où les saints martyrs se détachent en orants sur des fonds d'architectures. Comme MM. Torp et L'Orange, elle a insisté aussi sur l'importance de l'axe S.-N., qui était celui selon lequel l'empereur voyait les mosaïques quand il entrait dans l'église en venant de son palais situé au S. Elle a cru reconnaître dans ces mosaïques des œuvres révélatrices de l'art qui s'est constitué à l'époque de Théodose I. Elle a repris l'hypothèse de M. Torp, partagée par M. L'Orange, d'après laquelle le mausolée de Galère aurait été transformé en église et décoré de mosaïques par Théodose I à la suite de son baptême à Salonique et de la guérison miraculeuse qui suivit la réception de ce sacrement. Dans son exposé liminaire sur l'architecture du monument, elle a rejeté la datation proposée par M. Vickers (dans l'*Annual of the Archaeological Museums of Istanbul*, t. 15-16, 1969, pp. 313-318, et dans les *Papers of the British School at Rome*, t. 35, 1970, pp. 183-187), qui plaçait sous Théodose II les travaux d'aménagement du mausolée en église par la construction d'un déambulatoire annulaire, d'un chœur et d'une abside, dont les briques portant en relief des lettres, des monogrammes et des croix, ressemblent à celles des remparts de Salonique, construits, à son avis, selon le témoignage d'une inscription, par Hormisdas, préfet du prétoire en 447/8. Comme ces briques, où est imprimée la marque d'une première et d'une seconde indiction, se retrouvent aussi à Saint-Démétrius, à l'Acheiropoiétos, dans la basilique dont les vestiges ont été exhumés sous Sainte-Sophie et dans les ruines du palais impérial, il est assez tentant de croire avec M. Vickers (dont on verra encore les articles plus récents dans l'*Annual of the British School at Athens*, t. 66, 1971, pp. 369-371 et t. 68, 1973, pp. 285-294 et dans la *BZ*, t. 67, 1974, pp. 337-350), que toutes ces constructions, y compris la transformation de la rotonde en église, se rattacheraient à la volonté de doter d'édifices prestigieux Salonique devenue le siège de la préfecture du prétoire d'Illyricum en 442/3 après la destruction de Sirmium par Attila. C'est d'ailleurs la date vers laquelle penche aussi E. Kleinbauer dans une étude extrêmement attentive, et l'on peut dire exhaustive, du programme iconographique des mosaïques de Saint-Georges, de leur caractère théâtral et impérial et de leur style.

Constantin D. KALOKYRIS, *Προέλευσις τῶν βυζαντινῶν μνημείων τοῦ γεωγραφικοῦ χώρου τῆς Μακεδονίας, τῆς Σερβίας καὶ τῆς Βουλγαρίας (Ἡ συμβολὴ τῆς τέχνης εἰς τὴν ἀλήθειαν)*. Salonique, 1970. 1 vol. 17,5 × 24,5 cm, 78 pp., 41 pll. (en grec, avec un ample résumé en allemand de 27 pp.).

C. K. en s'appuyant sur des comparaisons iconographiques et stylistiques, a défendu la thèse que les peintres qui ont décoré les églises de Macédoine, de Serbie et de Bulgarie, étaient pour la plupart des Grecs formés dans les ateliers de Salonique. Les peintres serbes et bulgares auraient reçu leur éducation artistique également dans cette ville ou auprès de maîtres qui en provenaient et dont ils auraient été les collaborateurs et les continuateurs. Mais, comme nous l'avons rappelé dans l'introduction à cette rubrique, nous sommes ici dans un domaine où l'état de notre information et la nature des problèmes doivent inciter les savants à se garder d'affirmations trop tranchées. On peut se demander si C. K. n'a pas sous-estimé le rôle de la capitale de l'Empire : les fresques de Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrid, par exemple, ont été exécutées sur la commande de l'archevêque Léon, ancien chartophylax de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople, qui fit réserver une place prépondérante dans le chœur aux portraits des patriarches de Constantinople (j'ai attiré l'attention sur la complexité des données du problème et sur la circonspection avec laquelle il convient de le traiter dans *L'art byzantin*, pp. 240-241). On a pu aussi croire que les peintres de l'église de Nérézi, construite par le grand dignitaire byzantin Alexis Comnène, petit-fils de l'empereur homonyme, étaient venus de la capitale de l'Empire (cf. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, pp. 199-200). C'est encore celle-ci plus que Salonique qui semble avoir influencé Boïana et Ivanovo. D'autre part on ne peut maintenir les dates hautes et d'ailleurs variables que C. K. propose pour les fresques des Saints-Anargyres de Castoria : fin du xe s. (p. 12 du texte grec et p. 8 du texte allemand), 1re moitié du xie s. (p. 25 du texte grec), 1re moitié du xiie s. (p. 16 du texte allemand). Ces fresques sont par le style et l'iconographie si étroitement apparentées à celles de Saint-Georges de Kurbinovo (1191) qu'elles doivent être à peu de choses près contemporaines. Or l'origine thessalonicienne des peintres de Kurbinovo n'est nullement prouvée. Il y a donc lieu de nuancer certaines des affirmations de C. K. C'est à quoi nous invite aussi la publication des fresques de la *Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων* par Mme K. Papadopoulos, qui remet en question l'existence d'une école thessalonicienne.

Karoline PAPADOPOULOS, *Die Wandmalereien des XI. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων in Thessaloniki.* Graz-Cologne, Böhlaus Nachf., 1966. 1 vol. 17 × 24 cm, 120 pp., 7 dessins, 20 pll. (BYZANTINA VINDOBONENSIA. Band II).

L'architecture de la *Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων* (construite en 1028) étant bien connue, Mme K. P. n'a pas cru devoir revenir longuement sur la question dans son chapitre introductif ; elle y a cependant fait pertinemment valoir que la tribune du narthex, contrairement à ce qu'avait cru D. Evangélidis, n'est pas une addition du XIIe s. mais a été construite en même temps que l'église ou peu de temps après. Mme K. P. a d'abord étudié le programme iconographique et le système de répartition des sujets, tout en établissant des comparaisons avec ce qui avait été pratiqué dans les autres monuments, que l'on eût préféré parfois voir mieux classer dans l'ordre chronologique. Il en ressort que «chaque programme est une nouvelle création et une adaptation, qu'il n'y a pas deux églises décorées exactement de la même façon, ce qui prouve que la peinture byzantine, en dépit d'un ordre hiérarchique, du traditionalisme et de la rigueur sévère, est restée souple et ne s'est pas engourdie dans une formule» (p. 54). Les rapprochements entre les scènes auxquels a procédé le chef de l'atelier ont pu lui être inspirés par le souci des effets visuels à produire. En ce qui concerne le choix du thème de l'Ascension pour la coupole, Mme K. P. aurait pu invoquer les Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople, où je verrais volontiers le modèle dont on s'est inspiré à Sainte-Sophie de Salonique et ensuite dans tant d'autres églises encore, dont Saint-Marc de Venise. Mme K. P. a insisté sur la présence, dans le narthex, du Baptême en dessous du Jugement Dernier, rapprochement que l'on trouvera aussi plus tard à la Mavriotissa de Castoria et qu'elle explique par la réponse de Jésus à Nicodème dans l'Evangile selon Jean (III, 5) : «Je te le dis, personne s'il ne naît d'eau et d'esprit ne peut entrer dans le royaume des cieux». L'analyse stylistique des procédés de composition, des figures isolées et des motifs ornementaux, — à quoi s'ajoute une étude des couleurs et des techniques — conduit Mme K. P. à formuler plusieurs conclusions. L'une d'entre elles est que l'ensemble a été exécuté par un atelier dont le chef a, en général, suivi de près le travail de ses collaborateurs et qu'en outre plusieurs peintres ont pu intervenir dans un même panneau. Il paraît y avoir eu, en effet, par exemple, dans l'équipe, des spécialistes des têtes, si l'on en juge par les similitudes de dessin et de modèle que l'on retrouve dans plusieurs visages. Le style des peintures de la *Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων* semble se situer entre la manière de Saint-Luc de Phocide, prolongée à Sainte-Sophie de Kiev, et celle de Sainte-Sophie

d'Ochrid et de la Néa Moni de Chio. Une parenté s'observe également avec le Ménologe de Basile II et avec le Lectionnaire dit de Phocas au monastère de Lavra, qui semble bien avoir été offert aussi par Basile II. Mme K. P. décèle à la *Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων* des traces de l'art de la cour impériale mais conclut avec beaucoup de prudence qu'elle ne sait si elle doit les attribuer à des maîtres que le protospathaire Christophe, catépan de Lombardie, aurait fait venir de Constantinople pour décorer l'église qu'il érigea afin d'y abriter son tombeau ou au rayonnement au sein d'un atelier local de l'une des manières que l'on pratiquait alors dans la capitale de l'Empire. On ne sait, en effet, si les mosaïques de Sainte-Sophie de Salonique et les peintures de Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrid ne sont pas dues à des maîtres venus de Constantinople. De toute manière, l'art de la capitale n'a cessé, au cours des siècles, d'influer sur celui des provinces.

Constantin D. KALOKYRIS, *Μνημεῖα τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Τέχνης τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Ὁ Ἅγιος Δημήτριος καὶ οἱ Ἅγιοι Ἀπόστολοι τῆς Θεσσαλονίκης (Ἡ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ καὶ ἡ ζωγραφικὴ τῶν ναῶν)*. Salonique, Université, 1970. 1 brochure 17,5 × 24,5 cm, 32 pp., 29 pll. (Tiré-à-part de *Ἀριστοτελεῖον Πανεπιστήμιον Θεσσαλονίκης. Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς*, t. XIV).

Constantin D. KALOKYRIS, *La Basilique Saint-Démétrius de Thessalonique. Ses mosaïques. — L'église des Saints-Apôtres de Thessalonique. Ses mosaïques*, dans le *XI Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenne, Edizioni Dante, 1964, pp. 225-246.

C. K. a republié en grec, en y apportant des additions et en l'enrichissant de plans et de photographies, le texte des leçons qu'il avait faites à Ravenne et dans lesquelles il avait exposé l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur l'architecture et le décor peint de Saint-Démétrius et des Saints-Apôtres. Pour Saint-Démétrius il propose de voir dans le magistrat à la gauche du titulaire de l'église non pas Léontios, préfet de l'Illyricum, mais Léon, éparque de la ville lors de la reconstruction de l'église, sous l'épiscopat de Jean, après l'incendie du début du VIIe s. Pour les Saint-Apôtres, s'il s'est attaché avant tout aux mosaïques, il nous a aussi donné, en les accompagnant de brefs commentaires, 12 photographies des fresques (Ces peintures murales ont été l'objet d'une communication de M. André Xyngopoulos au colloque de Venise sur *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues, Actes* ..., pp. 85-89, avec 24 figg. sur 12 pll., voir *supra*, t. XLVI, 1976, p. 179).

Andréas XYNGOPOULOS, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Ὀρφανοῦ Θεσσαλονίκης* (en grec avec un résumé en français). Athènes [Musée archéologique], 1964. 1 vol. 20 × 28 cm, 44 pp., 2 plans, 1 coupe, 8 schémas, 79 pll. en noir et blanc, 16 pll. en couleurs (*ΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΜΑΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΥ ΔΕΛΤΙΟΥ*. 4).

André XYNGOPOULOS, *Les fresques de l'église de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Thessalonique*, dans le *XI Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenne, Edizioni Dante, 1964, pp. 431-438, 6 figg.

Tania VELMANS, *Les fresques de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Salonique et les rapports entre la peinture d'icones et la décoration monumentale au XIVe siècle*, dans les *Cahiers archéologiques*, t. XVI, 1966, pp. 145-176, 27 figg.

L'église de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos, dans la ville haute de Salonique, est, avec un portail à moitié détruit, le seul témoin subsistant d'un monastère fondé par un moine Nicon appartenant à une des banches de la grande et puissante famille Kapandritis. C'est une petite basilique précédée d'un narthex et couverte d'un toit à charpente. Nettoyées en 1959 et 1960, les fresques constituent l'une des créations majeures de la peinture du temps des Paléologues. En raison de leurs parentés iconographiques, stylistiques et techniques avec celles de Saint-Georges de Nagoričino, A. X. les a datées de la décennie 1310-1320. Dans un article des *Cah. arch.* (t. XVI, 1966), dont les conclusions ont été rejetées, après une critique serrée, par Mme A. Tsitouridis (*Βυζαντινά*, t. 2, 1970, pp. 442-450), Mme T. V. a proposé de les abaisser aux entours de 1340 et d'y voir la participation de Georges Kalliergis. C'est là un problème qui vient d'être réétudié et résolu en partie différemment par M. St. Pélékanidis. (La fig. 145 du livre d'A. X. représente non pas saint Démétrius [cf. figg. 136 et 186] mais sans doute saint Nestor [cf. fig. 140]).

Stylianos PÉLÉKANIDIS, *Καλλιέργης, ὅλης Θετταλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος*. Athènes, Société archéologique, 1973. 1 vol. 21 × 28 cm, x-175 pp., 3 figg., 1 dépliant, 83 pll. en noir et blanc, 22 pll. en couleurs (*ΒΙΒΛΙΟΘΗΚΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΕΤΑΙΡΕΙΑΣ*. N° 75) (en grec avec un long résumé en anglais de 42 pp.).

La publication des fresques peintes par Kalliergis à l'intérieur de l'église de Verria dite aujourd'hui du Christ mais d'abord consacrée à l'*Anastasis* a mené St. P. à la conclusion qu'il convient de modifier nos conceptions sur l'histoire de la peinture byzantine à la fin du XIIIe s. et au début du XIVe et

de rejeter la distinction entre «école macédonienne» et «école constantinopolitaine».

L'inscription dédicatoire nous apprend que cette église fut commencée, sans doute dés la fin du XIIIe s., par Xénos Psalidas (qui en aurait fait aussi exécuter certaines fresques extérieures comme l'image d'Anne portant la Vierge à l'extrémité S.-E. du mur S.) et achevée par sa veuve Euphrosyné. Destinée d'abord à être une église de famille, elle devint, au témoignage d'une seconde inscription, le *catholicon* d'un monastère, peu après la mort de son fondateur. Elle fut inaugurée en 1314/5 par un patriarche de Constantinople, très vraisemblablement Niphon, originaire de Verria, celui qui fit construire et décorer de mosaïques les Saints-Apôtres de Salonique. Les fresques intérieures ont été exécutées par Kalliergis, appelé *ὅλης Θετταλίας ἄριστος ζωγράφος*, et par ses frères. L'église est une basilique à une seule nef, au toit à deux versants, enveloppée d'un portique de date ultérieure. La conséquence de l'adoption de ce type architectural est que, dans le programme iconographique, le Pantocrator de la coupole absente a été remplacé par un buste du Christ inscrit à l'intérieur d'un médaillon porté par deux archanges entre les bustes de David et de Salomon sur le tympan au-dessus de l'arc de tête de l'abside et que les évangélistes et les prophètes ont été figurés dans des médaillons à l'intérieur de la frise médiane sur les longs murs N. et S. Le registre supérieur de ces deux murs est occupé par les Grandes Fêtes, où, chose curieuse et inexpliquée, la Pentecôte manque comme à Saint-Nicolas Orphanos de Salonique et auxquelles on a ajouté d'autres scènes évangéliques. La Crucifixion et l'Anastasis ont été placées dans de grandes niches aveugles à l'extrémité E. des murs N. et S. de part et d'autre du sanctuaire.

St. P. a étudié très attentivement les modèles iconographiques dont Kalliergis s'est inspiré et les changements qu'il y a apportés. Il a aussi recherché les traits caractéristiques de la manière, très personnelle, de ce maître. La calme simplicité de Kalliergis contraste avec le dynamisme grandiose des mosaïques et des fresques de Kariye Cami et de la Pammakaristos de Constantinople. Ce sont les maîtres travaillant dans la capitale de l'Empire qui se sont montrés les plus novateurs. Avec Kalliergis on est à l'opposé de ce goût des attitudes mouvementées que l'on a considéré comme l'une des caractéristiques majeures de l'école macédonienne telle qu'on avait cru pouvoir la définir d'après les exemples du Protaton, de Chilandari et de la Bogorodiča Ljeviška de Prizren. Mais, en Macédoine, on retrouve une manière proche de celle de Kalliergis à Saint-Nikitas de Čučer, et à Salonique même — où un acte de Chilandari nous apprend que Kalliergis se

trouvait en novembre 1322 — aux Saints-Apôtres et à Saint-Nicolas Orphanos. Les ressemblances de plusieurs fresques de cette dernière église, pour lesquelles St. P. maintient la date proposée par M. Xyngopoulos, sont telles, en ce qui concerne l'iconographie et plusieurs détails de la facture, que notre collègue de Salonique croit pouvoir les attribuer à Kalliergis et à son atelier en dépit du mouvement conventionnel de certaines figures et du traitement plus sec des draperies, qui seraient dus à l'intervention du collaborateur du maître. Il est vrai que St. P. nous dit aussi (p. 113) que si les fresques de Saint-Nikitas de Čučer n'étaient pas signées de Michel et Eutychios, il ne lui paraîtrait pas téméraire de vouloir les rapporter à Kalliergis. Ceci doit nous rendre circonspects en ce qui concerne les tentatives d'attribution. Mais on accordera à St. P. qu'il vaut mieux renoncer à l'opposition entre l'école réaliste-naturaliste de la Macédoine et l'école idéaliste-transcendante de Constantinople. Dans le domaine de l'iconographie également l'auteur a bien montré que, contrairement à ce qu'avait pensé G. Millet, il n'y a pas de traits permettant de distinguer ces deux écoles. Sous Andronic II Paléologue a régné, en matière de peinture, une *koiné* au sein de laquelle se sont affirmés des personnalités et des courants. Il faut noter encore que Kalliergis nous apparaît comme un maître très au fait des acquisitions nouvelles du XIIIe s., attestées à Sopoćani et à Sainte-Catherine de Salonique, où St. P. retrouve la même force de transposition des thèmes narratifs en représentations symboliques qu'à l'Anastasis de Verria. Ceci nous fait d'autant plus souhaiter la publication des fresques de Sainte-Catherine par ce savant.

N. K. Moutsopoulos (et divers collaborateurs), *ΚΑΣΤΟΡΙΑ*. Salonique, *Ἐργαστήρια ἀρχιτεκτονικῆς μορφολογίας καὶ πολεοδομίας, Ἀριστοτέλειον πανεπιστήμιον*, 1972. I : 1. *Πολεοδομικὴ ἔκφραση τῆς Καστοριᾶς*. 2. *Χωροταξικὴ διερεύνηση τοῦ νόμου Καστοριᾶς*. 3. *Ἀποτύπωση. Ἀναλύση ὑφισταμένων πολεοδομικῶν δεδομένων*. 4. *Ὑφιστάμενο ὁδικὸ δίκτυο*. 1 vol. 30 × 24 cm, 114 pp., nombreuses photographies, texte grec (long résumé en anglais). II : *Λεύκωμα. Ἱστορικὴ - χωροταξικὴ - πολεοδομικὴ - μορφολογικὴ μελέτη Καστοριᾶς*. 1 album 48 × 58 cm, 141 pll. (légendes en grec et en anglais).

Le volume de texte vise à retracer l'histoire de l'évolution urbaine de Castoria depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours. N. K. M. a tenté de reconstituer l'aspect de la ville médiévale d'après la manière dont elle se présentait encore au début de la domination turque et d'après les figurations architecturales sur les fresques des églises de la cité. Il en a étudié aussi les

défenses : rempart et acropole (avec la chapelle de la garnison : Panaghia Koubelidiki). Le manque d'espace à l'intérieur de l'enceinte a provoqué l'étroitesse des rues, que l'on a cherché à compenser par l'embellissement des maisons. Les habitants furent soucieux d'élever des constructions en harmonie avec le paysage. N. K. M. doute que la ville ait possédé un marché et pense que les boutiques étaient surtout aménagées au rez-de-chaussée des maisons bordant la rue principale. Dès le VIIe s., Castoria semble avoir été un lieu d'exil pour de hauts dignitaires de la cour byzantine tombés en disgrâce. Certains d'entre eux figurent sans doute parmi les riches donateurs auxquels on doit l'édification et la décoration des églises dont le nombre est particulièrement élevé. Après la conquête turque à la fin du XIVe s. les chrétiens s'établirent sur la partie S.-E. (comme il est dit correctement p. 6, et non N.-E. comme il est imprimé p. 82) de la péninsule, construisant de nouvelles églises, qu'ils décorèrent de fresques ; les nombreuses représentations de scènes de martyre dans le registre inférieur semblent illustrer la dureté des temps et apporter la compensation de la promesse d'une existence heureuse dans l'Au-delà. Les collaborateurs de N. K. M. ont étudié la vie actuelle du nome et de la ville de Castoria.

Dans le luxueux album de planches, qui couvre tous les aspects de l'histoire de la cité depuis les établissements néolithiques jusqu'à nos jours, on trouve des plans, des coupes axonométriques, des dessins des églises ainsi que des photographies d'extérieurs (y compris des détails d'appareils des murs), d'intérieurs, de fresques, et des fac-similés des inscriptions (accompagnés parfois aussi de photographies). Dans son introduction N. K. M. nous annonce que cette riche documentation sera mise en œuvre dans une série de volumes de texte.

Nicolas C. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Καστορία. Παναγία Μαυριώτισσα* (avec une traduction abrégée en anglais). Athènes, *Ἔκδοσις Σωματείου «Φίλοι Βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων καὶ Ἀρχαιοτήτων Νομοῦ Καστορίας»*, 1967. 1 vol. 18,5 × 18,5 cm, 84 pp., 17 figg., 99 pll. en noir et blanc, 9 pll. en couleurs.

Conçu, à la demande de la jeune société des «Amis des monuments byzantins et des antiquités de la province de Castoria» pour être un guide à l'intention des touristes, ce petit volume sera également fort utile aux spécialistes par l'abondance et la qualité de son illustration ainsi que par la valeur scientifique de son texte.

N. M. pense que les parties les plus anciennes du catholicon du couvent appelé d'abord *ἡ Μεσονησιώτισσα* et qui était consacré à la Dormition de la

Vierge remonteraient d'après leur décor céramoplastique au milieu du XIIe s. et il daterait les fresques qui les décorent non pas comme on l'a fait souvent du début du XIIIe s. mais de la fin du XIIe par comparaison avec Saint-Georges de Kurbinovo, la Panaghia Arakiotissa de Lagoudera, la chapelle de la Panaghia de Patmos et les Saints-Anargyres de Castoria même. Le catholicon eut à souffrir de destructions au début du XIIIe siècle. M. M. estime qu'il aurait été restauré, peu après la victoire remportée à Pélagonia sur Michel II Ange, par le Grand Domestique Jean Paléologue, dont on verrait le portrait avec celui de son frère, l'empereur Michel VIII dans la partie gauche de la fresque de l'arbre de Jessé sur la face externe du mur S. du narthex. Au milieu du XIVe s. l'église eut à pâtir à nouveau de graves dommages et elle fut reconstruite vers 1375-1380 par Radoslav Slapen, beau-père de Nicolas Bagaš. Nous ne savons pas si la chapelle de Saint-Jean qui fut accolée au flanc S. du catholicon fut bâtie dès alors ou seulement au début du XVIe s., peu avant qu'elle fut décorée de fresques en 1522 par Eustathe, fils de Jacques et protonotaire.

Chrysanthi MAVROPOULOU-TSIOUMI, *Οἱ τοιχογραφίες τοῦ 13ου αἰῶνα στὴν Κουμπελιδίκη τῆς Καστορίας*. Salonique, *Κέντρον Βυζαντινῶν Ἐρευνῶν*, 1973. 1 vol., 133 pp., 75 pll. (*Βυζαντινὰ κείμενα καὶ μελέται*. 8).

Par comparaison avec les grands ensembles de la Serbie l'auteur maintient la date du XIIIe s. pour ces fresques décorant l'intérieur d'une église triconque. Les peintures, tardives, de l'exonarthex ont été illustrées sans être analysées, bien qu'elles présentent des thèmes intéressants comme la remise de couronnes par le Christ aux saints militaires.

Nicolas C. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Ἔρευνες στὴν Καστοριὰ καὶ τὸν Ἅγιο Ἀχίλλειο*. Salonique, 1965. 1 vol. 17,5 × 25 cm, 133 pp., 35 figg., 41 pll., 10 pll. dépliantes (*Ἀνάτυπον ἐκ τοῦ Β΄ Τόμου τῆς Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς*, pp. 93-225).

Nicolas C. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀχιλλείου. Δεύτερα* (1966) *καὶ τρίτη* (1967) *περίοδος ἐργασίων*. Salonique, 1969. 1 vol. 17,5 × 25 cm, 166 pp., 46 figg., 99 pll., 1 pl. dépliante (*Ἀνάτυπον ἐκ τοῦ Δ΄ Τόμου τῆς Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς*, pp. 63-229).

Nicolas C. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Ἀνασκαφὴ τῆς βασιλικῆς τοῦ Ἁγίου Ἀχιλλείου. Fouilles à la basilique de St. Achillée*. Salonique, 1972. 1 vol. 17,5 × 25 cm, 313 pp., 128 figg., 126 pll., 12 plans (*Ἀνάτυπον ἐκ τοῦ Ε΄ Τόμου τῆς*

Ἐπιστημονικῆς Ἐπετηρίδος τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχολῆς, pp. 149-461) (avec un long résumé en français).

Le titre du premier de ces volumes est un peu trompeur, car si N. M. y rappelle dans son introduction les travaux qu'il a menés durant l'été de 1965 à Castoria, il ne nous en livre pas les conclusions. Il nous présente au contraire, avec une grande précision, les résultats des travaux de nettoyage qu'il a conduits ensuite, au cours de la même année, dans la basilique de Saint-Achillée sur l'île de ce nom dans le petit lac Prespa. Encouragé par l'intérêt des observations auxquelles il avait pu ainsi procéder, il a dirigé, en 1966, 1967 et 1969, à l'intérieur et autour du monument, des fouilles, sur lesquelles il a fait rapport dans les volumes suivants. Il se confirme que cet édifice occupe une place éminente dans l'évolution de l'architecture et de la peinture byzantines et qu'il est un témoin fort significatif de l'histoire de la Macédoine occidentale. Saint-Achillée, église métropolitaine construite entre 986 et 990 par Samuel dans sa capitale du petit lac Prespa, était une basilique aux trois nefs séparées par deux rangées de sept piliers, avec des tribunes sur les collatéraux mais non sur le narthex. Par le plan et le décor céramoplastique, N. M. la situe vers le terme d'une évolution qu'il suit de l'Episkopi d'Eurytanie (vers 850) jusqu'à Saint-Germanos (en 1006). (Pour l'Episkopi on verra maintenant An. C. Orlandos, *Ἀρχεῖον*, t. XII, 1973, pp. 141-161).

Les fouilles ont dégagé de nombreuses tombes. Celle où Samuel avait fait placer les dépouilles de saint Achillée de Larissa et des saints Oikouménios et Diodore de Trikka, sous la protection desquels il mettait sa jeune capitale, semble avoir été fermée par une plaque qui, avec ses motifs empruntés à des tissus orientaux, compte au nombre des œuvres importantes de la sculpture médiobyzantine. Une autre tombe (*Γ*) a livré un tissu de soie aux fils d'or, orné de rapaces à l'intérieur de «roues», qui ne sont pas entrelacées : sa haute qualité paraît indiquer qu'il accompagnait le corps d'un personnage important.

On trouvera aussi dans ces volumes une étude attentive des fresques. Les plus anciennes seraient contemporaines de la construction de l'édifice par Samuel dans les années qui suivirent la translation des reliques de saint Achillée en 985. Les fresques de la deuxième couche appartiendraient au deuxième quart du XIe s. et seraient dues à l'initiative de l'archevêque d'Ochrid, Léon (1037-1056), qui fit décorer de fresques dans cette dernière ville Sainte-Sophie. L'église de Saint-Achillée ayant été endommagée par les mercenaires normands en 1072, elle fut restaurée grâce aux soins de Théophylacte d'Ochrida à la fin du XIe s. : c'est alors qu'auraient été

exécutées les fresques de la troisième couche. Toutes sont des témoins importants de la peinture byzantine en Macédoine.

N. K. MOUTSOPOULOS, *Οἱ ἐκκλησίες τοῦ Νομοῦ Πέλλης*. Salonique, 1973. 1 vol. 17,5 × 25 cm, 106 pp., 8 pll., nombreuses figg. sur 329 pp. (*Ἑταιρεία Μακεδονικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἵδρυμα Μελετῶν Χερσονήσου τοῦ Αἵμου*. N° 138).

Cette publication, méthodique et richement illustrée, de 65 églises de la province de Pella, dont la plus ancienne, peinte de fresques, remonte à 1667 (Saint-Georges de Kato Grammatico), tandis que 12 appartiennent au XVIIIe s. et 52 au XIXe, nous intéresse par la permanence qu'elle atteste des traditions byzantines dans l'architecture, où prédomine le type basilical à trois nefs (il n'y a pas d'église à coupole), dans les icones, dans les iconostases en bois et dans la peinture murale, où, au XIXe s. surtout, elles revêtent des formes populaires d'une savoureuse naïveté. Les églises plus anciennes ont disparu à la suite des guerres et des catastrophes qui ont ravagé la région mais il en survit des éléments (chapiteaux, plaques de chancel ou d'ambons, meneaux) soit remployés dans les constructions plus récentes soit éparpillés autour d'elles. A Edesse la Métropole et l'église des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul conservent encore d'intéressants chapiteaux paléochrétiens avec des têtes de bélier et des aigles.

Lydie HADERMANN-MISGUICH, *Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle*. Bruxelles, Editions de Byzantion, 1975. 1 vol. 16,5 × 25 cm. I, Texte : 606 pp., 75 figg., 5 pll. en couleurs ; II, Illustration : 10 pp., 191 figg. sur 118 pll. (BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE BYZANTION. 6). Prix : 2.400 fr. belges.

Ce gros et bel ouvrage ne nous apporte pas seulement une publication, minutieuse et riche en trouvailles, des fresques de Saint-Georges de K., dont l'auteur nous procure un grand nombre de photographies, qu'elle a presque toutes prises elle-même ; comme le titre l'indique, il vise aussi à les resituer, avec l'appui d'un abondant dossier d'illustrations comparatives, dans la peinture byzantine du XIIe s., que leur étude éclaire souvent d'un jour nouveau, et d'une façon plus générale dans l'évolution de l'art byzantin. L'inscription peinte à l'arrière de l'autel nous apprend que ces fresques ont été commencées le 25 avril 1191 (après l'octave pascale et la fête du saint patron, célébrée le 23 avril). L'analyse approfondie de l'iconographie (y compris des fresques extérieures qui dateraient aussi de la fin du XIIe s.) établit que les images archaïques y sont rares (Descente de Croix et Thrène), qu'un bon nombre de sujets sont traités de la manière usuelle à

l'époque mais qu'il y a aussi une proportion importante de scènes et de détails présentant un caractère novateur ou d'avant-garde (on trouvera p. 53 la distinction judicieuse que Mme H.-M. a opérée entre ces deux termes : est *novatrice* «une particularité qui apparaît au XIIe s. et se retrouve dans plusieurs œuvres de l'époque ... même si elle ne représente qu'une mode passagère» ; est considérée comme d'*avant-garde* «une particularité qui ne se rencontre que très rarement au XIIe s. mais devient courante ultérieurement»). Dans le répertoire des ornements, architectoniques et «imitatifs», Mme H.-M. a cherché à déterminer leur degré de banalité ou d'originalité ; on y retrouve dans l'ensemble le même souci d'actualité que dans l'iconographie. 242 pages sont consacrées à l'étude stylistique et technique des figures humaines, des fonds d'architectures et des paysages, des représentations de la lumière divine, des meubles, des objets, des animaux et des ornements, ainsi qu'à l'analyse des rapports spatiaux qui existent entre les différents éléments des compositions et de ceux qui unissent les panneaux et les registres dans le cadre de l'architecture très simple du monument. Au terme de cette étude subtile Mme H.-M. croit pouvoir distinguer, au sein d'un ensemble qui présente une incontestable unité, la part du maître de l'atelier qu'elle appelle «le Maître de Kurbinovo» et celle du «Peintre de la Dormition», «doué d'une personnalité forte et rude». Mais ils furent aidés par des collaborateurs. L'ensemble, écrit Mme H.-M. p. 562, «est, dans sa conception comme dans sa réalisation, l'œuvre *d'une* personnalité, d'un artiste à la vision cohérente, et originale, qui a su vivifier les formes esthétiques de l'art des Angelo-Comnènes pour exprimer certaines des préoccupations humaines et religieuses de son époque». De comparaisons poussées avec les Saints-Anargyres de Castoria, il ressort, de façon probante, que le peintre A de cette dernière église (antérieure à Saint-Georges de K., vers 1180) ne serait autre que le «Maître de Kurbinovo», qui, formé sans doute dans l'atelier de Nerezi, était alors encore déchiré entre des formes relativement classiques et la violence de son tempérament, avant d'atteindre son *acmé* à Saint-Georges dans la parfaite adéquation entre ce qu'il voulait exprimer et son style. Les nombreux rapports que Mme H.-M. a relevés entre Kurbinovo, Monreale, Patmos, Paphos et Lagoudera indiquent qu'après Nerezi le «Maître de Kurbinovo» a participé aux courants novateurs émanant de Constantinople ; et c'est aussi à la capitale de l'Empire qu'il dut l'excellente connaissance dont il fit preuve des enluminures exécutées dans la première moitié du XIIe s.

Je crois qu'il ne sera plus possible d'aborder une question d'histoire de la peinture byzantine sans se reporter au livre de Mme H.-M. soit pour son

étude de l'évolution des thèmes soit pour ses analyses techniques et stylistiques.

Petar MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Deloto na Zographite Michaïlo i Eutychij* (*L'œuvre des peintres Michel et Eutych*) (en macédonien avec un résumé en français de 19 pp.). Skopje, Institut républicain pour la protection du Patrimoine culturel, 1967. 1 vol. 21,5 × 29 cm, 288 pp., 143 figg., 14 schémas, 195 pll. (PATRIMOINE CULTUREL ET HISTORIQUE DE LA R. S. DE MACÉDOINE. T. X).

Petar MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *L'évolution des Maîtres Michel Astrapas et Eutychios comme peintres d'icones*, dans le *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Gesellschaft*, t. XVI, 1967, pp. 297-303, 7 pll.

P. M.-P. a procédé à une étude morphologique et iconographique très poussée des peintures signées de Michel Astrapas (il voit dans Astrapas le surnom et non le patronyme de ce peintre) et d'Eutychios. Ce sont celles de la Vierge Péribleptos (aujourd'hui Saint-Clément) d'Ochrid (église élevée et décorée aux frais du grand hétériarque Progonos Sgouros en 1295), Saint-Georges de Nagoričino (remaniée et décorée sur l'ordre de Milutin entre 1313 et 1318) et Saint-Nikita de Čučer (non datée).

Notre confrère de Skopje voit dans les fresques de la Péribleptos une première phase de l'évolution de ces deux maîtres, encore tributaires du nouvel art monumental du XIIIe s. De nombreux éléments empruntés sans doute aux procédés de la mosaïque lui donnent à croire que les deux peintres auraient reçu leur formation dans un atelier de mosaïstes ou du moins d'artistes influencés par la mosaïque, c'est-à-dire selon toute vraisemblance à Salonique. P. M.-P. formule l'hypothèse qu'à cette première phase de l'activité de Michel et Eutychios appartiendraient des icones conservées aussi à la Péribleptos d'Ochrid : trois icones de la Déisis, une Ascension du Christ et un Évangéliste Matthieu. C'est là une conjecture séduisante, qui a le mérite d'attirer l'attention sur des parentés stylistiques s'expliquant par une contemporanéité au sein d'un même milieu culturel et artistique mais qu'il faudrait bien se garder de considérer comme pleinement établie. P. M.-P. considère les fresques du Protaton et le fragment de fresque représentant saint Nicolas à Lavra ainsi qu'une icone de saint Démétrius à Vatopédi comme des témoins du processus conduisant Michel et Eutychios à leur seconde phase. Celle-ci, caractérisée par une maîtrise plus grande, est atteinte dans les fresques de Saint-Georges de Nagoričino. Elles se rattachent au style constantinopolitain du début du XIVe s., dont la pénétration en Macédoine s'est heurtée à de la résistance de la part des artistes locaux mais a

été favorisée par Michel et Eutychios. Les fresques de l'église de Joachim et Anne construite par Milutin en 1314 à Studenica marqueraient le début de cette seconde phase, à laquelle P. M.-P. rapporterait encore les icones de l'Incrédulité de Thomas, du Baptême et de la Descente aux Limbes conservées à la Péribleptos.

Les fresques de Saint-Nikita de Čučer, qui se différencient des précédentes par leurs conceptions iconographiques et leur style, illustreraient une troisième phase. Elles ont posé des problèmes à P. M.-P., dont les positions sur ce point semblent plus fluctuantes dans son livre que dans son article du *JbÖG*. En raison des divergences que nous venons de signaler il est allé dans son ouvrage jusqu'à supposer que Michel et Eutychios, tout en signant ces fresques comme «maîtres en chef d'un atelier» auraient peut-être été «surchargés de travail» et qu'ils auraient confié l'exécution de la décoration à l'un des meilleurs collaborateurs de leur atelier, dont il croit avoir découvert la signature, sans pouvoir la déchiffrer, à Saint-Nikita sur une composition des Miracles du Christ : la même signature se retrouverait à Dečani sur la poignée de l'épée de saint Aréthas ; mais ne s'agirait-il point plutôt d'un motif ornemental? P. M.-P. a supposé que ce collaborateur aurait travaillé déjà à Saint-Georges de Nagoričino et qu'il serait devenu l'un des maîtres de Dečani. Toutefois ailleurs dans le résumé en français de son volume (notamment p. 258, 2e colonne) P. M.-P. affirme que si «à première vue, la diversité des peintures de Michel et d'Eutychios nous pousse quelquefois à les attribuer à des auteurs distincts ... il est hors de doute que cette impression provient du perfectionnement permanent de maîtres dont l'évolution a été plus dynamique que celle des artistes italiens contemporains». Et dans son article du *JbÖG*, P. M.-P. parle plus nettement d'une troisième phase, qui se situerait après Nagoričino. Il y rattacherait une icone de la Présentation de la Vierge découverte à Saint-Nicolas d'Ochrid et une Nativité du Christ, dont la partie droite se trouve au Musée National d'Ochrid et la partie gauche au Musée National de Belgrade.

P. M.-P. attribuerait les fresques de la chapelle Saint-Euthyme au S.-E. de Saint-Démétrius de Salonique (en 1303), une partie de celles du narthex de Vatopédi et du narthex des Saints-Apôtres de Peć ainsi que la Dormition de Žiča à des artistes qui auraient suivi, plus ou moins indépendamment ou en qualité de collaborateurs, les idées artistiques de Michel Astrapas et d'Eutychios.

P. M.-P. rejette l'idée de l'appartenance de Michel et Eutychios à une prétendue école de Milutin. Mais il s'agit de préciser l'acception des termes

et de distinguer entre école et tendance. Dans la mesure où Milutin a fait construire de nombreuses églises et les a fait décorer par des peintres entre lesquels on relève des parentés à côté de divergences plus ou moins accusées, je crois qu'il est légitime de parler d'une école de Milutin comme on parle d'une école de Paris. Au sein de cette école Michel et Eutychios représentent une tendance, dont les débuts, à la Péribleptos, lui sont antérieurs mais dont l'évolution s'explique par les circonstances nouvelles résultant de la politique de Milutin.

Gojko SUBOTIĆ, *Sveti Konstantii i Jelena y Ochridy* (*L'église des Saints-Constantin-et-Hélène à Ohrid*). Dessins de Dragomir TODOROVIĆ (avec un long résumé en français). Belgrade, 1971. 1 vol. 21 × 27 cm, 144 pp., 40 figg., 10 schémas, 55 figg. sur 32 pll. (FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE. INSTITUT D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART. MONOGRAPHIES. I.).

Les détails de l'architecture et le style des peintures font dater par G. S. la construction et la décoration peinte de l'église dans les années 1380. Au témoignage d'une inscription grecque peinte, à l'intérieur, au-dessus de la porte d'entrée méridionale, l'édifice est dû à la libéralité du hiéromoine Parthénios, qui devait recevoir plus tard le titre de «grand pneumatikos d'Ochrid». Il s'est fait représenter, à la droite de la porte S., en donateur portant la maquette de l'église, suivi de sa mère Maria, *πρεσβυτέρα* (= femme de prêtre) et précédé de son défunt fils Michel. C'est sans doute avec l'intention de souligner un parallélisme que Parthénios et sa mère ont dédié l'église en l'honneur de Constantin et de sa mère Hélène. Le bâtiment est du type *σταυρεπίστεγος*, c'est-à-dire à une nef voûtée d'un berceau que recoupe un berceau transversal selon une formule pratiquée surtout en Epire, d'où vinrent peut-être les constructeurs ou avec laquelle ils auraient été en relation. C'est sur le modèle des Saints-Constantin-et-Hélène que le dernier archevêque d'Ochrid avant la chute de la ville au pouvoir des Turcs, — personnage resté pour nous anonyme —, fit remanier, vraisemblablement par le même atelier, les parties hautes de l'église de la Vierge de Bolnica près de la porte basse des fortifications d'Ochrid, église qui avait été construite peu avant 1368. Contre la moitié orientale du mur S. de la nef des Saints-Constantin-et-Hélène s'appuie une chapelle dédiée à sainte Paraskévi, personnification de la Passion et protectrice des défunts, ainsi que G. S. l'a montré dans un des chapitres les plus riches en enseignements de son livre : on y verra comment à Chypre sainte Paraskévi, que son nom rattachait au vendredi, a succédé à Vénus dans certaines formes de la dévotion populaire.

Peut-être cette chapelle fut-elle construite pour la protection de l'âme de Michel, le fils défunt de Parthénios.

Les peintures, récemment nettoyées, ont été exécutées par des maîtres d'habileté diverse, mais G. S. fait pertinemment observer que leur manière a pu être aussi fonction des sujets traités et de l'allure, étroite ou étirée, des cadres qu'ils avaient à remplir. Pour notre confrère serbe ces artistes se rattacheraient à une école locale, au style assez rude, qui se serait constituée à Ochrid à partir des environs du milieu du XIVe s. à la suite de l'accroissement du nombre des donateurs locaux, alors que précédemment les prélats de la ville ou les rares donateurs, étrangers à celle-ci, avaient fait venir leurs peintres de Salonique ou de Constantinople. Les icones de l'iconostase, elles aussi de valeur inégale, seraient dues aux mêmes peintres que les fresques.

Les façades de l'église et de la chapelle sous le porche ouvert qui précédait à l'O. cette dernière, étaient décorées de peintures illustrant la vie des saints titulaires. Les fresques représentant la naissance et des épisodes du martyre de sainte Paraskévi sur la façade occidentale de la chapelle sont contemporaines de la construction. Celles qui figurent des scènes de la vie de Constantin et Hélène au milieu et dans le haut de l'extrémité occidentale du mur S. de l'église ont été refaites au XVe s. mais en respectant sans doute le schéma iconographique des compositions qui durent être exécutées dès les années 1380 et qui auraient constitué le plus ancien exemple connu de ce cycle dans la peinture murale balkanique. Au registre inférieur, par dessus une couche de peintures remontant à la construction de l'édifice mais endommagées par les intempéries ont été placés, également au XVe s., les portraits d'un petit-fils de Parthénios, le hiéromoine et archimandrite Nicandar, et de quatre autres défunts, dont aucune mention ne précise la parenté éventuelle avec le fondateur. Les inscriptions sont cette fois en slave.

On signalera encore la présence, à l'intérieur des Saints-Constantin-et-Hélène, sur le mur S., sous l'inscription dédicatoire, d'un long texte grec en trois colonnes, dressant l'inventaire des biens mobiliers et immobiliers, qui furent offerts à l'église par Parthénios.

Serbie

Svetozar RADOJČIĆ, *Geschichte der serbischen Kunst. Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Mittelalters.* Berlin, Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1969. 1 vol. 17 × 24 cm, VIII-126 pp., 24 figg., 65 pll. (GRUNDRISS DER SLAVISCHEN PHILOLOGIE UND KULTURGESCHICHTE). Prix : 48 DM.

Svetozar RADOJČIĆ, *Staro Srpsko Slikarstvo* (L'ancienne peinture murale serbe). Belgrade, Nolit, 1966. 1 vol. 20,5 × 27 cm, 222 pp., 22 dessins, 50 pll. en noir et blanc et 13 pll. en couleurs dans le texte, 112 pll. hors-texte.

Antica Arte serba. Roma-Palazzo Venezia febbraio-marzo 1970. Rome, De Luca Editore. 1 vol. 21,5 × 24 cm, 80 pp., 15 figg., 6 pll. en couleurs dans le texte, 66 pll. en noir et blanc hors texte. Prix : 3.000 lires.

Dans la collection «Grundriss der slavischen Philologie und Kulturgeschichte» où avaient paru les ouvrages de D. Aïnalov et de B. Filov sur l'art russe et sur l'ancien art bulgare, Sv. R. nous a donné un très remarquable manuel dans lequel il a présenté les différents aspects de l'art médiéval de la Serbie (architecture, peinture murale, icones, miniatures, industries d'art) en les mettant en rapport avec les événements historiques principaux et avec les autres phénomènes de civilisation de la Serbie, particulièrement avec les œuvres de la littérature. L'exposé de Sv. R. s'organise selon les grandes périodes qu'il a distinguées dans l'évolution de l'art serbe. Notre collègue de Belgrade a d'abord examiné les monuments antérieurs à la fin du XIIe s. : monuments de tradition byzantine dans les villes de garnison des troupes des *basileis* et dans les points d'appui de l'Empire, monuments préromans plus à l'O. dans le royaume de Dioclée, dont le centre était à Scutari. C'est sous l'impulsion d'Étienne Nemanja (1168-1196) que se constitua en Rascie un art monumental dont nous voyons encore des témoins imposants à Saint-Nicolas de Kuršumlija, à Saint-Georges de Ras et dans l'église de Studenica. L'essor était ainsi pris qui devait conduire au «style mûr de la Rascie» (1200-1300), de Žiča à Arilje et aux fresques récentes de Saint-Pierre de Ras. La peinture murale et les icones se rattachent au style byzantin, mais avec des caractères qui leur sont propres, tandis que l'architecture, la sculpture et la miniature sont plutôt tributaires de l'Europe occidentale. Dans l'époque qui, ensuite, va de la fin du XIIIe s. jusqu'à la défaite de la noblesse serbe sous les coups des Turcs le long de la Marica (1371), Sv. R. a distingué deux périodes : le règne de Milutin (1300-1321), sous lequel, à la suite des circonstances politiques, les in-

fluences byzantines se sont intensifiées, et la phase qui comprend les règnes d'Étienne Dečanski (1321-1331), d'Étienne Dušan (1331-1355) et d'Étienne Uroš (1355-1371). Outre les grandes fondations royales se multiplièrent alors les églises élevées par les membres de la noblesse. Les dernières formes de l'art serbe s'épanouirent, avec une subtile délicatesse, dans la vallée de la Morava et dans la région du Danube de 1371 jusqu'à la défaite de Smederevo en 1459. A l'intérieur de chacune de ces époques Sv. R. a distingué les variantes locales et les différents styles.

Un peu auparavant en 1966 Sv. R. avait publié un gros livre, uniquement en serbe, sans résumé dans une langue internationale mais avec une illustration abondante et de qualité, consacré à l'ancienne peinture murale serbe, où il avait proposé comme grandes distinctions : 1) les débuts de la peinture chez les Serbes, 2) le style monumental (1170-1300), 3) le style narratif (1300-1370), 4) le style décoratif (1370-1459).

Enfin on citera, pour les précieux services qu'il peut rendre, le catalogue de l'exposition d'art serbe qui s'est tenue à Rome au Palais de Venise au début de 1970 et qui comportait sept fresques authentiques déposées au Musée National de Belgrade, des objets de dévotion en bronze, en or, en argent (parfois décorés d'émaux) ou en bois, des icones, des manuscrits enluminés, des broderies, des objets liturgiques, des vases en argent, de la céramique, de la verrerie, des bijoux. Chaque notice est accompagnée d'indications bibliographiques. Le catalogue débute par une histoire de l'art médiéval de la Serbie, très clairement condensée en 24 pages et munie elle aussi d'un appareil de références.

Studenica. Avec la collaboration de Milan KAŠANIN (Introduction), Vojislav KORAĆ (Architecture et sculpture), Dušan TASIĆ (fresques), Mirjana ŠAKOTA (trésor). Traduction anglaise de Milica HRGOVIĆ. Belgrade, Novinsko-izdavačko preduzeće Književne Novine, 1968. 1 vol. 24,5 × 31,5 cm, 155 pp., nombreuses figg., pll. en noir et blanc et en couleurs.

Dans l'introduction M. K. a retracé l'histoire du monastère depuis sa fondation, dans les années 1180, par Étienne Nemanja, qui le destinait à être son lieu de sépulture. Du point de vue des emplacements choisis, M. K. fait ressortir l'opposition entre les églises-mausolées des souverains (de Studenica à Ravanica et à Resava) situées dans des endroits retirés et les églises épiscopales bâties dans des endroits facilement accessibles. Il a ensuite rappelé longuement le rôle capital que joua dans l'organisation de la vie monastique, dans le choix des peintres et dans l'ordonnance du programme iconographique, saint Sava, l'un des hommes les plus cultivés

de son temps, qui, à Constantinople, à Salonique et à l'Athos, avait été en contact avec les réalisations les plus raffinées de la civilisation byzantine et souhaita doter de leurs équivalents le jeune État de Rascie. V. K. a analysé la manière dont éléments byzantins et éléments romans d'origine italienne se sont combinés pour faire un monument original de l'église de la Vierge construite entre 1183 et 1196 et dont les bâtisseurs se sont révélés fort habiles : cet édifice est à l'origine de l'école architecturale de la Rascie où le prestige dont il jouissait l'a fait imiter. Les sculptures du portail O. (Vierge entre Michel et Gabriel sur le tympan, Christ et apôtres sur la face interne des piédroits) auraient été exécutées par des artistes romans mais puissamment influencés non seulement par l'iconographie mais aussi par le style de Byzance que leur auraient fait connaître surtout les reliefs en ivoire. V. K. a encore étudié le narthex ajouté par le roi Radoslav au début de la quatrième décennie du XIIIe s. avant 1234, l'église de Saint-Nicolas (du début du XIIIe s.), les fondations de l'église de Saint-Jean (de même plan et de mêmes dimensions), l'église de Joachim et Anne construite par Milutin en 1314, le réfectoire et les remparts.

En ce qui concerne les fresques de l'église de la Vierge, les nettoyages et les restaurations effectués entre 1951 et 1957 ont permis de distinguer avec plus de précision celles qui ont été exécutées en 1209 et celles qui ont été refaites en 1568 en respectant fidèlement l'iconographie du début du XIIIe s. et en cherchant même à imiter la technique de cette époque. D. T. suppose que les peintres à qui l'on doit les fresques du début du XIIIe s. sont les mêmes que ceux qui décorèrent, à partir de 1220, le sanctuaire de l'église de Žiča et qu'au témoignage de Théodose saint Sava aurait fait venir de Constantinople, ville qu'ils auraient quittée d'autant plus volontiers qu'elle était sous la domination des Croisés depuis 1204. Mais sur ce point les auteurs du volume *Le monastère de Žiča* ont fait des réserves (voir *infra*). Pour la Crucifixion on se reportera aux intéressantes considérations de Pavle Mijović, *ibid.*, pp. 107 et suiv., p. 218.

Les fresques exécutées dans la chapelle S. du narthex bâti par le roi Radoslav entre 1230 et 1233/1234 représentent des scènes des dernières années de la vie d'Étienne Nemanja depuis son départ pour l'Athos, où il devint moine sous le nom de Syméon, jusqu'à la translation de ses reliques à Studenica. Ce sont les plus anciennes peintures à sujet historique de Serbie. Elles sont sans doute inspirées du texte de la *Vie d'Étienne Nemanja* écrite par son fils saint Sava. Il faut encore signaler dans cette chapelle les portraits des Némanides, de saints et d'ecclésiastiques. Les peintres, sans doute *serbes* cette fois, conservèrent l'idéal de monumentalité de leurs

devanciers venus de Constantinople mais, moins habiles, ils recoururent davantage au dessin linéaire. Ces artistes exécutèrent aussi les fresques de la chapelle de la Transfiguration au premier étage de la tour. La manière des peintres qui, à la même époque, décorèrent la chapelle N. du narthex consacrée à Saint-Nicolas, s'apparente davantage au graphisme du temps des Comnènes. Les rares vestiges des peintures de la partie centrale du narthex révèlent deux styles : l'un est comparable à celui des fresques de l'église de Nemanja, comme si l'un des peintres de cette équipe était resté ou revenu à Studenica ; l'autre est proche de celui des chapelles N. et S. comme si l'on avait fait appel à certains des maîtres ayant travaillé dans celles-ci.

Le peu qui reste des fresques de l'église de Saint-Nicolas n'empêche pas de se faire une idée de leur qualité : le peintre, qui se rattache aux traditions de l'époque des Comnènes, tout en remplaçant le graphisme caractéristique de ce temps par la recherche des effets de couleurs dans la suggestion des volumes, aurait pu appartenir à l'équipe qui avait décoré peu auparavant l'église de la Vierge Ljeviška de Prizren (conformément à la thèse exposée par V. Djurić dans *Starinar*, 1961, pp. 63-76 ; cf. aussi V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, p. 427, n. 152) ; cet artiste aurait travaillé à Studenica dans les années 1220-1230.

D. T. attribuerait les fresques de l'église de Joachim et Anne élevée en 1314 par Milutin non pas à Michel et à Eutychios eux-mêmes mais à un groupe de peintres qui s'inspiraient de leur manière.

Dans le trésor du monastère, que présente M. Š., les pièces offertes par les Némanides ont disparu à l'exception de la bague en or, décorée en filigrane, d'Étienne le Premier couronné. De même des offrandes de Milutin il ne reste rien. Des dons faits par la princesse Milica, veuve du prince Lazare, après Kossovo, subsiste le bel *épitaphios* commandé antérieurement par un certain Antonios d'Héracléa et qui aurait pu être apporté de Grèce en Serbie par Hélène, femme du despote Jovan Uglješa. Un brocart de soie, enveloppant les reliques d'Étienne le Premier couronné est un don de Mileva-Olivera, fille de Lazare et de Milica et épouse du sultan Bajazit I (1389-1402). Les autres pièces du trésor datent des XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siécles.

Milan KAŠANIN, Djurdje BOŠKOVIĆ, Pavle MIJOVIĆ, *Žiča. Istorija, Architectura, Slikarstvo (Le monastère de Žiča. Histoire, architecture, peinture)* (en serbe avec résumés en français et en anglais). Belgrade, Novinsko-izdavačko preduzeće Književne Novine, 1969. 1 vol. 24,5 × 31,5 cm, 227 pp., nombreuses figg., pll. en noir et blanc et en couleurs.

Ce livre est pour Žiča l'équivalent du précédent. Ici encore c'est M. K. qui a retracé l'histoire du monastère depuis sa fondation dans la première décennie du XIIIe s. par Étienne le Premier couronné (1196-1228) comme futur siège de l'archevêché serbe autocéphale où seraient couronnés les rois et consacrés les évêques et les higoumènes. Sa situation, dans la région du confluent de l'Ibar et de la Morava, sur un haut plateau d'où la vue s'étend sur l'un des plus vastes paysages de la Serbie, en fit «un lieu tout indiqué pour les grands prélats et non pour les ermites». Étienne le Premier couronné avait peut-être aussi nourri le dessein d'y être enterré. Comme à Studenica saint Sava surveilla de près les travaux de construction et de décoration, imprimant à ces derniers la marque de ses conceptions sur la grandeur de l'église dont il avait su assurer l'autocéphalie. Trop exposé aux incursions, comme le prouvèrent les attaques dévastatrices des Bulgares et des Coumans en 1253 et en 1290, Žiča fut abandonné comme siège archiépiscopal au profit de Peć mais continua à bénéficier de l'attention des archevêques. Le patriarcat y revint après Kossovo et y demeura jusqu'à la mort d'Arsène II en 1463 (?) peu après la chute du despotat de Serbie au pouvoir des Ottomans en 1459. Žiča, qui eut à souffrir de multiples dommages, fut totalement abandonné en 1689/1690 pour n'être réoccupé qu'au XIXe s.

C'est Dj. B. qui a composé le chapitre sur l'architecture. La grande église consacrée au Sauveur fut bâtie entre 1208 et 1219. Elle fut reconstruite, d'abord partiellement en 1855, puis complètement mais non sans quelques erreurs entre 1925 et 1935, et enfin après la dernière guerre à la suite des bombardements allemands de 1941. Contrairement à ce que l'on a longtemps cru, elle était constituée non pas de quatre travées mais de trois travées et d'un narthex flanqué de deux chapelles, peut-être destinées à servir de sépulture, l'une, au S., à Étienne le Premier couronné, l'autre, au N., à Saint Sava. Les vestibules N. et S. de Djurdjevi Stubovi et de Studenica se sont transformés en transept bas pour les chantres. La prothèse et le diaconicon furent rajoutés après coup de part et d'autre de l'abside encore dans le courant du XIIIe s. L'exonarthex aurait été construit entre 1220 et 1234 pour servir de salle d'assemblée aux conciles et aux grands conseils de

l'État. Mais on peut se demander si ce n'était pas simplement comme dans d'autres monastères la *liti* pour la récitation des acolouthies. Dj. B. a émis l'hypothèse que l'étage au-dessus de l'exonarthex, avec les pièces supérieures de la tour adjacente à l'O., aurait pu être la résidence de l'archevêque. La grande église de Žiča s'inscrit dans la tradition de Saint-Nicolas de Kuršumlija, Djurdjevi Stubovi et Studenica mais avec des innovations, dont la principale est le transept bas. Dj. B. a supposé que l'église primitive de Chilandari construite par Étienne Nemanja et saint Sava aurait pu être de même type. Les influences occidentales romanes et romano-gothiques se font sentir dans le transept bas et la forme des portails de l'église ainsi que dans la structure de l'exonarthex et de la tour. Žiča joua, comme Studenica, un rôle important dans la constitution de l'école architecturale de la Rascie.

La petite église dédiée aux saints Pierre et Paul appartient au type dit du littoral adriatique : de forme rectangulaire avec l'abside semi-circulaire, elle est couverte d'une voûte en berceau. Une tradition, qu'aucune preuve n'étaye, prétend qu'elle aurait été élevée la première pour servir au culte durant l'édification de la grande église.

Les fresques, nettoyées et restaurées en 1961, ont été étudiées à la fois par P. M. dans un chapitre spécial et par M. K. dans l'introduction. Les plus anciennes remontent à 1220. Les trois auteurs du livre semblent répugner à admettre le témoignage de Théodose (rappelé ci-dessus à propos de Studenica) d'après lequel saint Sava aurait fait venir des peintres (et aussi des marbriers) de Constantinople. Ils font valoir qu'en 1219 saint Sava était à Nicée pour y obtenir l'autocéphalie de l'église serbe et que de là il regagna sa patrie par le Mont Athos et Salonique. P. M. pense qu'«il trouva des peintres de l'école de Constantinople quelque part sur son chemin de retour». Mais rien n'interdit de croire que saint Sava envoya des messagers à Constantinople, où il avait résidé antérieurement. A l'opposé de M. Tasić (voir *supra*) P. M. ne pense pas que les peintres de Žiča auraient été les mêmes que ceux qui avaient décoré l'église de la Vierge à Studenica. Les premiers lui paraissent caractérisés par «une gamme mate, typiquement monastique, la modestie de l'iconographie et l'austérité du style», bien différentes de la manière solennelle et majestueuse des seconds.

Entre 1229 et 1234, Radoslav et saint Sava firent peindre des fresques dans l'exonarthex (où elles ont disparu) et dans la chapelle de la tour occidentale de la grande église. P. M., comme M. Tasić, souligne leur parenté avec celles de la tour de Studenica mais alors que ce dernier savant voit dans leurs auteurs des peintres serbes, le premier estime que ce seraient des

artistes que saint Sava fit venir de Salonique : nouvel exemple du caractère hasardeux de ces tentatives de localisation des origines des peintres!

Entre 1292 et 1309 l'archevêque Eustathe II fit restaurer Žiča, qui avait été incendié et dévasté par les Bulgares et les Coumans en 1290. Les fresques exécutées alors subsistent dans l'abside, à l'état de fragments dans le naos (sauf dans le transept, où ont été conservées les fresques les plus anciennes) et, en meilleur état, dans les deux chapelles latérales du narthex primitif. Elles respectèrent le programme iconographique et les dimensions monumentales des anciennes peintures, auxquelles saint Sava avait assigné pour but d'exalter la grandeur de l'Église par le nombre de figures d'évêques et de saints représentées : ce système déjà appliqué à Studenica devait atteindre son apogée à Mileševa. Les maîtres des environs de 1400 n'ont ainsi guère pu innover que par l'introduction, à l'intérieur des scènes, de détails narratifs et pittoresques caractéristiques du nouvel art des Paléologues. Les fresques des chapelles latérales, destinées peut-être à servir de mausolée, au S. à Étienne le Premier couronné et au N. à saint Sava, illustrent principalement des épisodes de la vie de leur saint patron : le protomartyr Étienne et saint Sava de Jérusalem. Elles seraient dues à des collaborateurs des maîtres qui travaillèrent dans l'église proprement dite. Les portraits des Némanides, de même que des scènes tirées des ménologes et des représentations des conciles se seraient trouvés, selon P. M., dans l'exonarthex, où ils ont disparu. Dans le portique précédant à l'O. l'exonarthex, au rez-de-chaussée de la tour, avait été réalisé un programme iconographique riche d'intentions symboliques. Les saints Pierre et Paul ayant au-dessus de leur tête, l'un une église, l'autre le livre de ses Épîtres, évoquent la fondation de l'Église et de sa doctrine. Les Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste rappellent les conceptions de Paul sur la durée transitoire des souffrances physiques endurées pour la vraie foi, qui passaient elles-mêmes pour être une des bases de la doctrine du Purgatoire. L'illustration du stichaire de Noël avec la Vierge à l'Enfant assise dans une gloire au-dessus de la Terre et du Désert (portant sur leur tête respectivement la grotte et la crèche), qu'encadrent l'archevêque Sava III (1309-1316), accompagné de neuf prêtres, et Milutin, suivi de six seigneurs, célèbre sans doute l'accueil triomphal que le prélat aurait réservé au *kral* à la Noël de 1313 après les victoires de son armée sur les Turcs en Asie Mineure. P. M. pense que les peintres qui ont exécuté ces fresques seraient les mêmes que ceux qui ont travaillé dans l'exonarthex de la Vierge Ljeviška de Prizren, dont Sava III fut évêque jusqu'en 1309. Mais M. K. ne partage pas cet avis et considère les premiers comme inférieurs au second. Pour mieux en juger il faudrait des comparaisons plus poussées entre les détails de l'exécution.

Albanie

Monumente të Arkitekturës në Shqipëri (Monuments d'architecture en Albanie). Tirana, Instituti i Monumenteve të Kulturës, 1973. 1 vol. 33 × 31 cm, XXVII pp., 1 dépliant de 12 pp., 58 pll. en noir et blanc, 104 pll. en couleurs (textes en albanais, en français et en anglais).

Dans ce recueil de photographies qui débute avec la cité lacustre néolithique de Maliq et qui va jusqu'à l'époque contemporaine, l'architecture et, dans une moindre mesure, la peinture et la sculpture des époques byzantine et postbyzantine sont représentées depuis la basilique d'Elbasan (IVe s.) et l'église triconque de Lin (V^e^-VIe s.) jusqu'à la Communion des apôtres de Saint-Nicolas de Voskopojë (XVIIIe s.).

On verra aussi l'article d'Alain Ducellier, *Dernières découvertes sur des sites albanais du Moyen Age*, dans *Archéologia*, n° 78, janvier 1975, pp. 35-55, et celui de Mme Nicole Thierry, *A propos de la mosaïque de Durrës*, *ibid.*, n° 83, juin 1975, pp. 60-62.

Bulgarie

Ralph F. HODDINOTT, *Bulgaria in Antiquity. An Archaeological Introduction.* Londres et Tonbridge, Ernst Benn, 1975. 1 vol. 16 × 24 cm, 368 pp., 202 photographies, 105 plans et dessins, 2 cartes. Prix : 7,50£.

R. F. H. nous présente, pour la première fois dans une langue de l'Europe occidentale, une vue d'ensemble sur les recherches archéologiques en Bulgarie pour les périodes qui vont de la fondation des premières colonies grecques jusqu'à l'installation des Bulgares en 681. Les byzantinistes trouveront les informations qui les intéressent plus particulièrement dans la deuxième partie, qui traite de la «présence romaine» jusqu'à la victoire des Goths sur Valens en 378 à la bataille d'Hadrianopolis, qui marque un des grands tournants de l'histoire des Balkans, et dans la troisième intitulée «Christianity and the Byzantine Withdrawal». Pour la tétrarchie et le IVe s. on notera dans la deuxième partie les témoignages du regain d'activité et de prospérité, d'ailleurs variable suivant les endroits, dans plusieurs villes à la suite de la remise en état des fortifications du limes danubien aprés les incursions des Goths au milieu du IIIe s. Ultérieurement les invasions successives des Huns, des Ostrogoths, des Bulgares, des Slaves et des Avares provoquèrent le dépeuplement des campagnes alors que les citadins vivaient, plus ou moins bien protégés à l'abri de leurs remparts dans des villes plus

ou moins florissantes. Procope attribue à Justinien la reconstruction de nombreuses forteresses et enceintes, dont plusieurs furent peut-être déjà relevées par ses prédécesseurs. Anastase transplanta dans le N. de la Thrace dépeuplé un grand nombre d'Isauriens révoltés et R. F. H. attribuerait à leur influence, ou au moins à celle de l'Anatolie les églises en croix libre de Botevo, Veliko Tărnovo, Ivanjani, et Curkvište ; ainsi que les absides au plan en fer à cheval. On devrait encore à la volonté de repeuplement l'installation, à l'époque de Justinien de fédérés goths à Sadovec (qui, détruite au IIIe ou au IVe s., était restée abandonnée tout au long du Ve et dont la réoccupation a été rendue possible par la reconstruction de l'enceinte). Les villes du littoral, particulièrement Odessos (dont Justinien avait fait en 536 le centre administratif et militaire d'une union comprenant la Mésie Seconde, Chypre, les Cyclades et la Carie), sont restées prospères plus longtemps que celles de l'intérieur ravagées par les invasions. Les fouilles de ces dernières années ont révélé que plusieurs établissements bulgares avaient été précédés de constructions paléobyzantines : ce fut le cas à Veliko-Tărnovo sur la colline du Carevec, à Madara et à Car Krum, où, sous la forteresse bulgare du IXe s., ont été découvertes trois basiliques, dont la plus ancienne, remontant apparemment au IVe s., a livré des fragments de fresques avec des visages fort proches de ceux de la tombe de Durostorum et des icones paléobyzantines du Sinaï. En revanche à Pliska le problème reste posé de savoir si des bâtiments paléobyzantins ont précédé la première capitale bulgare. R. F. H. a aussi insisté sur le passage du culte du cavalier thrace à celui de saint Georges.

Nicolas MAVRODINOV, *Starobălgarskoto iskustvo. Iskustvoto na părvoto bălgarsjo Carstvo.* Sofia, Nauka i iskustvo, 1959. 1 vol. 20,5 × 29 cm, 309 pp., 351 figg.

Nicolas MAVRODINOV, *Starobălgarskoto Iskustvo. XI-XIII B.* Sofia, Izdatelstvo Bălgarski Hudožnik, 1966. 1 vol. 20,5 × 29 cm, 160 pp., 104 figg.

Ces deux volumes, publiés grâce à la piété conjugale de notre éminente consœur Mme V. Ivanova-Mavrodinova, constituent la somme la plus considérable dont nous disposons actuellement de nos connaissances sur les différentes formes d'art qui se sont épanouies sur le sol de la Bulgarie depuis l'antiquité thrace jusqu'au XIIIe s. Le premier volume comporte aussi une introduction sur les Slaves au VIe et au VIIe s. et sur les Protobulgares. L'illustration, tout en faisant, comme il est naturel, la plus large place à l'architecture et à la peinture religieuses, concerne aussi l'architecture civile, la sculpture et les arts somptuaires.

Krăstjo MIJATEV, *Architecturata v Srednovekovna Bălgarija*. Sofia, Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademija na naukite, 1965. 1 vol. 21 × 29 cm, 252 pp., 265 figg., 1 carte dépliante. Une traduction allemande a été publiée à Sofia en 1974 sous le titre *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien*.

Dans ce recueil extrêmement complet, abondamment illustré de plans, de photographies et de reconstitutions graphiques, et accompagné de multiples références bibliographiques, Kr. M. a retracé, en détail, l'histoire de l'architecture médiévale, profane et religieuse, de la Bulgarie. Il a retenu les palais et les forteresses, les églises et les bâtiments monastiques. Il est parti du VIe s., avec les ruines de la localité fortifiée de Golemanovo kalé et les églises paléochrétiennes, telles que celles de Bukhovo, Hissar, Nesebăr, Belovo, Pirdop, Sofia, Ivanjane, Djanavartepe (près de Varna), Botevo, Peruštica. Un chapitre passe ensuite systématiquement en revue les édifices du premier Empire bulgare : Pliska, Preslav, Ochrid, Madara, lac Prespa. Les décors de sculpture et de céramique ont été aussi très attentivement étudiés. Le chapitre suivant est consacré aux constructions du deuxième Empire bulgare : forteresse de Mezek, Asenovgrad, Tirnovo, Nesebăr, Melnik, Loveč, Ljutibrod, Červen, Koluča, Zemen, Patalenica, Bačkovo, Boïana, Nikopol, Bološevo, Krupnik. Le dernier chapitre traite des constructions allant du XVe au XVIIe s. : Dragalevci, Kremikovci, Arbanasi, Vidin, Razlog, Studena, Bačkovo.

Dimităr P. DIMITROV, Krăstjo MIJATEV, Vistra ČVETKOVA, Georgi KOŽUKHAROV, Petăr KANTARDŽIEV, Dimităr KOSEV, Georgi STOÏKOV, Khristo KHRISTOV, Ljoben TONEV, Jordan JORDANOV, Kosta NIKOLOV, *Kratka Istorija na Bălgarskata Architectura*. Sophia, Izdatelstvo na Bălgarskata Akademija na naukite, 1965. 1 vol. 20,5 × 29 cm, 628 pp., 642 figg.

Cette monumentale histoire de l'architecture en Bulgarie, depuis l'époque préhistorique jusqu'à l'instauration du régime de démocratie populaire, est l'œuvre d'un «collectif» désigné par l'Académie bulgare des sciences. Le premier chapitre, dû à Dimităr Dimitrov, va jusqu'à la fin du VIIe s. de notre ère. Il présente dans les dernières pages les monuments romains tardifs et paléochrétiens de la Thrace. Le deuxième chapitre, qui a été rédigé par Kr. Mijatev, traite de l'époque médiévale (premier et deuxième Empires bulgares). Les monuments retenus sont les mêmes que ceux du livre de cet auteur sur l'architecture médiévale de la Bulgarie (voir *supra*). Le troisième chapitre couvre la période qui va de la fin du XIVe au XVIIIe s. Il fait une très large place à l'architecture domestique et militaire. Il contient aussi de

précieux renseignements sur les églises et les monastères qui prolongent la tradition byzantine et dont l'un des derniers est l'église du monastère de Bačkovo.

Atanas BOSCHKOV, *Die bulgarische Malerei. Von den Anfängen bis zum 19. Jahrhundert.* Aufnahmen Julian TOMANOV. Recklinghausen, Verlag Aurel Bongers, 1969. 1 vol. 25 × 28 cm, 382 pp., 257 figg. sur 126 pll. en noir et blanc et 67 pll. en couleurs, 3 cartes.

Cet ouvrage nous offre la plus copieuse documentation photographique dont nous disposions actuellement en un seul volume sur la peinture de la Bulgarie depuis les débuts (avec le tombeau de Kazanlik) jusqu'au XIXe s. Elle est doublée d'un texte substantiel où A. B. a fait le point des problèmes et retracé le développement de la peinture en l'inscrivant dans le cadre plus général de l'histoire des civilisations dont elle a été le produit. Les analyses stylistiques ont été très poussées et dénotent beaucoup de finesse dans l'observation ; elles constituent l'un des apports originaux de cet ouvrage fondamental.

Les spécialistes de l'art paléochrétien et de ses antécédents apprécieront les indications fournies sur les mosaïques d'époque romaine découvertes en Bulgarie ainsi que sur les peintures du tombeau de Silistra et sur les pavements en mosaïque de Sainte-Sophie de Sofia (datés du Ve s. dans le texte p. 27 et du IVe s. dans la légende à la fig. 10).

L'histoire de la peinture proprement médiévale de la Bulgarie pourrait commencer avec les œuvres de l'époque de Boris Ier si celles-ci nous avaient été conservées. A. B. rappelle qu'au témoignage du chroniqueur byzantin Syméon Logothète un peintre du nom de Méthodios aurait exécuté sur la commande de ce tsar un Jugement dernier : certains auteurs ont voulu identifier cet artiste avec le frère de saint Cyrille mais A. B. se garde bien de reprendre cette hypothèse à son compte. Notre confrère bulgare signale encore que la découverte de tessères de mosaïques près de l'église ronde de Preslav (au Xe s.) nous apprend que cette technique dut être utilisée pour la décoration au moins de certains des monuments érigés par les tsars. Il croit, en outre, pouvoir retrouver la marque des tendances populaires qui auraient influencé la peinture en Bulgarie après Boris Ier dans les fresques de Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrid, qui, pour lui se séparent nettement de l'art de Constantinople (l'un des meilleurs connaisseurs de ces fresques. V. Lazarev, dans sa *Storia della pittura bizantina*, p. 180, n. 90, rejette la théorie de Mavrodinov qui les rattachait à l'école bulgare). En revanche A. B. voit une action profonde des monuments classiques de l'art chrétien d'Orient du XIe

et du XIIe s. dans les peintures de l'église-ossuaire de Bačkovo, qu'il date de la fin du XIe s. (relevons une menue erreur typographique dans la marge de la p. 36 : les peintures de Bačkovo sont reproduites à partir de la fig. 24 et non de la fig. 22). L'art du second Empire bulgare (1187-1396) a retenu longuement l'attention de A. B. aussi bien pour les icones et les miniatures que pour la peinture monumentale. Il a fait ressortir l'originalité des effets picturaux dans les peintures du narthex de l'église des Quarante Martyrs de Tirnovo (1230) et dans celles de l'église du cimetière de Berende (pour lesquelles il maintient la date du XIIIe s.). Au terme d'une longue analyse des peintures de Boiana, A. B. conclut que si elles doivent beaucoup à l'art de Constantinople, le maître qui les a exécutées a cependant fait preuve de hardiesse et d'un sens poussé de l'individualisation des figures qui se distinguent des types iconographiques traditionnels. A. B. inclinerait à se ranger au nombre des savants qui estiment que ce peintre devait venir de Tirnovo. Pour le XIVe s. l'auteur a étudié les peintures de Zemen, de la tour de Khreljo à Rila, de Saint-Théodore Tiron en amont du village de Boboševo, de l'église rupestre d'Ivanovo, du naos et de l'abside de l'église de Kalotino (fondée par le tsar Ivan Alexandre entre 1331 et 1371 ; les peintures du narthex datent du XVe s. : la légende à la fig. 152 donne pour ces dernières fresques «XVIe s.») et de Saint-Georges de Sofia (où les nettoyages opérés permettent de supposer que les plus anciennes peintures remontent au Xe s.). En ce qui concerne les icones de cette époque, A. B. a retenu d'abord une icone bilatérale provenant de Nesebăr et conservée dans la crypte de la cathédrale Alexandre Nevsky à Sofia (elle est datée dans le texte du XIVe s. p. 80 et p. 82 et du XIIIe dans les légendes aux figg. 68 et 73) ; elle représente d'un côté le Christ Pantocrator et de l'autre la Théotokos Eléousa, ce dernier type ayant été, à son avis, — et sur ce point il reprend en la développant une hypothèse de Kr. Mijatev — connu et peut-être même créé dans le premier Empire bulgare si l'on en juge d'après la miniature du Skylitzès de Madrid représentant l'entrée triomphale de Jean Tzimiskès à Constantinople après ses victoires sur les Bulgares et ramenant dans le butin qu'il avait fait une icone de ce type : mais que celui-ci ait été créé en Bulgarie nous semble une hypothèse peu soutenable, car il apparaît déjà à Sainte-Marie Antique de Rome. Il n'en a pas moins connu une réelle faveur en Bulgarie. Pour la célèbre icone bilatérale de Poganovo il eût convenu de rappeler l'origine soit thessalonicienne (A. GRABAR, *Cah. arch.*, t. 10, 1959, pp. 289 et suiv.) soit constantinopolitaine (V. LAZAREV, *Storia* ..., p. 376).

La miniature a été aussi très attentivement étudiée depuis ce que l'on peut entrevoir de son existence en Bulgarie sous Boris I. Les plus anciennes miniatures qui nous sont parvenues sont celles de l'Évangile du pope Dobrejčo (qu'A. B. date de 1221). L'auteur croit pouvoir placer aussi au XIIIe s. deux manuscrits conservés au monastère bulgare de Zographou au Mont Athos : le Psautier du copiste Radomir (qu'I. Dujčev attribue à la fin du XIVe s.) et le Ménologe du copiste Dragan : on y trouve une permanence voulue des tendances populaires de l'art de la fin du premier millénaire de notre ère.

Le dernier chapitre du volume de A. B. (pp. 161-277) envisage l'évolution de la peinture bulgare du XVe au XIXe s. Des subdivisions eussent été les bienvenues pour faire mieux ressortir les étapes de ce processus qui, en raison même de la complexité des circonstances historiques, ne s'est pas déroulé de façon linéaire. Les peintures les plus importantes du XVe s., à l'époque qui a suivi la conquête de la Bulgarie par les Turcs entre 1390 et 1400, sont celles des Saints-Pierre-et-Paul de Tirnovo, du monastère de Dragalevci (1476), du monastère de Saint-Dimitri sur le flanc de la colline qui domine, à l'O., le village de Boboševo, (1488 ; à ne pas confondre avec l'église Saint-Théodore proche de ce même village), du métoque d'Orlica dépendant du monastère de Rila (dont il est distant de 3 km ; 1491), du monastère de Kremikovci (après 1493) et du monastère de Poganovo (1500). Ces peintures offrent le plus grand intérêt pour l'historien de l'art : on y voit comment évoluent les éléments hérités de la peinture byzantine et comment s'y introduisirent des facteurs populaires en même temps que des emprunts faits à l'Europe occidentale. Le XVIe s. est surtout représenté par des icones mais il ne faut pas négliger, à la fin du siècle, les peintures du monastère de Kurilo (1596), de l'église de Sainte-Petka à Vukovo (1598) et de Saint-Étienne de Nesebăr (1599), annonciatrices de la reprise d'une activité qui se prolongea dans les années 1600. L'art, alors privé de l'aide des milieux dirigeants de l'État qui l'avaient soutenu au temps des Empires bulgares, a refleuri en s'appuyant sur le sentiment national populaire qui inspirait aussi la lutte des partisans (hadjuks) bulgares contre les occupants ottomans, dont la puissance commençait à fléchir. On notera aussi comme une caractéristique de ce temps les longs voyages que faisaient les peintres pour décorer les églises. Les influences athonites sont fortes.

Atanas BOSCHKOV, *Monumentale Wandmalerei Bulgariens*. Traduit du bulgare par Michail MATLIEV. Mayence, Florian Kupferberg, 1969. 1 vol. 20 × 27 cm, 154 pp., 89 figg.

Ce volume de dimensions plus modestes que le précédent s'en différencie également par le fait que A. B. s'en est tenu à la peinture murale, dont il a suivi le développement pratiquement depuis Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrid jusqu'au XVIIIe s., avec quelques pages sur les antécédents antiques et d'autres sur les prolongements jusqu'au peintre Zacharij au XIXe s. Les idées fondamentales défendues sur l'originalité de la peinture en Bulgarie et sa place parmi l'art des chrétientés d'Orient sont les mêmes que dans le livre publié chez Aurel Bongers. Mais ici l'auteur s'attarde moins aux analyses stylistiques pour faire un exposé plus systématique de l'histoire de l'évolution du genre. Les illustrations, uniquement en noir et blanc, reprennent certains des sujets figurés dans *Die bulgarische Malerei* mais contiennent aussi des éléments que l'on ne trouve pas dans ce dernier ouvrage. C'est dire que les deux volumes doivent être utilisés simultanément pour toute recherche sur la peinture de la Bulgarie. Ils nous font souhaiter que soit entrepris un *Corpus* des peintures murales de Bulgarie. Notons que A. B. ne sépare plus seulement les fresques de Sainte-Sophie d'Ochrid de l'art de Constantinople (comme il le faisait dans *Die bulgarische Malerei*) mais aussi de celui de Salonique (ce en quoi je crois qu'il ne sera guère suivi : voir V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, p. 160). Parfois les légendes des figures auraient gagné à être plus précises. Ainsi p. 25 aurait-il pu être dit que ces Pères de l'église dans l'abside de l'église supérieure de l'ossuaire de Bačkovo étaient les saints Jean Chrysostome et Nicolas.

Dora PANAÏOTOVA, *Peintures murales bulgares du XIVe siècle*. Traduit par Stoïan TZONEV et Nicolas POULIEV. Sofia, Éditions en langues étrangères, 1966. 1 vol. 17,5 × 24 cm, 217 pp., 77 figg. en noir et blanc, 37 pll. en couleurs.

Dans cette étude des peintures murales de 13 églises du XIVe s. Mme D. P. a intégré des notices sur 4 monuments jusqu'alors inédits ou rapidement signalés dans la littérature savante. Ce sont trois églises rupestres : 1. la première sur la rive gauche du Černi Lom (depuis Mme J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, dans ses *Notes d'archéologie bulgare* des *Cah. arch.*, t. XVII, 1967, pp. 50-54, a identifié les scènes de la Vie de la Vierge et reconnu le Sacrifice d'Abraham dans ce que Mme D. P. avait cru être le Buisson ardent), 2. la deuxième (consacrée à Sainte-Marina) sur la rive droite de l'Iskăr, 3) la troisième (dédiée à Saint-Grégoire, dite aussi *Gligora*) de l'autre côté

du fleuve, et 4. la deuxième couche de peintures de l'église de Saint-Théodore sur la rive gauche du Strymon en amont du village de Bobošević (on trouvera aussi maintenant des indications à leur sujet dans les ouvrages d'A. Boschkov, *Die bulgarische Malerei* [pp. 14, 72, 73, 167 et 175, avec des reproductions p. 140, figg. 64 et 65] et *Monumentale Wandmalerei Bulgariens* [pp. 51 et 56]). Des analyses iconographiques et stylistiques auxquelles elle a soumis les peintures du XIVe s. en Bulgarie et des confrontations qu'elle a opérées avec de nombreux autres monuments, Mme D. P., restant pour l'essentiel fidèle à la distinction proposée par A. Grabar en 1928 dans sa *Peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, conclut à l'existence de trois groupes principaux comportant eux-mêmes des subdivisions :

1. Les peintures de pur style byzantin (ou art officiel). C'est ce que Mme T. Velmans, dans sa leçon du *XV Corso di cultura* ... (1968, pp. 291-193) sur *Deux courants artistiques dans les églises bulgares du XIVe s.* a décrit comme «un art savant, raffiné, voire précieux et assez fortement imprégné de réminiscences antiques».

2. Les peintures de style archaïque (ou art populaire), ainsi qualifiée parce que Mme D. P., comme beaucoup de ses collègues bulgares, croit qu'«elles sont en relation directe avec les monuments préiconoclastes du VIIe, VIIIe et IXe s.» (n'oublions pas cependant que la crise iconoclaste débute dans les années 720 et qu'avec des vicissitudes diverses elle dura jusqu'en 843) et que ce sont «des survivances des traditions artistiques du Premier Empire bulgare», ce qui reste plus à l'état d'hypothèse que de démonstration. Le monument le plus représentatif de ce courant est constitué par les fresques du monastère de Zemen.

3. Les peintures de style intermédiaire, représentées en Bulgarie par la deuxième couche de Saint-Théodore près de Bobošević mais dont Mme D. P. signale des témoins en Macédoine (Saint-Nikita près de Čučer, Saint-Georges de Nagoričino, l'église de la Vierge à Gračanica, Saint-Nicolas de Castoria) et dans le Péloponnèse à Géraki.

Milko Bičev, *Stenopisite v Ivanovo*. Sofia, Bălgarski Hudožnik, 1965. 1 vol. 24 × 32,5 cm, 143 pp., 62 pll. dont 12 en couleurs. Résumés en allemand, en russe, en français et en anglais.

Tania Velmans, *Les fresques d'Ivanovo et la peinture byzantine à la fin du Moyen Age*, dans le *Journal des Savants, Troisième Centenaire, 1665-1965*, janvier-mars 1965, pp. 358-404, 6 figg., 8 pll.

Sensible aux parentés, qu'il souligne, avec l'art des mosaïques de Kariye

Cami, M. B. estime que les peintures de la grotte de *Crkvata* d'Ivanovo dateraient non pas, comme on l'admet généralement du règne d'Ivan Alexandre (1331-1371) mais du début du XVIe s. Il fait valoir que le portrait du tsar dans le narthex est trop abîmé pour que l'on puisse juger si son style est le même que celui du restant des fresques et qu'il a peut-être été exécuté postérieurement. Mais si l'on admet pour les mosaïques de Kariye Cami la date proposée par le regretté Underwood (entre 1315 et 1320), est-il si difficile d'attribuer les peintures d'Ivanovo aux premières années du règne d'Ivan Alexandre dans les années 1330? C'est la conclusion à laquelle aboutit Mme T. V. au terme d'une longue et pénétrante étude des fresques d'Ivanovo où, après avoir examiné la répartition des images et fait apparaître l'originalité iconographique de plusieurs scènes, elle a recherché les traits caractéristiques du style de ces œuvres. Elle se pose alors la question : «Quelles sont les explications qu'on pourrait proposer pour ces données apparemment contradictoires : des peintures antiquisantes d'origine constantinopolitaine, décorant une église de moines hésychastes, que des centaines de kilomètres séparent de la capitale byzantine?» (p. 403). Mme T. V. voit deux explications possibles. Ou bien Ivan Alexandre avait fait appel à l'un des artistes constantinopolitains qui quittèrent alors la capitale de l'Empire byzantin et voyagèrent dans les territoires de chrétienté orientale, ou bien un artiste grec ou slave se serait inspiré d'un manuscrit enluminé à Constantinople. Ajoutons que l'hésychasme ne nous semble guère avoir exercé son influence dans l'art byzantin qu'à partir des années 1350 et que l'on ne doit point s'étonner qu'il n'ait pas marqué de son action des peintures qui, après les études dont elles viennent de faire l'objet, nous paraissent avoir été exécutées dans les années 1330-1340.

XV Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna. 24 Marzo-6 Aprile 1968. Ravenne, Edizioni A. Longo, 1968. Prix : 4.500 lires.

M. André Grabar (pp. 175-179) a tenté de situer dans l'histoire des arts de l'Europe orientale la place des monuments paléochrétiens et médiévaux de la Bulgarie au cours des quatre grandes étapes entre lesquelles se répartit leur développement : 1. Période pendant laquelle la Bulgarie faisait partie de l'Empire romain chrétien puis byzantin (principalement des monuments des Ve et VIe-VIIe s.). M. Grabar observe fort justement à ce propos : «La Bulgarie offre un ensemble de témoignages sur l'art paléochrétien qui mériterait d'être mieux connu». 2. Période du «Premier Royaume» bulgare (principalement les monuments du Xe s. dans la capitale Preslav, dont «l'œuvre artistique ... fut très constantinopolitaine d'inspiration» et rayonna

«dans les pays qui faisaient partie alors de l'État de Bulgarie et en Russie»). 3. Période de la Reconquête byzantine (les monuments des XIe-XIIe s. : «on retrouve partout des œuvres de maîtres grecs de Constantinople ou de Salonique et de leurs disciples immédiats ... on en conserve plusieurs exemples dont Bačkovo est le plus remarquable»). 4. Période du «Second Royaume» bulgare (principalement les monuments des XIIIe et XIVe s. : «c'est l'époque de la floraison de l'art dit des Paléologues, et les œuvres bulgares forment un rameau de cet art qui présente ses caractères propres». Il se constitue alors en Bulgarie «des courants particuliers, assez distincts les uns des autres». Tirnovo sert d'intermédiaire entre Constantinople d'une part, la Roumanie et la Russie de l'autre.

En ce qui concerne les monuments paléochrétiens de Bulgarie, Anatole Frolow a étudié particulièrement l'iconographie des peintures anciennes de l'Église Rouge de Peruštica, dont il estime ne pouvoir préciser la date «à une centaine d'années près» entre les Ve et VIIe s. (pp. 169-172).

Sous le titre «L'Orient et l'Occident dans l'ancien art bulgare du VIIe au Xe s.» (pp. 241-285), M. Stančo Stančev Vaklinov a examiné la conjonction des facteurs qui ont donné naissance aux diverses créations artistiques de la Bulgarie à cette époque et il a tenté de situer ces créations par rapport aux autres civilisations contemporaines. Avec un sens très sûr de la complexité des situations historiques en cause, il a fortement marqué, d'abord, ce que les Slaves et les Protobulgares devaient à l'héritage antique ainsi qu'aux contacts avec les Empires byzantin et sassanide. Des villes comme Andrinople au S., Panticapée, Tanaïs et Chersonnèse au N., ont été des centres de diffusion des influences antiques et byzantines. Il ne faut pas négliger non plus «les rapports de l'aristocratie tribale protobulgare avec la culture artistique contemporaine du Moyen Orient du VIe-VIIIe s.», d'abord sassanide, puis arabe. De plus ces populations nomades et guerrières étaient détentrices d'une puissante tradition des arts appliqués dont les formes leur venaient de l'Europe centrale et méridionale et même de l'Asie centrale. Enfin les Slaves ont apporté avec eux la pratique de l'architecture en bois et des fortifications en terre.

Mme Ivanka Akrabova Jandova a fait ressortir les hautes qualités techniques et ornementales ainsi que l'originalité de la décoration en céramique dans l'architecture de Preslav, où ces frises polychromes se détachaient sur le fond blanc des pierres des édifices (pp. 7-19). Étendant son enquête à toute la céramique peinte à l'émail de Preslav, notre consœur y relève l'influence de la sculpture polychrome, de l'orfèvrerie et des émaux cloisonnés (pp. 21-30).

Dans une leçon qui va de Saint-Démétrius de Tirnovo (antérieur à 1185) jusqu'à Saint-Jean Alitourgitos de Nesebăr et qui ne néglige pas les constructions profanes, M. Milko Ničev nous a fait assister à l'épanouissement de l'architecture en Bulgarie au XIIIe et au XIVe s. (pp. 59-79).

M. Ivan Dujčev était l'un des savants les plus qualifiés pour nous présenter les miniatures bulgares du Moyen Age depuis le temps où un scribe, en tête d'un manuscrit de la traduction bulgare d'œuvres d'Hippolyte de Rome, plaçait une miniature représentant Boris Ier (qui ne nous est plus connue que par une copie russe du XIIe-XIIIe s. conservée au Musée historique de Moscou) jusqu'au Psautier Tomić, qu'il date des années 1360 (pp. 113-130). Le même érudit a aussi brossé un tableau des relations culturelles de la Bulgarie avec Byzance et avec l'Italie (pp. 109-112).

Les contributions de Mme Tania Velmans ont porté sur *les peintures murales de Bačkovo et de Boïana* (pp. 287-289) et sur *deux courants artistiques dans les églises bulgares du XIVe s. : les fresques de la chapelle rupestre d'Ivanovo (vers 1330) et celles de l'église de Zemen* (XIVe s.) (pp. 291-293).

A ces études on ajoutera utilement celle de Stamen Mihailov, *Sur l'origine de l'architecture monumentale du premier royaume bulgare*, dans les *Mélanges Djurdje Bošković* (pp. 213-222) (voir t. XLVI, 1976, p. 481).

On verra dans le *RbK* les articles *Bojana* et *Bulgarien*.

Roumanie

Byzance et la Roumanie. XIVe Congrès international des Études byzantines. Bucarest, 6-12 septembre 1971. Rapports. IV. 1 brochure 17 × 24 cm, 121 pp. (Textes repris dans les *Actes du XIVe Congrès* ..., Bucarest, t. I, 1974, pp. 393-525).

Après les rapports de E. Stănescu (sur les relations politiques entre Byzance et les États féodaux roumains du IXe au XVe s.), de Val. Al. Georgescu (sur Byzance et les institutions roumaines jusqu'à la fin du XVe s.), et d'I. R. Mircea (sur les relations littéraires entre Byzance et les pays roumains), I. D. Ştefănescu a donné un relevé fort étendu, malheureusement dépourvu de bibliographie, des œuvres de l'architecture, de la peinture murale, de l'art des icones, de la sculpture, de la miniature et de la broderie, successivement en Transylvanie, en Valachie et en Moldavie, du Xe au XVIIe s. et parfois jusqu'au XVIIIe. Il a souligné les particularités propres à chacune de ces trois régions et il a tenté de faire ressortir la part des éléments de tradition byzantine venus directement de la capitale et des provinces

grecques ou par l'intermédiaire des Bulgares et des Serbes, des apports occidentaux romans et gothiques et de l'originalité locale. Dans son étude accompagnée de bibliographie, Mme Ana-Maria Musicescu a présenté l'état actuel de la recherche sur les relations artistiques entre Byzance et les pays roumains (IVe-XVe s.), au cours des trois grandes périodes que l'on distingue maintenant dans l'histoire de l'art de ces territoires : 1) du IVe au IXe s., de nettes influences byzantines se firent sentir sur le Bas-Danube en architecture et en sculpture ainsi que par l'importation de bijoux et de pièces de céramique, dont les imitations locales s'incorporèrent de vieux éléments de tradition indigène ; c'est alors qu'apparut la culture proto-roumaine de Dridu (dans la plaine valaque) ; 2) du Xe au XIIIe s. les influences byzantines se renforcèrent considérablement par l'imitation de plans d'églises et par des importations de trésors, d'objets de parure et de céramique émaillée décorée au sgraffito ; 3) au XIVe s. et dans la première moitié du XVe, à côté d'apports byzantins marquants dans l'art de cour officiel, on relève des «synthèses locales» où, à des degrés divers, se combinent éléments byzantins, occidentaux et régionaux. La «synthèse moldave» de la seconde moitié du XVe s. et du XVIe, qui constitue «l'étape classique de l'art roumain» du Moyen Age, échappait au cadre chronologique du rapport mais elle y a été évoquée.

Les communications sur l'art byzantin ou de tradition byzantine en Roumanie ont été imprimées dans le t. II des *Actes* (1975), pp. 495-508, 515-528, 535-542, 563-569, 579-585, 621-624, 637-640, 647-653.

Istoria Artelor Plastice în România. Bucarest, Editura Meridiane. Vol. I : *Originile artei — sfîrşitul sec. XVI*, 1968, 1 vol. 20,5 × 24,5 cm, 459 pp., 88 plans et dessins, 453 figg. sur pll., 9 pll. en couleurs. — Vol. II : *Sec. XVII-XVIII*, 1970, 1 vol. 20,5 × 24,5 cm, 302 pp., 48 plans et dessins, 354 figg. sur pll., 3 pll. en couleurs, 47 pp. de résumé en français pour les 2 vol. Prix : 100 et 80 lei.

Cet ouvrage représente la première tentative de pareille ampleur faite par un «collectif» de savants roumains pour embrasser dans leur totalité les diverses manifestations des arts sur le territoire de la Roumanie depuis l'époque néolithique jusqu'à nos jours. Le premier volume débute par une introduction sur l'art populaire, qui intéresse les études byzantines par ce qu'elle nous apprend sur les constructions en bois, les tissus et la céramique. Les chapitres relatifs aux périodes qui vont du VIe s. jusqu'au XVIIIe englobent l'architecture (religieuse et civile), la sculpture (sur pierre et sur bois), la peinture murale, les icones, les manuscrits, la broderie, l'orfèvrerie et les

objets en métal, ainsi que la céramique pour chacune des trois grandes régions qui constituent la Roumanie : Transylvanie, Valachie et Moldavie. Même là où les influences occidentales sont prépondérantes, en Transylvanie, dans la peinture, un courant d'origine byzantino-roumaine s'affirme à côté d'un autre venu d'Autriche et de Bohème. La Valachie et la Moldavie comptent au nombre des pays où l'art de tradition byzantine est resté le plus vivace et le plus créateur après le chute de Constantinople. La somptuosité des grandes fondations qui vont du milieu du XVe s. à la fin du XVIe atteste la volonté des princes et des féodaux de manifester avec vigueur leur identité culturelle et religieuse en face des ambitions des Ottomans. Au XVIIe s. le règne de Matei Basarab en Valachie (1632-1654), après une période d'anarchie féodale et d'invasions étrangères, est marqué par une politique générale de résurrection du «bon vieux temps», qui se traduit en art par la diffusion et la mise en valeur des expériences du XVIe s. Mais la fin du XVIIe s. et le début du XVIIIe virent une forte pénétration des idées et des influences occidentales ; l'art religieux tendit à devenir folklorique. A partir du XVIIe siècle la Moldavie connut un déclin relatif sauf dans le domaine de l'architecture civile.

Cultura bizantină în România. La culture byzantine en Roumanie. Bucarest, 1971. I vol. 17,5 × 24 cm, 263 pp., 101 pll. en noir et blanc, 6 pll. en couleurs.

A l'occasion du XIVe Congrès d'études byzantines s'est tenue au Musée d'Art de Bucarest une exposition réunissant des vestiges archéologiques et des œuvres d'art trouvés sur le sol de la Roumanie ou entrés dans les collections de ce pays au cours des deux derniers siècles et qui permettent de suivre le rôle joué par l'Empire byzantin dans la naissance et le développement de la culture et de l'art roumains jusqu'à la veille du XVIIe s. Cette exposition groupait des inscriptions en latin ou en grec, des chapiteaux en marbre des Ve et VIe s., la porte en bois du monastère de Snagov, des icones (des XVe et XVIe s.), des manuscrits enluminés (dont les deux plus anciens, des fragments d'un Canon de pénitence et un Tétraévangile, remontent, le premier au XIe s., le second au XIIIe), des broderies et des tissus, des objets liturgiques et cultuels, des bijoux, de la céramique, des monnaies et des sceaux en plomb d'empereurs et de dignitaires byzantins. Les notices, assez développées en roumain et accompagnées de références bibliographiques, ont été résumées en français. Trois introductions, dont le texte roumain a été intégralement traduit en français, retracent de façon précise, l'histoire de la présence artistique de Byzance en Roumanie. Ion Barnea a tiré les en-

seignements des informations fournies, surtout au cours des deux dernières décennies, par les fouilles archéologiques pour la période qui va de l'intense activité constructrice déployée dans la région du *limes* du Bas Danube par Constantin et son fils Constance (qui aurait donné son nom à la ville de Constanza) jusqu'à ce XIIe s. où se faisaient encore sentir les effets du resserrement des liens avec Byzance qui, après la régression de la période des invasions, suivit la reconquête du pays par Jean Tzimiskès, vainqueur de Sviatoslav de Kiev, et l'instauration du thème de Paristrion ou Paradounavon. Mme Corina Nicolescu a ensuite suivi, du XIIIe au XVe s., le développement des arts dans les états féodaux de Roumanie, où, à côté d'importations venues de l'Empire, on trouve des œuvres locales qui prirent des caractères spécifiques de plus en plus nettement accusés. Enfin Octavian Iliescu a rappelé les indications que les trouvailles monétaires, qu'il s'agisse de pièces isolées ou de trésors, livrent sur les variations d'intensité dans les relations économiques entre Byzance et la Roumanie depuis l'époque de Constantin jusqu'au règne commun d'Andronic II et d'Andronic III (1325-1327), dont les hyperpères sont les dernières monnaies byzantines recueillies en Roumanie : l'impôt prélevé sur le poisson et le vin exportés par les échelles danubiennes leur doit son nom de *perper* ou *părpăr*. P. 97, n° 1 : dans le texte de l'inscription commémorant la reconstruction de *Tropaeum Trajani* par Constantin il faut lire (comme on le voit sur la photographie) *Barbararum* et non *Barbarorum gentium*, *Tropeensium* et non *Tropaeensium*, *Opere* et non *Opera constructa*. — P. 101, n° 18 : sur cette stèle de Constanza on lit *Ὀρέντης* et non *Ὀρενητς*.

XVIII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna. 21 Marzo-3 Aprile 1971. Ravenne, Longo Editore, 1971. Prix : 8.000 lires.

On complètera les observations consignées dans les ouvrages précédents par les leçons faites à Ravenne en 1971, par des savants roumains, qui ont dressé l'état des principales questions relatives à l'art médiéval de leurs pays. Em. Condurachi (pp. 155-165) a évoqué les données fondamentales des problèmes posés par les rapports entre Byzance et la Roumanie depuis la fondation de Constantinople jusqu'à Étienne le Grand (1457-1504), époux de Marie de Mangop, elle-même descendante des Paléologues et des Comnènes de Trébizonde. Il a insisté sur l'importance des constructions d'Anastase et de Justinien en Scythie mineure et il a consacré toute une leçon (pp. 167-178) aux monuments militaires et civils de la Basse Antiquité et du début du Moyen Age byzantin. On trouvera aussi une bonne vue d'ensemble sur l'essor de cette province à la Basse Époque dans Em.

Condurachi et Constantin Daicoviciu, *Roumanie*, Genève, Nagel, 1972 (*Archaeologia Mundi*), pp. 181-210. Les trois conférences de I. Barnea sur les monuments paléochrétiens de la Scythie Mineure (pp. 23-48) et de la Dacie (pp. 49-69) ainsi que sur les monuments byzantins en Roumanie entre le VIIe et le XIIIe s. (pp. 71-93) développent en les illustrant de plans et de photographies et en les appuyant sur de nombreuses références bibliographiques les considérations que cet auteur a présentées de façon plus concise dans son introduction au catalogue de l'exposition «*La culture byzantine en Roumanie*». Ces conférences nous conduisent jusqu'aux chapelles rupestres de Murfatlar (avec leurs dessins incisés) et jusqu'aux plus anciennes églises de Curtea de Argeş.

De même les textes de Mme Corina Nicolescu sur l'héritage byzantin en Roumanie dans le domaine des icones (du XVe au XVIIIe s., pp. 387-402) et dans celui des broderies (du XIVe au XVIe s., pp. 387-417) ont permis à notre consœur de donner plus d'ampleur à certaines des idées qu'elle avait avancées dans le catalogue de la même exposition.

Enfin, Virgil Vătăşianu a fait ressortir la part des éléments byzantins dans l'architecture (pp. 521-532) et dans la peinture médiévales (pp. 535-545) de la Roumanie (en partant de l'église princière de Curtea de Argeş, de la métropole de Tîrgovişte et de l'église du monastère de Cozia pour aboutir aux monuments du XVIe s.).

Corina Nicolescu, *Moştenirea artei bizantine în România* (avec un résumé en français), Bucarest, Editura Meridiane, 1971. 1 vol. 21 × 27 cm, 92 pp., 62 plans et dessins, 71 pll. en noir et blanc, 8 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 40 lei.

Mme C. N. a donné dans ce volume une synthèse clairement articulée et bien illustrée de nos connaissances actuelles sur l'art byzantin en Roumanie et sur sa mutation en un art local. La céramique, la bijouterie et les broderies sont largement représentées mais l'architecture a reçu aussi la place qu'elle méritait et l'on trouvera dans ce livre de nombreux plans de villes et d'églises. On retiendra la présence à Callatis d'une église de type syrien au chevet tripartite et au long côté précédé d'une cour à portique : c'est un indice parmi d'autres des relations de la Scythie Mineure avec la Syrie. Quant au style narratif qui s'exprime dans la peinture roumaine des XVe et XVIe s., il me paraît non pas avoir été «amené de Cappadoce et de Syrie» mais résulter de l'accélération, dans la société féodale de Roumanie, d'un processus engagé à Byzance dès l'époque des Paléologues.

Corina NICOLESCU, *Istoria costumului de curte in Ţârile române (secolele XIV-XVIII) (Histoire du costume de cour dans les pays roumains)* (en roumain avec des résumés en français et en russe). Bucarest, Editura Ştiinţifică, 1970. 307 pp., 78 dessins, 203 pll. en noir et blanc, 21 pll. en couleurs.

Corina NICOLESCU, *Costumul de curte in Ţârile române (sec. XIV-XVIII) (le costume de cour dans les pays roumains)* (en roumain avec un résumé français et un catalogue en français). Bucarest, Musée d'Art de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1970. 1 vol. 19 × 15 cm, 197 pp., 81 figg.

Le premier de ces volumes, magnifiquement illustré, est la thèse de doctorat de Mme C. N., qui se fonde non seulement sur les pièces somptueuses du Musée d'Art de Bucarest, dont le second volume nous donne un catalogue commenté, mais aussi sur les costumes conservés dans les trésors de plusieurs monastères, où ils avaient été transformés en voiles d'iconostase ou de reliques. Mme C. N. a fait appel aux comparaisons avec les documents figurés (portraits de la peinture murale, miniatures, monnaies, pièces d'orfèvrerie, etc.) et aux sources écrites. Au XIVe et au XVe s. les modes byzantines l'emportèrent avec la granatsa, mais elles cédèrent ensuite la place au cafetan turc. Des étoffes furent importées d'Italie et des Flandres.

Corina NICOLESCU, *Argintăria laică şi religioasă în Ţările Române (Sec. XIV-XIX). Orfèvrerie laïque et religieuse des pays roumains (XIVe-XIXe siècle)* (avec un résumé en français). Bucarest, Musée d'Art de la République Socialiste de Roumanie, 1968. 1 vol. 25 × 29 cm, 375 pp., 273 figg. Prix : 120 lei.

Mme C. N. a dressé le catalogue des objets en argent, souvent doré, du Musée d'Art de Bucarest. Laissant de côté les pièces de parure, qui, à elles seules, fourniraient la matière d'un volume spécial, elle a étudié successivement les objets de caractère laïque (hanaps, gobelets, brocs, aiguières, plats, bols, cuillières, etc.) et les objets liturgiques (calices, patènes, pastophores et artophores, cuillères liturgiques, aiguières, *κιβώτια* en forme d'église, vases d'eau bénite, panaghiaires, rhipidia, encensoirs, lampes, chandeliers, plats de reliure, reliquaires). Mme C. N. a retenu toutes les pièces allant du XIVe s. au début du XVIIIe. Ensuite, devant l'abondance du matériel, elle n'a choisi que les plus significatives. La manière des maîtres roumains de Valachie et de Moldavie, influencés par l'art byzantin, se différencie du style gothique ou renaissant des artistes saxons de Transylvanie,

même lorsque ceux-ci ont traité des thèmes de l'iconographie byzantine. La collection du Musée d'Art de Bucarest comprend aussi des pièces fabriquées dans de célèbres centres européens, tels qu'Augsbourg, Nuremberg, Riga et qui témoignent de l'étendue des relations économiques, culturelles et artistiques entre les territoires de la Roumanie et les autres pays. Dans l'introduction à son catalogue Mme C. N. a retracé l'histoire de l'orfèvrerie roumaine en invoquant aussi les objets conservés dans d'autres collections et trésors du pays ainsi que celles qui sont disséminées à l'étranger, dans les monastères de l'Athos, au Sinaï, à Jérusalem et dans les Musées de Budapest, d'Athènes et d'Istanbul.

Grigore NANDRIŞ (†), *Christian Humanism in the Neo-Byzantine Mural Painting of Eastern Europe*. Wiesbaden, Otto Harrassowitz, 1970. 1 vol. 17 × 24 cm, XIII-296 pp., 7 plans, 2 cartes, 32 pll. Prix : 62 DM.

On doit à la piété de Mme Mabel Nandriş la publication posthume de ce livre, dont la première partie constitue un essai où son mari avait développé la théorie que les peintures murales de Bucovine traduisent la conception néo-pythagoricienne de l'art, adoptée par la civilisation byzantine et transfigurée par le mysticisme hésychaste, qui visait à comprendre Dieu par l'intuition à l'aide de pratiques, de symboles et de méthodes. Les thèmes iconographiques y ont acquis un caractère humaniste et ont enrichi leur signification théologique d'emprunts à la littérature populaire (apocryphe, légendes hagiographiques, visions apocalyptiques) et au folklore. Les tendances qui sont à la base de l'inspiration de cette peinture de Bucovine s'expriment dans les figures de «philosophes» grecs (y compris les écrivains) représentés près de l'arbre de Jessé pour évoquer la richesse des traditions dont le christianisme byzantin était l'héritier. Les noms de ces «philosophes» étaient précédés d'*Elin* (= *Ἕλλην*). Le regretté Gr. N. a proposé des interprétations ingénieuses de certains de ces noms slavisés, derrière lesquels on n'avait pas toujours reconnu les modèles grecs. Il a aussi recherché les particularités d'autres thèmes traités en Bucovine, comme l'Échelle de Jean Climaque, la vie de saint Jean de Trébizonde, la procession de l'empereur Constantin, la représentation de la Sagesse divine, la Divine Liturgie, le Jugement dernier, le Contrat d'Adam avec le diable. Il a considéré qu'après la chute de Constantinople les traditions byzantines avaient trouvé en Roumanie un nouveau foyer qui les avait revivifiées et d'où elles auraient rayonné dans l'Europe orientale. Il a cité entre autres l'exemple de Pierre Movila (1597-1647), membre de la famille régnante de Moldavie, devenu métropolite de Kiev à 37 ans et auteur de la «Confession» de la foi ortho-

doxe, approuvée en 1642 au Concile de Jassy. C'est dans ce contexte que se serait constitué un art «néo-byzantin».

La deuxième partie du livre est un exposé systématique des programmes de décoration des églises et des thèmes iconographiques. Elle se fonde sur les deux premières parties de l'ouvrage du savant polonais Władysław Podlacha, *Malowidła Ścienne w Cerkwiach Bukowiny* (Lwow, 1912), dont elle nous présente une traduction anglaise remaniée, abrégée et annotée par Gr. N. On trouvera en annexe un tableau des églises peintes de Bucovine avec l'indication du nom du fondateur et de l'année de la fondation, des travaux de reconstruction et d'aménagement, de la date de l'exécution et de la restauration des peintures, de l'état actuel de conservation, des particularités iconographiques et du type architectural, puis une liste d'autres églises peintes de Moldavie, du Mont Athos, de Macédoine et de Serbie, de Bulgarie et de quelques églises grecques. Maints détails devraient y être corrigés ou nuancés. Saint-Georges de Kurbinovo est daté p. 262 de 1164 : l'inscription de fondation dit cependant qu'elle est de 1191. Le décor peint de Karye Cami est encore donné comme étant de la première décennie du XIVe s. alors que P. Underwood a bien montré qu'il se situait peu après 1315. On sent que le texte de ce livre n'a pu être mis au point par l'auteur avant d'être envoyé à l'impression. La bibliographie n'est pas à jour et des bévues subsistent. P. 81 : la Vierge-des-Chaudronniers de Salonique (pour laquelle Gr. N. a gardé le vieux nom turc de Kazandjilar Djami) est datée du XIIIe s. ! P. 19 : la conception virginale de Jésus est donnée comme l'Immaculée Conception.

Pour la Roumanie on consultera dans le *RbK* les articles : *Curtea de Argeş*, *Dacia*, *Garvăn-Dinogeţia*, *Histria (Dobrogea)*.

U.R.S.S.

Alice Bank, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR. Vizantijskoe iskusstvo v sobranijach Sovetskogo sojuza.* Leningrad et Moscou, Sovetskij Chudožnik, 1966. 1 vol. 27 × 34 cm, 390 pp., 302 figg. sur pll., dont 77 en couleurs (texte en russe et en anglais).

Dans ce recueil d'excellentes photographies suivies de notices, Mme Al. B. a réussi à donner une image vivante de l'évolution des arts figurés et somptuaires de Byzance en faisant appel à l'abondant matériel conservé à l'Ermitage et à des pièces en possession d'autres Musées de l'U.R.S.S. (à Moscou : le Musée historique, le Trésor du Kremlin, le Musée Pouchkine des Beaux-Arts, la Galerie Tretiakov ; à Kiev : le Musée de l'art occidental

et oriental et le Musée de l'histoire de la culture ; le Musée de Chersonnèse). Les objets ont été présentés dans l'ordre chronologique selon les divisions traditionnelles : 1) du IVe au VIIe s. ; 2) du Xe au XIIe s. ; 3) du XIIIe au XVe s. Aucune pièce ne peut être rapportée à l'époque iconoclaste. Les manuscrits, qui doivent faire l'objet d'une publication spéciale, ont été délibérément écartés de même que les émaux de Géorgie (en raison de leur publication par M. Ch. Amiranachvili dans un ouvrage qui a paru en traduction française à Paris, Éditions Cercle d'art, 1962) et que les œuvres coptes (considérées comme ayant une spécificité qui les détache de l'art byzantin). Mme B. n'a pas retenu non plus les trouvailles des fouilles systématiques de Chersonnèse.

Les inscriptions grecques ont été en général transcrites. Fig. 123 : il n'y a pas de *ΔE* entre *ΘΥ* et *Ὁ ΑΪΡΩΝ*. Fig. 168 : lire *ἐλπίζων* et non *ἐλπίξων*. Les dates proposées pour certaines pièces peuvent être controversées. Ainsi je crois que la soierie de la fig. 121 a dû être exécutée au Xe s. plutôt qu'au VIIe/VIIIe mais on peut en discuter.

Au livre de Mme B. on ajoutera son article *Relief en marbre à l'image de saint Luc évangéliste*, dans le *Jahrb. Österr. Byz.*, t. 21, 1972, pp. 7-11 (sur une icone en marbre de la fin du XIIIe s.). D'autre part Mme Patrizia Angioloni Martinelli a étudié, avec beaucoup de sensibilité et de pénétration dans l'analyse, d'abord le style du dessin et le rythme, puis la part de réalisme et de fantaisie dans les fonds de paysage et d'architecture sur les pièces paléobyzantines d'argenterie à l'Ermitage (*XX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenne, Longo, 1973, pp. 19-47 et 49-61).

V. N. Lazarev, *Michaïlovskie Mozaïki*. (Texte russe avec un résumé en français). Moscou, Iskusstvo, 1966. 1 vol. 21 × 30,5 cm, 271 pp., 92 pll. en noir et blanc, 19 pll. en couleurs.

Une importante lacune dans notre documentation sur l'un des monuments majeurs de la peinture byzantine du début du XIIe s. a été comblée par cette publication des mosaïques exécutées aux environs de 1111-1112 dans le sanctuaire de l'église construite par le grand prince de Kiev Sviatopolk (1093-1113) en l'honneur de son saint patron l'archange Michel, auquel il aurait attribué ses victoires sur les Polovtses. Cette église abritait aussi dans sa prothèse les reliques de sainte Barbe apportées de Constantinople par la troisième épouse de Sviatopolk, une princesse byzantine. L'édifice ayant été démoli en 1934-1935, les mosaïques sont conservées, de même que les fragments, très abîmés, des fresques qui déco-

raient le reste de l'église, dans l'une des chapelles des tribunes de Sainte-Sophie de Kiev. Le maître byzantin auquel on doit la partie centrale de la Communion des apôtres ainsi que les autres parties les plus en vue fut secondé par des artistes russes, dont certains surent être très proches de son style. Les maîtres se réservaient les têtes et parfois les vêtements ; les compagnons traitaient les drapés. Sur presque tous les visages l'austérité byzantine s'est relâchée au profit de la souplesse et de la douceur, qui deviendront typiques des écoles russes. La gamme des couleurs est particulièrement étendue. On regrettera de n'avoir pas un résumé en français de l'étude technique très poussée que leur a consacrée Mme V. N. Levičkaïa.

Trésors de l'art russe. Texte de M. V. Alpatov. Traduction et notices de Olga Dacenko. Paris, Éditions Cercle d'Art, 1966. 1 vol. 28 × 33 cm, 181 pp., 101 figg. en couleurs.

M. V. Alpatov, *Treasures of Russian Art in the 11th-16th Centuries (Painting).* Leningrad, Aurora Art Publishers, 1970. 1 vol. 21 × 28 cm, 287 pp., 163 pll. en noir et blanc, 68 pll. en couleurs.

Malgré la ressemblance des titres ces deux ouvrages sont différents. Celui qui a été publié en français privilégie la peinture (mosaïques, fresques, icones) mais englobe aussi l'architecture et les industries d'art (broderies, portes de bronze, bois sculptés, orfèvreries et argenteries). L'illustration totalement en couleurs, a été constituée spécialement au cours d'une campagne photographique de deux mois et demi. Le volume en anglais se limite à la peinture, y compris les miniatures. L'illustration, faite d'un choix des œuvres les plus belles et les plus significatives, est plus abondante mais ne comprend pas les œuvres importées de Byzance (telles que la Vierge de Vladimir). Le livre en français va jusqu'au début du XVIIIe s. alors que le second s'arrête au XVIe s. Les textes de M. A. sont aussi différents. Ils ont en commun de viser l'un et l'autre à faire saisir l'essence de l'art russe et de montrer comment celui-ci, ayant reçu dès l'origine et à plusieurs reprises des impulsions de Byzance, a su affirmer des caractères spécifiques sous l'effet des circonstances historiques et du «génie du lieu» ; cette concordance est soulignée dans le volume en français par des citations d'écrivains russes. Mais alors que dans ce livre M. A. atteignait son but par un discours général sur la signification des œuvres, dans le volume en anglais il y parvenait surtout par la voie des descriptions. Il a, ici et là, établi de nombreux rapprochements avec les arts de l'Europe occidentale mais en mettant en garde contre les comparaisons superficielles.

Michel ALPATOV, *Histoire de l'art russe des origines à la fin du XVIIe siècle*. Texte traduit du russe par Alexandre KARVOVSKI er revu par l'auteur. Paris, Flammarion, 1975. 1 vol. 19 × 23 cm, 459 pp., 280 figg., 32 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 120 fr. français.

Cette traduction française du troisième et dernier volume de l'*Histoire universelle des arts* de M. A. (publiée à Moscou en 1955) a été mise à jour pour tenir compte des découvertes et des restaurations récentes et adaptée aux besoins des lecteurs français moins familiers de ces sujets que les Soviétiques. Elle vise à présenter un large panorama de l'évolution des arts de l'ancienne Russie, depuis leurs devanciers (de l'époque paléolithique aux Scythes et aux premières communautés slaves) jusqu'à cette fin du XVIIe s. où, après une période de déclin pendant laquelle les belles réalisations n'avaient plus guère été que des exceptions attestées surtout dans les provinces, les réformes de Pierre le Grand provoquèrent une rupture brutale avec une tradition séculaire, qui se survécut dans l'art paysan. M. A. s'est attaché aux monuments et aux œuvres les plus caractéristiques ainsi qu'aux périodes les plus importantes. Il a ici encore tenté de faire percevoir la spécificité de l'art russe, dont l'âge d'or lui paraît se situer entre 1350 et 1550. Il se refuse à y voir une simple ramification ou une timide imitation de l'art byzantin et il estime qu'on doit l'apprécier selon des critères propres, différents de ceux que l'on a appliqués à l'art de la Renaissance occidentale. Mais il montre bien en même temps qu'à ses origines l'art de la Russie de Kiev «n'a pas encore pris ses distances vis-à-vis de l'art byzantin». Un lexique très développé achève de rendre accessible cet ouvrage, remarquablement bien illustré.

V. N. LAZAREV, *Moskovskaïa Skola Ikonopisi. Moscow School of Icon-Painting*. Traduction anglaise de G. V. STRELKOVA. Photographies de E. I. STEYNERT. Moscou, Iskusstvo, 1971. 1 vol. 27 × 34,5 cm, 235 pp., 52 figg. en couleurs, 89 pll. en couleurs (texte en russe et en anglais).

V. N. L. a présenté, avec des photographies d'ensemble et de détail, une cinquantaine d'icones de l'école de Moscou, qu'il a replacée dans le contexte de l'histoire politique et de l'évolution artistique et dont il a analysé l'iconographie et le style. L'école de Moscou se constitua au XIVe s. lorsque la ville devint un important centre politique, artistique et religieux avec la proclamation en 1328, d'Ivan I Kalita comme «prince de Moscou et de toute la Russie» aux dépens des princes de Vladimir-Souzdal et avec l'installation du métropolite, qui amena sans doute avec lui des peintres de Vladimir. Les icones des quatre premières décennies du XIVe s. se rattachent

encore aux traditions du XIIIe s. Les peintres byzantins que le métropolite Théognostès, né à Constantinople, fit venir en 1344, dans une ville où il y avait des couvents grecs et qui entretenait des rapports suivis avec la capitale de l'Empire, formèrent des disciples, à qui l'on doit des icones profondément empreintes du style des Paléologues, qui répondait aux aspirations d'un milieu marqué par l'essor de la puissance économique et politique des grands-princes. Dans les dernières décennies du XIVe s. l'arrivée d'icones envoyées de Constantinople et l'activité de Théophane le Grec ainsi que d'autres peintres de ses compatriotes renforcèrent la présence de l'art byzantin au sein d'un État où la victoire de Dimitri Donskoï en 1380 sur les Tatars à Kulivo donna un sentiment de confiance en soi-même qui inspira l'œuvre d'André Rubliov et de ses contemporains comme la littérature russe de l'époque. L'iconostase de la cathédrale de l'Annonciation de Moscou en 1405 sous la direction de Théophane le Grec, avec le concours d'A. Rubliov et de Prokhir de Gorodets, est une œuvre caractéristique de ce temps et instaure une féconde tradition dont V. N. L. a suivi les créations. Un nouveau départ fut donné par le règne d'Ivan III le Grand (1462-1505), «l'assembleur des terres russes», l'époux de Sophie Paléologue, qui eut l'ambition de faire de Moscou la «Troisième Rome» et que le métropolite Zosima appela «le nouvel Empereur Constantin». Sa volonté de conférer plus d'éclat aux cérémonies de la cour eut ses heureuses répercussions en art, où les scènes figurées furent rendues avec plus de magnificence et de solennité. Mais l'alliance de l'autocratie politique et de l'Église ainsi que l'extension des monastères renforcèrent le conformisme. La seule figure marquante de la fin du XVe s. et du début du XVIe est Dionisy, qui exerça une forte influence sur ses contemporains : V. N. L. rejette l'hypothèse qui trouve les sources de son art dans l'école de Rostov-Souzdal et le rattache à la tradition de Rubliov, dont il assimila les qualités extérieures de style mais non le sens poétique ni la haute spiritualité, si bien qu'il marqua le début non d'un nouvel essor mais d'un déclin, où, comme le souligne très lucidement V. N. L., l'interdiction des hérésies et la suppression de la liberté de pensée entraînèrent le triomphe du «byzantinisme» formel.

Richard HARE, *Tausend Jahre Russische Kunst*. Autorisierte Übertragung aus dem englischen von Gunthild BLASING. Recklinghausen, Aurel Bongers, 1964. 1 vol. 22 × 26,5 cm, 240 pp., 111 pll. en noir et blanc, 43 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 78 DM.

Cet ouvrage, qui est une traduction allemande d'un volume publié chez

Methuen & C° sous le titre *The Art and Artists of Russia*, n'étudie pas systématiquement l'histoire de l'art russe mais en présente divers aspects depuis les débuts jusqu'au XIXe s. Les byzantinistes s'arrêteront au premier chapitre (intitulé «icones et tradition byzantine») et au second (qui traite de l'orfèvrerie et de l'argenterie, où les traditions attestées aux XIVe s. dans le reliquaire en argent doré de Sainte-Sophie de Novgorod survivent, en se conjuguant avec des influences occidentales, jusqu'au XVIIe s.).

Afrique du Nord

XVII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna 8-21 Marzo 1970. Ravenne, Edizioni A. Longo, 1970. Prix : 8.000 lires.

XIX Corso di cultua sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna 16-29 Aprile 1972. Ravenne, Longo Editore, 1972. Prix : 8.000 lires.

Paul-Albert FÉVRIER, *L'Art de l'Algérie antique*. Paris, De Boccard, 1971. 1 vol. 18,5 × 23 cm, 72 pp., 26 figg., 96 pll. (RÉPUBLIQUE ALGÉRIENNE DÉMOCRATIQUE ET POPULAIRE. MINISTÈRE DE L'INFORMATION ET DE LA CULTURE).

Noël DUVAL, *Les monuments chrétiens de Carthage* ; *Études d'architecture chrétienne nord-africaine* : I. *Études critiques* ; II. *L'architecture chrétienne en Byzacène*, dans les *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*, t. 84, 1972, 2, pp. 1071-1172.

Noël DUVAL, *Influences byzantines sur la civilisation chrétienne de l'Afrique du Nord*, dans la *Revue des études grecques*, t. 84, 1971, juillet-décembre, pp. XXVI-XXX.

L'Afrique du N. n'a pas toujours reçu la place qu'elle méritait dans les histoires de l'art paléochrétien et surtout de l'art byzantin. Les études recensées ici, par les vues d'ensemble originales qu'elles nous apportent, seront de celles qui aideront à lui faire rendre plus de justice.

Au cours des leçons qu'il a faites à Ravenne en 1970, P.-A. Février, se fondant sur l'étude des paysages urbains et des constructions ainsi que des décors de sculpture et de mosaïques et complétant les informations tirées de l'archéologie par celles des textes et des inscriptions, a précisé les conditions économiques et sociales de la création artistique en Afrique du N. de la Tétrarchie jusqu'au Ve s. : la richesse et la spécificité des réalisations attestent la fécondité de la rencontre entre les traditions locales vivaces et les apports venus des autres pays méditerranéens ; le rôle que l'Afrique a joué dans la genèse de l'esthétique nouvelle est comparable à celui qu'elle a tenu

dans l'élaboration de la chrétienté occidentale (*XVII Corso* ..., pp. 161-189). Ce sont là des vues que l'auteur a également défendues dans son livre sur *L'art de l'Algérie antique*. L'autre leçon qu'il a faite en 1970 sur le culte des martyrs en Afrique et ses plus anciens monuments n'est pas moins riche en conclusions éclairantes (*XVII Corso*, pp. 191-215). P.-A. Février a donné une suite à ces exposés en 1972 en retraçant l'histoire religieuse des provinces orientales de l'Afrique antique jusqu'au XIe s. ; après la reconquête byzantine commencée en 533 apparaissent non seulement le culte des saints orientaux mais aussi des formes architecturales telles que le narthex, les tribunes, le transept, les voûtes d'arêtes et sans doute les coupoles ainsi que des chapiteaux exécutés dans des ateliers de Constantinople (*XIX Corso*, pp. 131-158). P.-A. Février a aussi suivi, de façon plus détaillée qu'en 1970, l'évolution du décor figuré et ornemental dans la mosaïque et en sculpture à la fin de l'Antiquité (*ibid.*, pp. 191-215). On complétera les considérations développées dans ces deux leçons par la communication que N. Duval a faite le 26 avril 1971 au cours d'une séance commune de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques et de la Société des Études latines (*REG*, t. 84, 1071, pp. XXVI-XXX) et par les indications qu'il a fournies dans les *CRAI*, 1971, pp. 160-166. En 1970 J. Lassus a présenté d'utiles exposés d'ensemble sur les basiliques et sur les baptistères de l'Afrique du N. (*XVII Corso*, pp. 217-252). N. Duval a procédé à une analyse critique de nos connaissances sur les églises à deux absides d'Algérie (pp. 119-147) et il a comparé les mosaïques funéraires de ce pays à celles de la Tunisie, dont elles diffèrent assez sensiblement, notamment par une introduction plus tardive de la figure humaine (pp. 149-159). Les textes préparés pour les leçons que N. Duval a faites en 1972 sur les monuments chrétiens de Carthage, l'architecture chrétienne en Byzacène, les mosaïques funéraires de l'Enfida et la chronologie des mosaïques funéraires de Tunisie et dont seuls d'amples résumés (avec la bibliographie) avaient été publiés dans le *XIX Corso* (pp. 95-118) ont paru intégralement dans les *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome (Antiquité)*, t. 84, 1972, pp. 1071-1172 et dans la *Rivista di Archeologia cristiana*, t. L, 1974, pp. 145-174. Pour Carthage il est intéressant de relever que les constructions chrétiennes du centre de la ville et de la proche banlieue sont implantées conformément à l'ancienne cadastration, ce qui prouve que la vie urbaine de la période paléochrétienne a prolongé celle de la Carthage classique ; d'autre part la grandeur et la complexité exceptionnelles des églises évoquent celles des monuments des capitales de l'Empire : Rome, Constantinople, Milan, Trèves, Antioche, auxquelles il faut joindre

Jérusalem. Quant à la Byzacène, elle se distingue moins par l'originalité de ses constructions que par leur nombre élevé, témoin de la vitalité de l'église de la province, que l'on soupçonne aussi sur le plan doctrinal.

Jürgen Christern a montré comment à Tébessa une *memoria* funéraire avait donné naissance à un complexe monastique, qui fut un lieu de pèlerinage très fréquenté (*XVII Corso*, pp. 103-117). Mohamed Yacoub a suivi la christianisation des thèmes païens surtout dans les mosaïques mais aussi sur des stèles funéraires et des sarcophages de Tunisie (*XIX Corso*, pp. 331-350). Il a aussi présenté trois chefs-d'œuvre d'art chrétien au Musée du Bardo : 1. la coupe de verre gravé avec deux pêcheurs qu'une inscription identifie aux apôtres Pierre et Paul et deux poissons, qui symboliseraient l'Eucharistie ; 2. la mosaïque tombale de Tabarka avec la représentation d'une basilique ; 3. la cuve baptismale de Kélibia (pp. 351-363).

Noël Duval, *Les églises africaines à deux absides. Recherches archéologiques sur la liturgie chrétienne en Afrique du Nord.* Tome I : *Recherches archéologiques à Sbeitla, I. Les basiliques de Sbeitla à deux sanctuaires opposés (Basiliques I, II et IV).* Tome II : *Inventaire des monuments-Interprétation.* Paris, De Boccard, 1971 et 1973. 2 vol. 22 × 28 cm, XVII-471 pp., 440 pp., 8 dépliants et X-455 pp., 198 figg. (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome. 218 et 218 bis).

Noël Duval, *Les églises à deux absides d'Algérie, Analyse critique*, dans le *XVII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina*, Ravenne, 1970, pp. 119-147.

La publication des résultats de la vaste enquête menée par N. D. sur les églises africaines à deux absides ou deux chœurs opposés comprend deux parties : 1) la présentation des trois églises de ce type qu'il a fouillées lui-même à Sbeitla (et qui constitue le premier tome d'une série de volumes qui seront consacrés aux autres monuments chrétiens et aux inscriptions de cette ville), 2) un inventaire — sous forme de monographies critiques — de 35 basiliques africaines, depuis la Maurétanie jusqu'à la Cyrénaïque, dans lesquelles ce dispositif se rencontre ou paraît se rencontrer. Cet inventaire a été l'occasion de constituer un recueil de monographies qui, par les plans nouveaux ou anciens corrigés, les photographies et les descriptions résultant d'observations attentives faites sur les monuments eux-mêmes ainsi que par les indications sur l'historique des fouilles et par la bibliographie, est d'un intérêt qui dépasse celui du problème, important, auquel N. D. a cherché à donner des solutions ; il sera extrêmement précieux pour la connaissance de

l'architecture paléochrétienne d'un ensemble de territoires pour lesquels manquent encore des études générales, bien à jour.

Au terme de son enquête N. D. aboutit à la conclusion que l'on peut distinguer quatre catégories de contre-absides ou contre-chœurs (dont certains n'avaient pas été repérés avant lui) : 1) la chapelle indépendante, extérieure à l'église, à l'opposé de l'abside principale, 2) la contre-abside construite à l'extérieur devant la façade primitive ou aménagée dans un ancien vestibule ou dans un narthex, 3) la contre-abside ou le contre-chœur sans abside installé dans les premières travées de la nef centrale, 4) le contre-chœur placé dans la nef centrale à quelque distance de la façade. Ce n'est qu'à partir de la deuxième moitié du ve s. et surtout au vi^e^, à l'époque byzantine, que l'on a aménagé dans les basiliques d'Afrique un second centre de culte sous la forme d'une contre-abside ou d'un contre-chœur. Il semble y avoir eu à l'introduction de ce dispositif des raisons différentes : 1. désir de rendre hommage à un défunt vénéré (l'exemple le plus célèbre est celui de l'exèdre de l'évêque Reparatus, mort en 475, à Castellum Tingitanum, autrefois Orléansville, aujourd'hui Al Asnam), 2. et plus particulièrement à un ou des martyrs (dans une bonne dizaine d'édifices), 3. volonté d'orienter à l'E., pour se conformer à la pratique qui s'était généralisée, le chevet d'églises d'abord occidentées ; 4. nécessité pour la liturgie nord-africaine de pouvoir utiliser deux autels opposés dans les cérémonies dont la nature nous échappe. Ces raisons devaient être impératives puisque pour y répondre on condamnait les portes des façades, et elles étaient propres à l'Afrique puisqu'on ne rencontre pas la même densité de sanctuaires à centres de culte opposés dans les autres régions du monde méditerranéen. N. D. pense qu'on peut aussi tenir compte du goût qui se serait développé chez les architectes locaux pour les églises symétriques. Ce type d'églises à deux absides qui s'était élaboré an Afrique à travers de multiples tâtonnements serait passé dans le S. de l'Espagne occupée par les Byzantins, où il fut réalisé aux vi^e^ et viie s. dans les monuments le plus souvent conçus d'un seul jet. De là il aurait pu se transmettre à la Gaule, où il serait à l'origine des églises carolingiennes à deux absides de la France de l'E., de la Suisse et de la Germanie. Mais sur ce point N. D. ne me paraît plus faire preuve de la même prudence critique que tout au long de sa recherche. Je considère comme meilleure l'explication qu'il propose p. 357 selon laquelle, au temps de la renaissance carolingienne, il y aurait eu adaptation d'une architecture où l'orientation était devenue la règle à la liturgie des prestigieux sanctuaires de Rome.

Noël Duval et François Baratte, *Les ruines de Sufetula-Sbeitla*. Tunis, Société Tunisienne de Diffusion, 1973. 1 vol. 16,5 × 24 cm, 117 pp., 66 figg.

Cette brochure est plus qu'un simple guide. Elle vise à fournir l'état actuel des connaissances sur Sufetula, ville riche non seulement en édifices romains, datant surtout du IIe s., mais aussi en constructions byzantines : outre les trois basiliques à deux sanctuaires opposés, on y trouve l'église III dite du prêtre Servus aménagée dans la cour d'un ancien temple (cette basilique à cinq nefs, dont le chevet était dirigé vers le N.-O. et qui était dotée au N. d'un baptistère installé dans la cella du temple, pourrait être la cathédrale donatiste), la basilique V dédiée aux saints de Milan Gervais et Protais et au saint oriental Tryphon, dont les reliques seraient venues de Byzance (VIIe s.), la basilique VI des saints Sylvain et Fortunat, martyrs locaux (cette basilique-martyrium, construite sous Justinien dans la nécropole S.-O. sur l'emplacement d'une chapelle antérieure, aurait été vraisemblablement surmontée, au-dessus du carré central, d'une coupole que contrebutaient latéralement deux voûtes d'arêtes), basilique VII dite chapelle de l'évêque Honorius (aujourd'hui recouverte mais dont N. D. propose un plan d'après les descriptions et documents d'archives ; elle aurait appartenu à un village antique ou à une grosse ferme). Il y a encore des huileries et des fortins du VIIe s. ; le forum, le temple anonyme du faubourg N.-O. et peut-être l'amphithéâtre furent aussi fortifiés à une époque tardive. De nombreuses rues furent alors remblayées ou effacées (il serait intéressant de pouvoir préciser si ce fut avant ou après les destructions causées par l'incursion arabe de 647). Cette brochure constitue ainsi un apport à notre connaissance de l'évolution de l'urbanisme des villes d'Afrique du Nord.

XIII Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna 20 Marzo-1 Aprile 1966. Edizioni Dante di A. Longo, 1966. Prix : 8.000 lires.

Richard George Goodchild, *Kyrene und Apollonia*. Zurich, Raggi Verlag, 1971. 1 vol. 18 × 24,5 cm, 200 pp., 25 figg., 108 pll. en noir et blanc, 4 pll. en couleurs, 1 dépliant (Ruinenstadte Nordafrikas).

Plusieurs des leçons faites à Ravenne en 1966 ont été consacrées à l'actuelle Libye : Tripolitaine et Cyrénaïque. Antonino Di Vita a retracé la diffusion du christianisme à l'intérieur de la Tripolitaine et sa survivance après la conquête arabe jusqu'au XIe s. (pp. 119-140). Pour la Tripolitaine encore Pietro Romanelli a présenté les basiliques et les baptistères d'abord d'époque paléochrétienne (pp. 413-424) puis d'époque byzantine (pp. 425-432). Le regretté R. G. Goodchild avait étudié les fortifications et les palais byzantins

de Tripolitaine et de Cyrénaïque (pp. 225-250) et les églises et baptistères byzantins de Cyrénaïque (pp. 205-224). Les constructions chrétiennes s'étant implantées dans le cadre urbain antérieur, il convenait de décrire aussi les grands complexes architecturaux de l'époque impériale romaine ; c'est à quoi s'est employé Luciano Laurenzi pour Tripoli, Leptis Magna, Cyrène, Apollonia et Ptolémaïs (pp. 251-274).

On trouvera aussi des indications précises sur l'histoire et les monuments de Cyrène et d'Apollonia dans le livre que R. G. Goodchild avait consacré à ces deux sites depuis leur fondation au VIIe s. avant notre ère jusqu'à nos jours. Apollonia a pris une importance particulière lorsqu'au VIe s. elle succéda à Ptolémais comme capitale de la Pentapole sous le nom de Sozousa.

Rome

Giuseppe Bovini, *Edifici cristiani di culto d'età costantiniana a Roma.* Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1968. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, XII-407 pp., 50 figg. Prix : 5.500 lires.

Ce volume a inauguré la série des ouvrages où G. B., se fondant sur l'examen des monuments et l'étude des textes du Bas-Empire et du Moyen Age ainsi que sur les théories de ses devanciers, s'était proposé de présenter l'état actuel de nos connaissances sur les édifices de culte paléochrétiens de différents sites de l'Italie.

Il a réparti les églises de Rome à l'époque constantinienne en trois groupes : 1) les édifices à l'intérieur de l'enceinte de la ville (la cathédrale ou Saint-Jean de Latran avec son baptistère : cf. un résumé dans le *XV Corso*, 1968, pp. 85-89, et la Sainte-Croix-de-Jérusalem) ; 2) les basiliques cimétériales hors-les-murs (cf. un résumé dans le *XV Corso*, 1968, pp. 91-107) ; 3) les martyria (Saint-Pierre et Saint-Paul-hors-les-murs). G. B. n'a pas seulement étudié l'architecture de ces monuments mais aussi les mosaïques, perdues ou conservées, et les sculptures. P. 44, 1re l. du dernier alinéa : lire «anteriore» au lieu de «posteriore».

Giuseppe Bovini, *Mosaici paleocristiani di Roma (Secoli III-VI).* Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1971. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, IX-286 pp., 56 figg. Prix : 7.000 lires.

G. B. a jugé opportun de présenter, dans le même esprit de synthèse, les mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Rome, disparues ou conservées, depuis le Mausolée des Julii sous Saint-Pierre jusqu'à Saint-Laurent-hors-les-murs. Il

a repris, en bonne partie, les notices consacrées aux mosaïques des églises d'époque constantinienne dans le volume précédent et le texte de plusieurs leçons faites dans le cadre des *Corsi* (X, 1963, pp. 67-101 ; XVIII, 1971, pp. 95-140).

Les mosaïques de l'oratoire de Saint-Venance (sous Jean IV, 640-642) et celles de l'abside de Saint-Étienne-le-Rond (à la fin du pontificat de Théodore, vers 648-649), si importantes pour l'apparition d'un nouveau style à Rome au VIIe s. n'entraient pas dans le cadre chronologique de cet ouvrage. Elles ont été étudiées par G. B., respectivement dans le *XVIII Corso*, 1971, pp. 141-154, et dans le *XI Corso*, 1964, pp. 101-114.

Roberta BUDRIESI, *La Basilica dei SS. Cosma e Damiano a Roma*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1968. 1 vol. 22 × 24,5 cm, x-160 pp., 46 figg. (STUDI DI ANTICHITÀ CRISTIANE. 3). Prix : 2.500 lires.

Mme R. B. a reconstitué l'histoire architecturale de ce monument depuis la salle de la Bibliothèque du Forum de Vespasien (restaurée sous les Sévères, agrandie d'un vestibule et d'une abside au début du IVe s.), dans laquelle l'église fut aménagée par le pape Félix IV (526-530) jusqu'aux travaux d'Urbain VIII (1623-1644). Elle note que la transformation d'édifices païens en églises est une tendance de l'époque byzantine à Rome ainsi que l'indique également au Forum Sainte-Marie-Antique. Mme R. B. attribue la mosaïque de l'abside des Saints-Côme-et-Damien à l'époque de Félix et, comme G. Matthiae, celle de l'arc triomphal (avec l'agneau étendu sur le trône devant la croix entre les sept chandeliers de l'Apocalypse, quatre anges et les symboles des évangélistes) au pontificat de Serge (692-701), défenseur de l'*Agnus Dei* contre le synode in Trullo. Mais comme cette dernière mosaïque présente des parentés avec celle de Saint-Michel in Africisco de Ravenne, on peut supposer qu'elle date aussi du VIe s. et que les divergences de style qu'elle présente avec celle de l'abside sont dues, comme le rappelle Fr. W. Deichmann (*BZ*, t. 64, 1971, p. 126), aux différences de sujet et d'emplacement.

Per Jonas NORDHAGEN, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705-707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*. Rome, «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 1968. 1 vol. 23,5 × 31 cm, XII-126 pp., 15 figg., 131 pll. en couleurs, 1 plan et 3 diagrammes. (INSTITUTUM ROMANUM NORVEGIAE. ACTA AD ARCHAEOLOGIAM ET ARTIUM HISTORIAM PERTINENTIA. Vol. III).

P.-J. N., à qui l'on devait déjà une importante étude sur les plus anciennes peintures de Sainte-Marie Antique (dans *Acta* ..., I, 1962, pp. 58 et

suiv.) et, en collaboration avec R. Romanelli un beau livre intitulé *Santa Maria Antiqua* (Rome, Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1965), a publié les fresques de ce monument que des observations portant sur la superposition des couches, la technique de l'exécution, les encadrements des panneaux et la paléographie des inscriptions l'ont conduit à attribuer à la campagne de décoration peinte entreprise sur l'initiative de Jean VII au témoignage du *Liber Pontificalis*. Reculant devant la tâche de faire repeindre toute l'église, ce pontife s'en est tenu principalement aux parties les plus importantes : le sanctuaire (où il respecta le panneau représentant sainte Anne avec Marie, qui remonte au VIIe s.) et le diaconicon (chapelle des saints médecins). Il y ajouta les chancels, les piliers N.-O. et S.-E., ainsi que peut-être les voûtes de la nef centrale, la porte du passage conduisant à la rampe du Palatin, deux niches du mur E. de l'atrium (dont la décoration devait être complétée par Adrien I : 772-795) et la façade de l'oratoire des Quarante-Martyrs (dont l'intérieur aurait été peint sous Pascal I : 817-824). Les fresques des collatéraux de l'église n'auraient été exécutées que sous Paul I (757-767). Rien ne paraît remonter au temps de Jean VII dans la prothèse, décorée par le *dispensator* Théodote vers 750. Maintes scènes des fresques de Jean VII présentent une iconographie déjà proprement byzantine, prouvant ainsi que celle-ci s'était déjà constituée dans plusieurs de ses éléments avant l'iconoclasme. L'Adoration de la Croix, au lieu de celle de l'Agneau, sur l'arc triomphal de l'abside paraît indiquer que Jean VII se conforma aux décisions du concile Quinisexte, dont il renvoya les canons à Justinien II, sans les avoir amendés ; mais en faisant figurer sur le mur juste en dessous, avec son portrait et ceux de Léon I et d'un pape non identifié, celui de Martin I (649-653), qui mourut exilé par les Byzantins à Cherson pour avoir condamné le «Typos» de Constant II et soutenu la sécession de l'exarque de Ravenne Olympius, Jean VII entendit peut-être rappeler les aspirations du pontificat romain à l'indépendance. Le style, caractérisé par la vivacité des mouvements et le sens du drame, montre une certaine indécision due au fait que l'on passe des volumes puissamment modelés des fresques de l'époque de Martin I, telles qu'on les voit dans le panneau des Maccabées, à des formes plus plates, aux contours accentués et aux couleurs froides et denses. Ce changement se serait produit sous l'influence du processus, plus général, d'évolution, dans l'art byzantin, du courant dit «hellénistique», qui aurait fait son apparition à la fin du VIe siècle. M. B. Brenk a aussi souligné (dans son compte rendu de la *BZ*, t. 64, 1971, p. 396) les ressemblances avec les fragments de fresques de Khirbat al Mafjar (± 724-743). Pour l'étude du style de ce pontificat à Rome on se reportera encore à l'étude de M. Nord-

hagen sur les mosaiques de l'oratoire de Jean VII dans les *Acta* ..., II, 1965, pp. 121 et suiv.

Milan

Giuseppe Bovini, *Antichità cristiane di Milano*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1970. 1 vol. 22 × 24,5 cm, xvi-384 pp. Prix : 9.000 lires.

G. B. nous propose une vue complète des édifices de culte paléochrétiens de Milan, qu'ils soient aujourd'hui plus ou moins bien conservés ou seulement connus par les textes. Il les répartit en trois groupes chronologiques : 1. Les édifices antérieurs à saint Ambroise ; 2. Les constructions de l'époque de saint Ambroise ; 3. Les édifices postérieurs à saint Ambroise. Lorsque l'on regarde la distribution des églises sur un plan de la ville, on constate que beaucoup d'entre elles ont été érigées dans d'anciens cimetières et qu'elles semblent répondre au désir d'encercler la cité d'une ceinture de sanctuaires vénérables. Cette volonté est d'autant plus notable que saint Ambroise nous dit que Milan avait perdu le souvenir de ses martyrs et qu'elle dut aller en chercher ailleurs (*Ep. XXII ad Marcellinam*). Plusieurs des chapitres de ce volume avaient déjà paru dans les *Corsi* (t. VIII, 1961, pp. 47-139 ; t. XVI, 1969, pp. 71-80 ; t. XVII, 1970, pp. 61-97), sous une forme parfois plus brève mais avec des références infrapaginales qui font défaut ici.

Villes du littoral de la Haute Adriatique

Giuseppe Bovini, *Le Antichità cristiane di Aquileia*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1972. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, x-464 pp., 92 figg. (Archeologia Cristiana). Prix : 7.450 lires.

Dans l'introduction G. B. a retracé l'histoire d'Aquilée depuis sa fondation en 181 avant notre ère comme base de défense contre d'éventuelles attaques venues du N. jusqu'au viiie s., où se consomma son déclin, consécutif à l'invasion des Lombards. Si une tradition légendaire fait remonter la fondation de l'église locale à saint Marc, on n'a pas historiquement connaissance d'un évêque de la ville avant Hermagoras dans les années 250-260, donc à une date plus tardive qu'Anatolus à Milan et Apollinaire à Ravenne.

Le premier ensemble monumental étudié est celui du «complexe ecclésial» de l'évêque Théodore (qui aurait été nommé en 304/305) avec les édifices qui lui ont succédé (on trouvera d'amples résumés de cette par-

tie du livre avec une bonne illustration, en partie différente, dans le *XIX Corso ...*, 1971, pp. 53-94). G. B. se range à l'hypothèse de Mirabella Roberti, confirmée par les recherches ultérieures, selon laquelle la salle N. et la salle S. de ce complexe auraient été construites simultanément par Théodore, l'oratoire antérieur s'étant trouvé à l'emplacement non pas de la moitié E. de la salle N., comme l'avaient supposé Cecchelli, Brusin et bien d'autres, mais de l'espace compris entre les deux salles, dans une maison romaine, où le baptême était conféré dans la vasque d'un bain. La signification symbolique que C. B. attribue aux mosaïques de pavement de la salle S., illustrant le caractère indispensable du baptême et la nécessité de l'Eucharistie, le conduit à voir dans cette salle celle qui était destinée à la synaxe eucharistique, la salle N. étant le *catechumeneum* comme le suggèrent aussi les motifs des pavements en mosaïque. La salle à l'O. de l'espace intermédiaire aurait été le *consignatorium* où l'évêque aurait donné la confirmation aux néophytes, baptisés plus à l'E. dans un local, qui aurait disparu lorsque furent établies les fondations du clocher. G. B. se rallie aux conclusions de S. Tavano, pour qui les mosaïques des salles N. et S. auraient intégré des apports venus de la Syrie, d'Alexandrie et de l'Afrique. Aquilée, grande ville portuaire et point de départ de nombreuses routes divergentes, fut «une oasis orientale en Occident», assurant la liaison entre l'Orient méditerranéen et l'arrière-pays venète et transalpin. A plus d'1 m. au-dessus du pavement de la salle N., une basilique, plus large et plus longue, à trois nefs et au chevet rectiligne (caractéristique du diocèse d'Aquilée : cf. *Byzantion*, t. XXXII, 1962, pp. 297-298) fut érigée pour répondre à l'accroissement du nombre des fidèles ; G. B. la daterait des premières années de l'épiscopat de Fortunatien (342-368 ?) en raison du style des pavements en mosaïque. Dans le baptistère rectangulaire qui lui fut annexé au S., la cuve baptismale avait une forme hexagonale, symbolique de l'univers créé en six jours. De même la salle S. de l'époque de Théodore fut remplacée par une basilique plus grande (p. 296 sous le n° 3 on corrigera *settentrionale* en *meridionale*) : G. B. y verrait la *Basilica Apostolorum* qui aurait été élevée à la fin du IVe s. par *Parecorius Apollinaris consularis Venetiae et Histriae*, sans doute sous l'épiscopat de Chromace (388-407) (on verra plus bas p. 428 que S. Tavano a défendu des opinions différentes sur l'identification de l'église et sur le rôle de Parecorius). Précédée d'un narthex, elle était reliée à l'O. par un atrium à un baptistère octogonal intérieurement, de nouveau avec une cuve baptismale hexagonale (sur cette liaison église-atrium-baptistère fréquente dans le Nord de l'Italie et en

Istrie, G. B. aurait pu renvoyer à l'article d'A. Grabar dans *Antidoron Michaeli Abramić I*, pp. 224-230).

Des fouilles récentes ont appris que l'histoire de la basilique élevée au IVe s. à 1 km au S. d'Aquilée à la Beligna (la médiévale Belinia, qui conserverait le nom de la divinité celtique *Belinus* ou *Belenus*) était différente de celle qu'avait cru pouvoir reconstituer G. B. (voir *infra*, p. 428).

G.B. n'a pas admis l'hypothèse de Brusin et Zovatto d'après laquelle la basilique du faubourg dit *Monastero*, élevée vers 400, aurait été d'abord une synagogue : les noms sémitiques de plusieurs donateurs seraient simplement l'indice de la présence dans cette ville portuaire de nombreux commerçants orientaux.

Un chapitre spécial traite des oratoires, dont un bon nombre étaient situés près du *decumanus maximus* et des *cardines* qui lui étaient perpendiculaires. Ils avaient été aménagés dans des maisons appartenant à de riches citoyens. Ils étaient dotés d'une abside à l'Ouest, ce qui pourrait dénoter une influence de Rome. Ils datent en général du IVe s. ; le plus ancien remonterait aux années 310-320.

Antichità altoadriatiche. Vol. I : *Aquileia e l'Alto Adriatico. 1. Aquileia e Grado*. Vol. II : *Aquileia e l'Alto Adriatico. 2. Aquileia e l'Istria*. Vol. IV : *Aquileia e Milano*. Udine, Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1972 et 1973. 3 vol. 17 × 24 cm, 352, 320 et 456 pp., nombreuses figg. et pll.

Le «Centro di Antichità Altoadriatiche» a décidé de publier, en les accompagnant, du moins dans les deux premiers volumes, d'une bibliographie souvent étendue et toujours au point, le texte, plus ou moins long, des leçons données au cours des «semaines d'études aquiléennes» qu'il organise chaque année fin avril, début mai, depuis 1970, sous la direction de Mario Mirabella Roberti. Chacune d'elles constitue un apport précieux à l'histoire de la ville et de ses monuments ou des territoires du N. de l'Italie, avec lesquels elle a été en relation. Dans chacun de ces tomes, plusieurs contributions traitent des problèmes relatifs aux époques préromaine et romaine. Nous ne retiendrons ici que les études concernant le Bas-Empire et le Moyen Age.

Dans le tome I (semaine du 1er au 7 mai 1970) il a appartenu à Sergio Tavano de retracer l'histoire de l'église d'Aquilée jusqu'à la suppression du patriarcat le 6 juillet 1751 (pp. 103-139) ; son étude est suivie d'une liste, fort utile, des évêques et patriarches à partir de saint Hermagoras. M. Mirabella Roberti a présenté, un peu brièvement, le «complexe épiscopal» de Théodore (nous avons rappelé ses vues en la matière dans notre analyse

du livre de G. B.) (pp. 153-165). Les mosaïques paléochrétiennes d'Aquilée ont été l'objet d'une étude d'ensemble de la part de Gian Carlo Menis, qui les répartit en quatre périodes : 1) la tétrarchie et Constantin, 2) le milieu du IVe s. jusqu'à Julien l'Apostat, 3) Théodose et Honorius, 4) le Ve s. G. C. Menis a analysé plus particulièrement les mosaïques des églises de Théodore (pp. 167-188). L'examen auquel Dom Joseph Lemarié a procédé de l'expression donnée par Chromace au symbolisme de la mer, du navire, du pêcheur et de la pêche, confirme la signification baptismale attachée aux mosaïques de Jonas dans l'église S. de Théodore (pp. 141-152). Sergio Tavano a suivi jusqu'à nos jours l'histoire de la basilique patriarcale, en partant des constructions du IVe s. postérieures à Théodore : basilique N., qu'Athanase d'Alexandrie vit en cours de construction en 345, et basilique S., due à Chromace ; pour S. Tavano, ce serait seulement le baptistère (*fontem*) à l'O. de cette église qu'aurait peut-être fait élever Parecorius Apollinaris (pp. 189-248). Les fresques médiévales de la basilique patriarcale ont été étudiées par Mme Chiara Morgagni Schiffrer (pp. 323-349). Celles de la grande abside datent du patriarcat de Poppo (qui consacra la nouvelle basilique en 1031) et se rattachent à l'art ottonien ; celles de l'abside de gauche se situent entre la fin du XIe s. et le début du XIIe et ressortissent encore à la tradition occidentale ; celles de la crypte auraient été exécutées aux environs de 1180, au temps de l'apogée de la puissance du patriarcat sous Voldorich de Treffen et seraient dues à des artistes vénitiens, profondément marqués par l'art byzantin. S. Tavano a aussi présenté les oratoires privés et les églises mineures. Des sondages opérés en 1970 ont permis de préciser le plan du martyrium octogonal (à l'origine sans abside) élevé dans la deuxième moitié du IVe s. en l'honneur de saint Hilarion, deuxième évêque d'Aquilée, sur le *cardo maximus*. S. T. a cru pouvoir reconnaître la *Basilica Apostolorum* (que Mme Bertachhi identifiait avec la basilique de Saint-Jean Évangéliste, détruite en 1850) dans la basilique de la Beligna (pp. 246-297). Il y eut là d'abord, construite vers 380-390, une basilique à trois nefs avec une abside s'arrondissant sur toute la largeur du côté E. : S. T. a évoqué la ressemblance avec les grandes basiliques cémétériales de Rome. G. De Angelis d'Ossat verrait dans ce plan l'influence de Saint-Jean in Conca de Milan (église qui, elle-même, dériverait de la basilique de Trèves : cf. *Antichità altoadriatiche*, IV, pp. 424-426, 435-438). Le plan de cette basilique fut profondément remanié au début du Ve s. vers 410-420 : à l'E. fut construit un transept, dont le mur de fond constitua le chevet rectiligne de l'église, l'abside étant supprimée ; la *Basilica Virginum* de Milan aurait ici exercé son influence.

Dans le t. I on trouve encore deux études sur Grado. Carlo Guido Mor a rappelé ce que les textes et les monuments nous apprennent sur l'histoire de la ville depuis la fin du IVe s. jusqu'à sa subordination à Venise dans les premières années du IXe (pp. 299-315). M. Mirabella Roberti n'a malheuresuement donné qu'un résumé de sa leçon sur les monuments et les mosaïques d'époque paléochrétienne (pp. 318-321).

Les leçons données du 29 avril au 5 mai 1971 ont été réprises dans le t. II. Elles se rapportaient aux territoires situés au fond de l'Adriatique : Vénétie, Frioul, Istrie. Ceux-ci ont livré, de Rimini à Zara, de nombreux portraits du Bas-Empire, en ronde bosse, sur stèles et sur sarcophages, qui ont retenu l'attention de Maurizio Borda (pp. 113-140) ; les ateliers de sculpture d'Aquilée ont alors atteint un très haut niveau et révèlent une grande complexité d'apports, notamment de la part d'éléments transalpins. M. Mirabella Roberti a suivi, à l'aide des documents archéologiques et épigraphiques, la diffusion du christianisme en Istrie (pp. 141-146). Et, faisant place à l'un des plus illustres fils de cette région, Giuseppe Bovini a brassé le tableau de l'intense activité, littéraire, religieuse, politique, diplomatique et édilitaire déployée par Maximien à Ravenne (pp. 147-165). Giuseppe Cuscito a dégagé les valeurs humaines et religieuses qui se sont exprimées dans les inscriptions paléochrétiennes de la Haute Adriatique (pp. 167-196). L'histoire du Frioul et de l'Istrie, du Haut Moyen Age jusqu'au début du XXe s., a été retracée par Amelio Tagliaferri (pp. 273-294). Aux temps paléochrétiens l'Istrie a été féconde en réalisations architecturales, que M. Mirabella Roberti a analysées attentivement (pp. 197-211). Mme Grazia Bravar a décrit les dispositifs des chœurs et les équipements liturgiques (pp. 213-236). En ce qui concerne les mosaïques, S. Tavano a montré que, dans toute la vallée du Pô, Aquilée avait été non seulement un des centres les plus actifs mais aussi le plus original et celui qui avait atteint à la plus haute maîtrise (pp. 237-264).

Au cours de la troisième «semaine» (29 avril-5 mai 1972, t. IV), les curiosités se sont étendues au bassin du Pô et à Milan, avec laquelle Aquilée a entretenu des rapports, qui se sont intensifiés à partir du IVe s. lorsque Milan devint la capitale effective de l'Occident, qui eut son débouché portuaire à Aquilée. Mme Mara Bonfioli a relevé dans les textes les mentions des nombreux séjours faits dans les deux villes par les empereurs, de Dioclétien à Valentinien III (pp. 125-149). L'histoire religieuse atteste aussi de multiples relations. Comme l'a fait ressortir Yves-Marie Duval, des liens ont été noués à propos des problèmes doctrinaux posés par l'arianisme au IVe s. (pp. 171-234) ; si Chromace a assimilé un certain nombre des en-

seignements théologiques d'Ambroise, il est resté fidèle, en tant que pasteur, à la tradition liturgique et spirituelle d'Aquilée, qui affirme aussi son originalité dans les constructions religieuses. Mais les usages liturgiques d'Aquilée et de Milan, ainsi que l'a confirmé Dom Joseph Lemarié, offraient plus de parentés entre eux qu'avec ceux de Rome ; c'est sans doute d'Aquilée que se sont répandus dans le N. de l'Italie les éléments empruntés à l'Orient méditerranéen et à l'Afrique proconsulaire (pp. 249-270). Des saints milanais ont été honorés à Aquilée comme des saints aquiléens le furent à Milan, de la fin du IVe s. jusqu'à l'époque du schisme des Trois Chapitres, où Aquilée noua des relations particulières avec Monza ; Enrico Cattaneo, qui l'a fort bien établi, souhaite une enquête similaire pour les relations entre Aquilée et Ravenne (pp. 235-248). Il valait aussi la peine que Gian Carlo Menis s'attachât à préciser l'histoire de l'extension de la juridiction des deux sièges métropolitains (pp. 271-294). En ce qui concerne plus particulièrement l'art et l'archéologie, d'une étude critique de nos informations actuelles sur les palais impériaux de Milan et d'Aquilée, Noël Duval a tiré la conclusion que seules des découvertes archéologiques permettraient d'en préciser l'emplacement, pour autant même qu'il y ait eu un tel palais à Aquilée, lieu de passage et non capitale pour les empereurs (pp. 151-158). Il s'est développé à Milan et à Aquilée, à la fin du IIIe s. et au IVe, une architecture civile aux constructions puissantes en briques (thermes, *horrea* ; pp. 159-170 : M. Mirabella Roberti). L'architecture paléochrétienne a été plus féconde encore, dans les deux villes, en créations, dont Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat a défini les caractères, tout en se préoccupant aussi de déceler les calculs de proportions qui s'y sont traduits (pp. 421-443). Les influences de la Méditerranée orientale ont été profondes dans la vallée du Pô. Giuseppe Cuscito les a bien relevées dans son étude d'ensemble sur l'argenterie liturgique paléochrétienne (pp. 295-317). L'art du Haut Moyen Age dans le Frioul et la Lombardie porte les marques de l'action stimulante exercée par l'Empire byzantin sur la peinture et la sculpture du royaume des Lombards. L'analyse structurale à laquelle s'est livré Decio Gioseffi des fresques de S. Maria in Valle à Cividale et de celles de Sainte-Marie de Castelseprio (qu'il date vers le milieu du VIIIe s.) montre que leur parenté est due non pas à des rapports immédiats mais à une commune dérivation de modèles romains. Les fresques de Castelseprio seraient dues à la même école, fortement imprégnée d'éléments byzantins, peut-être d'origine syrienne, que l'ensemble de celles auxquelles appartient le panneau des Maccabées, que D. G. placerait maintenant dans la première moitié du VIIIe s. (pp. 365-381). Les affinités sont grandes aussi avec les fresques du

Saint-Sauveur de Brescia, qui appartiennent au règne de Didier, le dernier roi des Lombards (756-774), et avec celles de Bénévent au temps du duc Arechis II, un des gendres de Didier. D. G. y voit des témoins insignes de la «renaissance de Liutprand», elle-même aux origines de la «renaissance carolingienne». La sculpture, abondante, de cette époque, qui remet en honneur des thèmes et des formes des temps paléochrétiens, dénote aussi de fortes influences orientales, syriennes et sassanides, dues aux apports d'artistes venus de l'Empire byzantin ; dans cet ensemble important Carlo Gaberseck date les stucs de Cividale des environs de 750 (pp. 383-404). Antérieurement au VIIe siècle ce serait un atelier de Palestine qui aurait taillé le trône d'albâtre envoyé par Héraclius au patriarche de Grado. Pour les miniatures Mme Fulvia Sforza Vattovani a analysé les images du Psautier d'Egbert à Cividale, d'époque ottonienne (pp. 405-420). L'architecture, comme il arrive souvent marque plus de fidélité aux traditions locales ; Sergio Tavano en a suivi l'évolution depuis les invasions des Lombards jusqu'à la renaissance carolingienne (pp. 319-364).

Sergio TAVANO, *Aquileia cristiana*. Udine, Arti Grafiche Friulane, 1972. 1 vol. 17 × 24 cm, 210 pp., 15 figg., 34 pll. (ANTICHITÀ ALTOADRIATICHE. III).

S. T. a republié en un volume le texte des quatre leçons qu'il avait faites en 1970 et 1971 sur : l'histoire de l'église d'Aquilée, la basilique patriarcale, les églises «mineures» et les pavements de mosaïque et qui avaient paru dans *Antichità altoadriatiche*, I, pp. 103-139, 189-297, et II, pp. 237-272. En dehors de certains remaniements de style, il y a tenu compte des résultats des fouilles récentes. Celles-ci ont appris principalement que la basilique érigée sous Chromace au-dessus de l'église S. du «complexe de Théodore» avait remployé les murs O. et S. de l'édifice précédent et que, contrairement à ce que l'on avait cru auparavant, elle était rigoureusement parallèle à celle du N., comme l'avaient été les deux bâtiments de Théodore (le plan publié p. 55, fig. 3, est plus correct que celui d'*Antichità altoadriatiche*, I, p. 197, pl. 3). La volonté de rester fidèle aux traditions locales s'est aussi exprimée dans les motifs de la faune marine (poulpe, écrevisse, poissons) qui décoraient le pavement en mosaïque de la large solea de cette basilique S. S. T. a encore ajouté à son texte initial une étude des plaques sculptées, apparemment dans les années 830, pour décorer la basilique reconstruite par le patriarche Maxence (811-837?) : d'une grande hétérogénéité dans l'ornementation, elles se rattachent à la tradition des sculptures de Cividale, mais avec une nette influence du «classicisme»

constantinopolitain et carolingien ainsi qu'avec l'introduction d'éléments nordiques, particulièrement irlandais, et d'autres, sassanides, transmis par l'art proto-islamique ; elles constituent des documents d'un grand intérêt pour l'étude des rapports entre Orient et Occident et pour l'histoire de l'art du Haut Moyen Age en Italie du Nord. P. 48, 15e l. (comme dans *Antichità*, 1, p. 190) on corrigera «del secolo quinto» en «del secolo quarto».

Giuseppe Bovini, *Grado Paleocristiana*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1973. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, 225 pp., 66 figg. (Archeologia Cristiana). Prix : 4.500 lires.

Suivant le juste mot de Celso Costantini que rappelle G. B. «Grado a brillé entre le crépuscule d'Aquilée et l'aube de Venise». Elle a entretenu très tôt des relations économiques avec sa voisine Aquilée et elle a servi de refuge aux habitants de cette dernière lors des invasions des Goths d'Alaric, des Huns d'Attila et finalement des Lombards. Aussi n'est-il pas surprenant qu'elle ait prolongé les traditions d'Aquilée en architecture et dans les pavements en mosaïque. L'édifice du culte chrétien le plus ancien est une petite basilique (*basilicula*) à une nef dont les vestiges ont été découverts en 1946 sous la basilique de Sainte-Euphémie. Remontant à la fin du IVe s., selon G. B., ce fut d'abord une salle rectangulaire sans abside, comme dans les premières églises d'Aquilée, de Parentium et d'autres villes du fond de l'Adriatique. Elle fut pourvue ultérieurement à l'E. d'une abside heptagonale avec un trône épiscopal, sans doute lorsque Grado devint le siège d'un évêché sous Augustin (vers 421), qui aurait construit aussi le rempart de la ville. C'est sans doute alors également que cette église fut dotée, au N., d'un baptistère dont on n'a retrouvé que la piscine baptismale, extérieurement hexagonale, selon une coutume de la région, fondée sur une interprétation symbolique (voir *supra*, p. 426). Dans la première moitié du Ve s., peut-être encore sous l'épiscopat d'Augustin, qui aurait désiré une cathédrale plus grande que la *basilicula*, fut érigée la basilique à trois nefs de Sainte-Marie-des-Grâces, dont l'abside était flanquée de pastophoria, un peu derrière le mur de chevet rectiligne, selon une formule sans doute venue de cette Syrie avec laquelle nous savons mieux maintenant que les villes du N. de l'Adriatique entretenaient de nombreuses relations. Endommagée par un incendie, elle fut reconstruite par l'évêque Elie (571-586), dont le monogramme a été sculpté sur un chapiteau de la clôture du chœur. On retrouve le même type de chevet mais avec un mur de fond tangent à celui de l'abside, — ce qui est un *unicum* dans les régions du N. de l'Adriatique —, dans la basilique à une seule nef (sous l'effet de la permanence des

traditions locales) dont les ruines ont été découvertes en 1905 sous l'actuelle Piazza della Vittoria. Cette église était précédée d'un narthex, ce qui est un autre signe d'influences venues de la Méditerranée orientale. On a exhumé au milieu de la nef une partie de la *solea* qui devait conduire à l'ambon. Cette église a été édifiée sur l'emplacement d'un bâtiment romain, vers le milieu du ve s. Elle était dotée d'un baptistère de plan octogonal à abside situé à quelque distance à l'O. : le plan pourrait dénoter l'influence de Ravenne et peut-être encore de Milan. Sur l'emplacement de la *basilicula* l'évêque Élie (571-586) fit construire une grande basilique à trois nefs, qui fut consacrée le 3 novembre 579. C'est Sainte-Euphémie. Il y aurait eu une église intermédiaire, commencée mais non achevée au ve s. (l'inscription dédicatoire d'Élie ne me paraît pas imposer cette conclusion). C'est à cette église qu'aurait appartenu le baptistère octogonal avec piscine hexagonale. Sainte-Euphémie s'inspira des formules architecturales ravennates mais avec moins d'ampleur et sans l'éclat des mosaïques sur les murs. Les mosaïques de pavement aux motifs exclusivement géométriques se rattachent à l'art de l'Istrie et de la Dalmatie. Les chapiteaux semblent importés de Constantinople.

G. B. a ajouté quelques églises mineures de Grado et de la lagune. Ce volume a été préparé par des leçons faites à Ravenne et dont le texte a paru dans le *XX Corso* (Ravenne, Longo, 1973), pp. 113-158.

Giuseppe Bovini, *Concordia paleocristiana*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1973. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, 103 pp., 40 figg. (Archeologia Cristiana). Prix : 3.000 lires.

Fondée probalement en 42 av. n.e. par Octavien, Julia Concordia, à michemin entre Altinum et Aquilée sur la Via Annia, fut célèbre dans l'antiquité par sa fabrique de flèches, qui lui valut au siècle dernier son surnom de Concordia Sagittaria. Les origines de la communauté chrétienne y demeurent enveloppées de la plus totale obscurité. Le premier évêque n'y a peut-être été désigné qu'entre 381 (date du concile d'Aquilée, où sa présence n'est pas mentionnée) et les environs de 385 si nous en jugeons par un sermon anonyme du *Florilegium Casinense* que le P. Lemarié a attribué à Chromace d'Aquilée (388-407/8). Mise à sac et incendiée par les Huns d'Attila en 452, comme Aquilée, Concordia se releva de ses ruines. Conquise par les Lombards en 568, elle fut engloutie sous 1,50 m d'alluvions à la suite d'averses torrentielles en 589.

Lorsque l'intéressant enclos funéraire païen du IIIe s., muni à l'E. de deux séries de trois loges à trois niches destinées à recevoir des urnes cinéraires,

fut utilisé par des chrétiens, on y édifia, apparemment vers 340-350, une *cella trichora*, dont on fit le chevet de la basilique, à nef médiane peut-être découverte, qui fut élevée sans doute quand Concordia reçut des reliques d'André, de Jean, de Thomas et de Luc. Lors de la reconstruction rendue nécessaire par les dégâts que les Huns avaient causés, toute la basilique aurait été recouverte d'une toiture. Après les inondations dévastatrices de 589, la *cella trichora* fut peut-être transformée en baptistère et c'est ce qui expliquerait que le plan en a été repris dans le baptistère roman élevé au N.-E. par l'évêque Regiponto (1089-1105) et qui devait être à son tour imité dans la chapelle de Tous-les-Saints de Ratisbonne. La *Basilica Apostolorum*, qui a été fouillée par Mme Giulia Fogolari et qui doit être publiée par elle, semble avoir été élevée dans les années 380 au N. de la *cella trichora* sur les ruines d'une maison romaine. Dans le sermon rappelé plus haut Chromace a vanté la célérité de la construction terminée avant celle de l'église homonyme d'Aquilée. A la manière des plus anciens églises de cette dernière ville, la *Basilica Apostolorum* de Concordia avait un chevet rectiligne sans abside. Mais dès la première moitié du ve s. elle fut pourvue intérieurement d'un chœur à abside. Dans le domaine de l'épigraphie funéraire relevons l'existence d'épitaphes, en grec, de soldats originaires de la Syrie, qui, ayant été baptisés, sont qualifiés de *νεοφώτιστος*.

Giuseppe BOVINI, *Antichità cristiane di S. Canzian d'Isonzo, S. Giovanni al Timavo e Trieste*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1973. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, VII-137 pp., 42 figg. (ARCHEOLOGIA CRISTIANA). Prix : 3.400 lires.

A San Canzian(o) d'Isonzo, entre Aquilée et Monfalcone, le long d'une route antique, qui était peut-être la *Via Gemina*, une église de plan rectangulaire, dépourvue d'abside à la manière d'Aquilée, et au pavement de mosaïque, fut élevée au cours du IVe s. dans une aire cémétériale au-dessus de la tombe des trois martyrs locaux, saints Cantius et Cantianus et sainte Cantianilla, auxquels est encore consacrée l'église paroissiale, construite en 1593 mais dont l'institution remonte à 1247. Près de la tombe des martyrs avait été aménagée une exèdre semi-circulaire sans doute destinée aux *refrigeria*. Cette église du IVe s. fut réédifiée sur le même plan rectangulaire sans abside mais avec de plus grandes dimensions à la fin du ve s. et décorée d'un pavement de mosaïque qui serait postérieur à ceux de la basilique de la Beligna près d'Aquilée et du premier état de sainte-Marie des Grâces à Grado (1re moitié du ve s.) mais antérieur à celui de Sainte-Euphémie dans cette dernière ville sous l'épiscopat d'Élie (571-586) (p. 19; aux deux dernières l. du 3e alinéa on lira «ai primi del VI» et non «del V»). A la

périphérie de S. Canzian(o) une *memoria* rectangulaire, aussi sans abside et aux pavements de mosaïque rappelant ceux du «complexe ecclésial» de l'évêque Théodore à Aquilée, fut érigée dans la 1re moitié ou vers le milieu du IVe s. en l'honneur de saint Prote, dont le sarcophage est conservé dans la chapelle bâtie à cet endroit à la fin du XVIe s.

Près du village de Pescatore, l'église gothique tardive construite au cours de la seconde moitié du XVe s. dans l'abbaye de Saint-Jean-sur-le-Timave, elle-même fondée vers 1200, occupe l'emplacement d'une basilique à trois nefs avec une abside, polygonale extérieurement. Les restes du pavement en mosaïque de cette basilique présentent aussi des affinités avec Aquilée et Grado qui conduisent à les dater entre les environs de 450 et ceux de 500. Avant le Ve s. un oratoire avait été consacré à saint Jean Baptiste à l'endroit, déjà célèbre dans l'antiquité, où un culte était rendu au Timave. Jean Damascène y a fait déposer des reliques des saints Jean Baptiste, Jean Évangéliste, Étienne, Blaise et Laurent.

A Trieste la communauté chrétienne aurait été fondée par un prêtre et un diacre qu'y avait envoyés Hermagoras, évêque d'Aquilée dans les années 250-260. Le plus ancien évêque historiquement attesté est Frugifer (547-565), contemporain de Maximiem de Ravenne, d'Euphrasius de Parentium et d'Élie de Grado mais G. B. a supposé que le siège épiscopal devait avoir été institué au plus tard au début du Ve s. Les fouilles conduites en 1957-1958 par Mme Gabriella Pross Gabrielli ont peut-être rendu des vestiges de la première cathédrale qui, au témoignage d'Irénée delle Croce (au XVIIe s.), se trouvait en dehors de la ville contre les remparts. A partir de 1963 ont été dégagées au carrefour de la Via Madonna della Mare et de la Via del Bastione, non loin de la mer, dans une zone qui fut certainement un cimetière dans l'antiquité, les ruines d'une basilique à une nef avec un transept (qui rappelle par son plan la *Basilica Apostolorum* de Milan), une abside à cinq pans, un *diaconicon* au S. et des pilastres décorant extérieurement les murs des longs côtés (suivant une formule connue dans la vallée du Pô de Milan à Aquilée) ; cette basilique aurait été construite à la fin du Ve s. selon M. Cuscito, dans la 1re moitié du VIe d'après Mirabella Roberti, mais G. B. aurait eu tendance à la descendre jusque dans le 3e quart du VIe s. à cause de certaines ressemblances du pavement en mosaïque avec celui de Sainte-Euphémie de Grado. La basilique de Trieste fut précédée d'une autre église au pavement de mosaïque, dont le plan et la date font problème.

Sous l'actuelle cathédrale de Trieste, sur la colline de Saint-Just, ont été exhumées les ruines d'une église rectangulaire à trois nefs, — très vraisem-

blablement déjà elle-même cathédrale —, qui, si l'on en juge par son pavement de mosaïque, daterait de la 2e moitié du ve s. ; elle aurait eu un chevet rectiligne sans abside. Ce serait l'évêque Frugifer qui aurait fait ajouter l'abside, sans doute à cinq pans, et refaire le pavement en mosaïque du chœur, où, en 1843, fut découvert un fragment portant son nom à l'exception de la finale. Le baptistère se serait trouvé au N. là où, à la fin de l'époque romane, fut construite la chapelle de Saint-Jean. La cathédrale dut être gravement endommagée par les Lombards lors de leur invasion de 568. Reconstruite au VIIIe s. ou au plus tard au IXe, elle fut remplacée par l'église de S. Maria Assunta sur l'initiative de l'évêque Adalger d'Eichstätt (1031-1072). La mosaïque qui, dans l'abside, représente la Vierge trônant entre deux archanges, au-dessus des 12 apôtres, a été datée par G. B., suivant l'opinion de Lazarev, des premières décennies du XIIe s. L'oratoire de Saint-Just, au plan en croix inscrite, au S. de la cathédrale, aurait été élevé peu avant le milieu du IXe s. ((p. 106, 3e l. avant la fin, corriger *IV* en *IX*) ; dans l'abside principale, la mosaïque exécutée au plus tôt à la fin du XIIe s., montre entre les saints Just et Servulus un Christ debout, bénissant et tenant l'Évangile, qui, en même temps, foule aux pieds l'aspic et le basilic : peut-être ce motif repris à la tradition ravennate faisait-il allusion à la soumission de Frédéric Barberousse au pape Alexandre III en 1177. Pour terminer G. B. a rappelé les hypothèses émises touchant l'origine et la date du beau voile de soie portant une image de saint Just.

Giuseppe Bovini, *Le antichità cristiane della fascia costiera istriana da Parenzo a Pola*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1974. 2 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm ; I, Texte : 219 pp. ; II, Illustrations : 112 pp., dont 102 avec 122 figg. (Archeologia Cristiana). Prix : 6.800 lires.

Un peu plus de la moitié de ce volume est occupée par l'étude de la basilique construite à Parentium (Poreč-Parenzo) vers 550 par l'évêque Euphrasius (d'origine grecque, *thracius*, disait de lui le pape Pélage I), de son décor de mosaïques et de stucs, de ses colonnes et de ses chapiteaux en marbre taillés dans les ateliers de Proconnèse, de ses plaques de chancel qui seraient de fabrication locale, ainsi que des bâtiments qui l'ont précédée et dont l'histoire apparaît plus clairement à la suite des fouilles récentes d'A. Šonje. Le chevet à trois absides dénote l'action d'influences venues de l'Orient byzantin et qui se sont exercées ailleurs encore en Istrie, peut-être sous l'effet du prestige de la cathédrale de Parentium. C'est d'Istrie que le chevet à trois absides serait passé dans l'art carolingien et ottonien.

En ce qui concerne les localités situées entre Poreč et Pula, G. B. avait

admis pour Saint-Martin et Saint-Benoit à S. Lorenzo del Pasenatico les dates, respectivement, du XIe s. et des environs de 800. — A Orsera (Ursar), simple *vicus* dans l'antiquité, une basilique au chevet rectiligne sans abside, flanquée d'une prothèse et d'un diaconicon, aurait été élevée dans le second quart du IVe s. à l'emplacement d'une villa ; elle fut dotée, vers 450, d'une abside à cinq pans et d'un narthex. — L'abside à cinq pans fut encore employée pour des chapelles à une nef du VIe s. Ce fut aussi le plan des absides aménagées à l'extrémité O. des murs N. et S. de la basilique sans doute consacrée à saint Hermagoras à Samagher. — A Sainte-Fosca de Peroj (vers 550) et dans la basilique de Guran (seconde moitié du VIe s.) trois absides de plan rectangulaire couvertes de calottes sphériques étaient fermées à l'extérieur par un mur de fond rectiligne.

Enfin à Pola-Pula, ou le plus ancien évêque historiquement connu est Antoine au début du VIe s. (507-511) mais où l'on peut supposer qu'une communauté chrétienne fut fondée par une mission venue d'Aquilée dans le cours de la deuxième moitié du IIIe s., se déploya une féconde activité architecturale. Le type dominant fut d'abord celui des églises au chevet rectiligne sans abside avec un synthronon vers l'extrémité E. de la nef, médiane ou unique. Au VIe s. furent employées les absides à cinq pans en faveur à Ravenne. Une église à nef unique et à chevet rectiligne, qui devait être consacrée à saint Thomas et qui fut sans doute à l'origine une cathédrale, fut construite vers 350. Lorsqu'elle fut agrandie à l'E. vers 400 elle aurait été dotée d'une abside intérieure selon une formule connue déjà dans la basilique romaine du forum de Trieste. Sous l'autel ont été recueillis deux intéressants reliquaires : l'un, en argent, avec des figures d'apôtres et peut-être martyrs, aurait été fabriqué dans le N. de l'Italie (Milan?, Aquilée?) ; l'autre, en or, décoré de croix et de motifs végétaux, viendrait d'Orient. Dans le cours du Ve s. fut construite au N. de cette église, sur le modèle d'Aquilée et peut-être de Parentium, une basilique à trois nefs avec un chevet rectiligne et un synthronon. D'après une hypothèse de P. Verzone le chœur aurait été surmonté d'un tambour avec une coupole légère. A l'O. de cette basilique fut bâti un baptistère en croix libre avec une piscine hexagonale d'un type connu à Aquilée. L'église de Sainte-Félicité fut d'abord au Ve s. une basilique allongée à trois nefs avec un chevet rectiligne, dont les murs étaient décorés extérieurement de pilastres. Elle ne fut pourvue d'un chevet à trois absides qu'au IXe s. L'archevêque de Ravenne Maximien fit élever dans sa ville natale en l'honneur de la Vierge une basilique à trois nefs, qui dut à sa splendeur l'épithète de Formosa. De part et d'autre du sanctuaire terminé par une abside à cinq pans fut construite

une salle circulaire aux murs creusés de niches et surmontée d'une coupole ; on ne sait si c'étaient la prothèse et le diaconicon, des trésors, des sacristies ou des chapelles en l'honneur de saints. Contre l'ange S.-E. de l'église fut appuyée une chapelle en croix libre dominée en son centre par une voûte d'arêtes (mausolée comme celui dit de Galla Placidia?, martyrium?). La conque de l'abside à cinq pans était décorée d'une mosaïque figurant sans doute la *Traditio Legis* ; on en a conservé des fragments avec des têtes du Christ et de Pierre ; Galassi les attribuait au mosaiste de l'abside de Saint-Vital ; mais il convient de ne pas se laisser entraîner trop loin par ce qui peut être simplement parenté d'époque et d'école régionale. Une construction similaire existait au N.-E. de la basilique. A la fin du VIe s. ou au début du VIIe furent élevées sur la colline la basilique à trois nefs et trois absides à cinq pans de Saint-Clément et, en liaison avec elle, au N., l'église cruciforme de Saint-Michel, qui fut allongée à l'O. au XIe s.

Ravenne

Ravenne est assurément la ville paléochrétienne actuellement la plus étudiée, en majeure partie grâce à l'activité de l'*Istituto di Antichità ravennati e bizantine dell'Università di Bologna*, fondé par le regretté G. Bovini. Chaque année à peu près la moitié des leçons faites dans le cadre des *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* sont consacrées aux monuments de la ville. D'autre part de nombreux articles en traitent dans la revue *Felix Ravenna*. L'abondance même de ces textes et la facilité avec laquelle on peut s'y reporter nous dispenseront de les analyser ici.

Friedrich Wilhelm DEICHMANN, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner Verlag. Band I : *Geschichte und Monumente*, 1969. 1 vol. 23 × 31 cm, XIII-344 pp., 2 pll. en couleurs, 244 figg. sur 13 pll., 48 dessins sur 15 pll. dépliantes. Prix : 132 DM. — Band II : *Kommentar*, 1 Teil : *Die Bauten bis zum Tode Theoderichs des Groszen*, 1974. 1 vol. 23 × 31 cm, X-262 pp., 174 figg. sur 61 pll. Prix : 160 DM. — Band III : *Früchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*, 1969. 1 vol. 23 × 31 cm, 21 pp., 405 pll. Prix : 92 DM.

Fr. W. D. nous a donné les deux premiers volumes du texte qui doit accompagner son album de planches *Früchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna* que nous avons présenté dans *Byzantion*, t. XXVIII, 1958, p. 518 lorsqu'il fut publié à Baden-Baden chez Bruno Grimm et qui a été réédité

sans changement chez Franz Steiner pour constituer le troisième volume de l'ouvrage monumental que notre éminent collègue consacre à Ravenne.

Le premier volume de texte comprend trois parties. Se succèdent d'abord plusieurs chapitres de synthèse sur : l'histoire de la ville depuis l'antique établissement ombrien jusqu'à la prise de la capitale de l'exarchat par le roi lombard Aistulf en 751, l'évolution de l'église locale de sa fondation par saint Apollinaire à la fin du IIe s. ou au début du IIIe jusqu'à l'abrogation par Constantin IV Pogonat (sous le pontificat de Léon II : 682-683) de l'autocéphalie obtenue en 666 après des décennies d'une aspiration croissante à l'autonomie, le culte des martyrs et des saints qui prit une extension exceptionnelle à partir du règne de Galla Placidia avec l'introduction de saints orientaux pour lesquels furent construits des églises et des oratoires qui appartiennent pour la plupart à la *Ravenna scomparsa*, la topographie de la cité et de ses ports sous le Haut et sous le Bas-Empire (exposé que l'on eût suivi plus facilement s'il eût été illustré de plans), la place occupée par Ravenne parmi les centres artistiques paléochrétiens grâce à la combinaison d'éléments venus de l'Orient et de traditions locales, les techniques de la construction et les dispositifs architecturaux (qui, plus que les premières, firent des emprunts aux provinces orientales), la sculpture architectonique (caractérisée à partir de Saint-Jean Évangéliste par l'emploi de marbres de Proconnèse travaillés dans la région de Constantinople), le mobilier des églises, le reste de la sculpture (tout spécialement les célèbres sarcophages, où l'influence de Constantinople est si nette que l'on peut supposer que plusieurs d'entre eux ont été exécutés par des artistes venus de la Nouvelle Rome et ensuite pris comme modèles localement), les reliefs en stuc (où Ravenne affirme une certaine originalité), l'évolution de la mosaique murale et des pavements en mosaique, les thèmes de l'iconographie christologique, aulique, épiscopale, mythologique et profane. La deuxième partie du volume comprend une analyse minutieuse des monuments conservés en tout ou seulement en partie et de leurs mosaiques, disparues ou subsistant. Fr. W. D. y ajoute, au début, la cathédrale Ursiana, dont il situe la construction à la fin du IVe s. et où il pense pouvoir reconnaître des traits orientaux dans l'absence de transept et dans l'abside à cinq pans ; je rangerais aussi parmi ces éléments les portes ouvertes dans les murs des longs côtés et aux extrémités orientales des collatéraux, comme l'ouvrage de Thomas F. Mathews, *The Early Churches of Constantinople* nous invite à le faire (cf. *supra*, t. 46, 1976, p. 486). En revanche l'absence de transept ne me semble pas nécessairement une preuve d'influence orientale. Fr. W. D. a également réservé une place à Saint-Michel in Africisco non seulement pour

ses mosaïques mais aussi pour son architecture puisque des recherches de M. P. Grossmann il ressort que c'était une basilique à piliers (cf. *infra*, p. 450.

Fr. W. D. s'est employé avec beaucoup d'ingéniosité à dégager le sens des programmes iconographiques et à resituer les mosaïques dans le contexte de l'art paléochrétien. Au Baptistère de la cathédrale le décor a été conçu de manière à évoquer la vie éternelle, le Royaume du Christ : les trônes figurés au centre des quatre panneaux de la zone extérieure de la coupole dans les axes principaux de l'édifice symbolisent non pas, comme on l'a parfois prétendu, les patriarcats mais l'universalité de la domination du Christ s'étendant en direction des quatre points cardinaux. Au Mausolée de Galla Placidia le texte de Jean X, 1-16, conduit Fr. W. D. à voir dans le Bon Pasteur au-dessus de l'entrée «Celui qui ouvre la Porte du Paradis et de l'Éternité», thème illustré par le reste de la décoration. A Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf la Résurrection de Lazare a été placée au milieu du cycle christologique du haut du mur N. en raison des promesses de résurrection, faites lors de ce miracle, par Jésus à ceux qui se fieront à lui (Jean, XI, 25-26) ; avant, à l'E., viennent les panneaux illustrant les vertus bénéfiques de la foi ; à l'O. se succèdent ceux qui préfigurent la Résurrection et le Jugement dernier. Au S. les scènes de la Passion suivent plus exactement le déroulement des épisodes évangéliques, auquel on a dérogé en plaçant au centre le Reniement de Pierre près du Remords de Juda. Le rapprochement avec des manuscrits médiobyzantins donne à croire à Fr. W. D. que bon nombre de ces panneaux christologiques de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf remonteraient à des modèles constantinopolitains. Dans l'abside de Saint-Apollinaire-in-Classe la représentation symbolique de la Transfiguration annoncerait non seulement la Passion, la Crucifixion et la Résurrection mais aussi la Seconde Venue, où saint Apollinaire, qui a imité le Christ en souffrant pour sa foi, intercède en faveur des fidèles représentés par des brebis ; s'il y a 99 étoiles dans le médaillon du ciel, c'est sans doute parce que ce nombre est la somme des nombres notés par les lettres de ἀμήν (1 + 40 + 8 + 50). La troisième et dernière partie du premier volume rassemble les notices descriptives des planches de l'album paru en 1958 et réédité en 1969.

Dans ce premier tome, quelques inadvertances ont échappé à la vigilante attention de Fr. W. D. P. 25 : Polyeucte est donné comme «my*th*ilenisch» (sic!) : il convient de corriger en «melitenisch» ; le concile de Chalcédoine s'est tenu en 451 et non en 450. P. 28 : on rectifiera Hyp*o*pante en Hyp*a*pante. P. 107 : on lira Lib*y*en et non L*y*bien. P. 117 : dans l'étrange

ζδωρ ξῶν il faudra reconnaître le ὕδωρ ζῶν de Jean, IV, 10. P. 258 : l'auteur place dans les années 540 la construction de Saint-Apollinaire-in-Classe qu'il situe p. 21 entre 533 et 536.

Il avait été prévu et annoncé en 1969 qu'un deuxième tome apporterait un exposé critique de l'état des questions et fournirait les documents sur lesquels s'appuyaient bon nombre d'affirmations du premier. L'entreprise a pris, dans l'intervalle, une telle ampleur que ce deuxième tome sera subdivisé en trois parties, complétées par un recueil de plans, de coupes et de photographies. La première, que nous analysons ici, comprend les édifices élevés depuis l'épiscopat d'Ursus jusqu'à la mort de Théodoric. On y trouve : la cathédrale et son baptistère, la Sainte-Croix et le prétendu Mausolée de Galla Placidia, Saint-Jean Évangéliste, Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf, l'évêché et la chapelle épiscopale, le Mausolée de Théodoric, les églises ariennes (principalement la cathédrale, devenue l'église du Saint-Esprit, et son baptistère). La deuxième partie sera consacrée aux constructions de Julianus Argentarius et à d'autres églises ; la troisième, à l'histoire, à la topographie, à l'art et à la civilisation. Fr. W. D. y retrace l'histoire de chaque monument, en s'efforçant d'en reconstituer l'état original et de suivre les étapes des transformations et des restaurations qui y ont été apportées. Il a aussi voulu retrouver l'aspect premier des décors en mosaïque et en stuc, préciser leur signification et leurs liens avec la liturgie. Il a interrogé très attentivement les textes historiques (où le *Liber Pontificalis* d'Agnellus tient évidemment une place de choix), scripturaires et patristiques, les descriptions et les vues anciennes des monuments et toute la littérature savante sur le sujet. Une étude extrêmement poussée du matériel de comparaison lui a permis de resituer les monuments et leur décor par rapport aux antécédents, aux créations contemporaines et, enfin, ultérieures. Une des conclusions qui se dégagent de la première partie du deuxième tome c'est que Fr. W. D. considère que plusieurs constructions de Ravenne, — la cathédrale d'Ursus, son baptistère, la Sainte-Croix, Saint-Jean Évangéliste, la chapelle épiscopale —, dépendent moins qu'on ne l'a dit d'édifices de Milan et se rattachent davantage à des modèles d'Anatolie et de Grèce.

En ce qui regarde la cathédrale, il accepte, sans le corriger, le texte d'Agnellus qui conduit à dater la mort de l'évêque Ursus du dimanche de Pâques 13 avril 396 et à placer la dédicace de l'église le dimanche de Pâques 13 avril 385 (comme il est imprimé correctement p. 18 et non 386 comme il est dit p. 26). Cette basilique à 5 nefs ne se serait donc pas inspirée de celles des capitales mais s'apparenterait à celles que l'on voyait dans les provinces. Le baptistère de la cathédrale aurait été construit

également par Ursus, à la fin du IVe s., avec un toit plat en bois, et surmonté d'une coupole seulement sous Néon (vers 458), à qui l'on doit aussi le décor de mosaïques et de stucs. Fr. W. D. a mis en évidence la diversité des éléments qui se sont combinés dans les mosaïques de la coupole : traits d'iconographie venus de Constantinople (comme la croix de Jean Baptiste et la processions des apôtres), caractère romain plébéien des portraits de ces apôtres, appartenance des architectures de la zone extérieure à toute une tradition de la peinture romaine. Notre confrère allemand a également reconstitué, d'après les inscriptions, les sujets des mosaïques, aujourd'hui disparues, qui décoraient les niches. La parenté des thèmes (Bon Pasteur, Christ marchant sur les eaux, Guérison du paralytique) avec ceux du baptistère de Doura Europos est frappante. L'introduction du Lavement des pieds s'explique par sa signification sacramentelle dans les liturgies d'Orient et de Milan. Le premier *episcopium*, où Ursus établit sa résidence, aurait été construit avant lui durant la période obscure de l'église ravennate au IIIe s. ou au cours des trois premiers quarts du IVe (p. 194, 2e col. on corrigera «der drei ersten Drittel» en «der drei ersten Viertel»). Il fut agrandi et transformé à partir de Néon, qui fit construire une salle à manger appelée «quinque accubita» d'après le *μέγας τρίκλινος τῶν ιθ' ἀκκουβίτων* du Palais de Daphné à Constantinople.

Pour la Sainte-Croix, l'absence d'inscription dédicatoire dans Agnellus et la prolifération d'éléments légendaires relatifs à Galla Placidia ont conduit Fr. W. D. à douter que l'église ait été édifiée par cette impératrice ; peut-être l'aurait-elle été déjà par Honorius. Quant au prétendu Mausolée de Galla Placidia, la présence d'un cône de pin comme acrotère au sommet de la toiture et la situation du bâtiment au S. du narthex de l'église font croire à Fr. W. D. qu'il avait bien été destiné à être un mausolée, même s'il est attesté que la princesse est morte à Rome en 450.

La date de la construction de Saint-Jean-Évangéliste a pu être précisée : entre la fin du printemps de 426 et les environs de 430 : la rapidité avec laquelle les travaux furent menés paraît indiquer que Galla Placidia y avait concentré ses moyens. Le vœu de la consécration à saint Jean Évangéliste, protecteur bien connu des voyageurs par mer, aurait été fait au cours de la tempête dans laquelle la flotte d'Ardaburius fut prise au large de Salone. Les mosaïques de l'abside représentant Arcadius et Eudoxie, Théodose II et Eudocie qui faisaient des offrandes, s'inspiraient de panneaux de l'art impérial de Constantinople.

De même ce doit être à l'exemple de Constantinople que Théodoric fit ériger près de son palais, — qui dérivait sans doute lui-même de la *Chalké*

—, une église consacrée au Christ, devenue Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf. L'application des mêmes principes de composition dans les deux cycles des Miracles et de la Passion du Christ incite à conclure qu'un seul et même artiste a dessiné l'ensemble des cartons d'après lesquels ont travaillé les deux équipes successives de mosaïstes. Pour le registre du bas, Fr. W. D. a supposé que sur le mur S. de la nef centrale aurait été figurée, entre le Palais et le Christ trônant, une procession comprenant Théodoric suivi soit des membres de sa cour, soit de son armée, soit du clergé arien, ou peut-être même de représentants de chacun de ces trois groupes. Au N. entre Classis et la Vierge on aurait vu Théodoric avec d'autres acolytes ou le clergé arien.

Pour le Mausolée de Théodoric Fr. W. D. a repris les restaurations de R. Heidenreich et H. Johannes (cf. *infra*, p. 450). Les particularités de l'appareil des murs aux blocs équarris l'ont induit à supposer que l'équipe chargée de la construction aurait été constituée d'Isauriens, qui auraient perfectionné leur métier à Constantinople.

Quant aux églises ariennes (au moins 6 ou 7) élevées à Ravenne, à Caesarea et à Classis, Fr. W. D. a fait remarquer que certaines devaient être antérieures à Théodoric, avant qui l'arianisme s'était déjà implanté à Ravenne, et pouvaient remonter aux règnes d'Honorius ou de Galla Placidia, qui devaient contenter leurs milices de Goths. Avant Théodoric le siège de l'évêché arien se trouvait *extra muros*, sans doute dans le quartier des troupes, et c'est vraisemblablement sous ce prince que fut élevée *intra muros* la cathédrale arienne, qui fut consacrée à saint Théodore lorsqu'elle fut rendue au culte catholique sous l'archevêque Agnellus. La situation du baptistère au S.-O. fait croire qu'elle était précédée d'un atrium.

Giuseppe Bovini, *Edifici di culto di Ravenna d'età preteodoriciana*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1969. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, VIII-212 pp., 60 figg. Prix : 3.750 lires.

Giuseppe Bovini, *Edifici di culto di Ravenna d'età teodoriciana e giustinianea a Ravenna*, Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1970. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, XII-298 pp., 37 figg. Prix : 4.900 lires.

Giuseppe Bovini, *Edifici di culto d'età paleocristiana nel territorio ravennate di Classe*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1969. 1 vol. 15,5 × 22 cm, VIII-124 pp., 47 figg. Prix : 2.750 lires.

Dans ces trois volumes G. B., selon la manière qui lui était coutumière, avait fait, de façon critique, le point de nos connaissances sur les monuments de Ravenne. A propos de chacun d'eux il avait rappelé, avec clarté et précision les théories et ses devanciers avant de prendre lui-même

position quand il l'estimait nécessaire. Dans le deuxième volume, par exemple, il a semblé se rallier à l'hypothèse de P. Verzone d'après laquelle la construction et le décor de la chapelle archiépiscopale devraient être attribués non pas à Pierre II mais à Pierre III, qui fut archevêque de Ravenne de 570 à 578. Pour l'église, aujourd'hui détruite, de Sainte-Agnès, construite dans les vingt dernières années du ve s. par le sous-diacre Gémellus sous l'épisocpat d'Exuperantius et sur les sculptures qui en proviennent on se reportera au texte de la leçon de G. B. dans le *X Corso*, 1963, pp. 103-125. Le troisième volume est aussi le plus novateur. On y trouve, outre Saint-Apollinaire-in-Classe, plusieurs édifices dont les ruines ont été dégagées par les fouilles de Giuseppe Cortesi et d'autres savants. Il est indispensable de compléter cet ouvrage par les leçons de G. B., *Memorie cristiane scomparse dell'antica città di Classe*, dans le *XII Corso*, 1965, pp. 45-169, qui ont été republiées sous le même titre en volume indépendant aux Éditions Dante de Ravenne. Ces exposés, qui débutent, chacun, par la citation des sources textuelles, font ressortir la richesse de Classis en églises.

Leonard von Matt, *Ravenne*. Texte de Giuseppe Bovini, traduit par Armand Monjo. Paris, Éditions Cercle d'art, 1971. 1 vol. 27,5 × 32,5 cm, 212 pp., 62 pll. en couleurs, 77 figg. en noir et blanc.

G. B. avait rédigé les notices historiques et les légendes descriptives détaillées qui accompagnent les très belles photographies de monuments d'architecture, de mosaïques ou de sculptures qu'a prises L. v. M., dont on connaît déjà le talent par d'autres publications. Mais la traduction et l'impression ne semblent pas avoir été toujours l'objet du soin qu'eussent appelé la qualité de l'illustration et la valeur scientifique du texte. P. 5, 2e col. : on corrigera *Ombres* en *Ombriens*. P. 8, 2e col. : dans la relation des événements de l'époque de Théodoric on rectifiera *590* et *593* en *490* et *493*. La décoration de la «cathédrale catholique» est donnée comme datant p. 11 en haut du deuxième quart du ve s., p. 11 plus bas, du début de la seconde moitié du ve s., pp. 15 et suiv., de la fin du ve s. ! On sera surpris d'apprendre p. 25 que les *pastophoria* étaient des logements des prêtres. A la même p. 25 : on lira *Fafirtin* au lieu de *Firftin*.

Claudia Nauerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna. Untersuchungen zur archäologischen Methode des ravennatischen Chronisten*. Munich, Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1974. 1 vol. 14,5 × 21 cm, viii-129 pp., 2 dessins (Münchener Beiträge zur Mediävistik und Renaissance-Forschung. 15).

Mme N. a étudié les procédés utilisés par Agnellus dans son *Liber Pon-*

tificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis lorsqu'il parle des portraits des évêques (auxquels elle a consacré toute la première partie de son opuscule) ou d'autres images, exécutées en mosaïque, peintes à la fresque ou figurées sur des couvertures d'Évangiles, des nappes d'autel, des croix, des lampes ou d'autres objets. Les moyens d'information d'Agnellus furent la vision directe, mais apparemment rapide, de la plupart des monuments et des objets (mais non pas de tous, car certains avaient disparu déjà au IXe s.), les inscriptions (lues attentivement, parfois même avec effort, et correctement transcrites), les sources textuelles (annales et chroniques locales, comme la *Chronique de Maximien*), les traditions orales plus ou moins légendaires. Ses préoccupations premières ne furent pas celles d'un archéologue visant à donner une description complète et précise, entrant dans les détails de l'iconographie. Ses intentions furent celles d'un historien de l'église ravennate, de ses prélats et des princes qui l'ont protégée. C'est à cette fin que dans une œuvre qu'il a voulue en même temps édifiante, il s'est servi du témoignage des monuments figurés, qu'il a interprétés surtout en théologien et en liturgiste. Les éloges ont souvent quelque chose de convenu, comme l'atteste le retour fréquent de la formule *cui simile nunquam potuit humanus oculus cunspicere*. Il a employé le verbe *depingere* aussi bien pour la fresque que pour la mosaïque ; mais pour cette dernière il a le plus souvent utilisé *(auratis) tessellis*. On le voit attentif à préciser la topographie des monuments et dans ceux-ci l'emplacement des décors figurés.

Le problème des portraits d'évêques chez Agnellus et des témoignages dont il avait disposé avait été abordé aussi, indépendamment, par G. Bovini dans trois de ses dernières leçons à Ravenne (*XXI Corso* ..., 1974, pp. 53-90). Les deux études se complètent utilement.

Roberta BUDRIESI, *Le origini del cristianesimo a Ravenna*. Ravenne, A. Longo, 1970. 1 vol. 17,5 × 24,5 cm, 203 pp., 24 figg. (COLLANA DI QUADERNI DI ANTICHITÀ RAVENNATI, CRISTIANE E BIZANTINE. Nuova Serie, 3). Prix : 3.000 lires.

Mme B. a exposé les données actuelles du problème des origines du christianisme à Ravenne. Les textes permettent de conclure que saint Apollinaire a dû évangéliser la région à la fin du IIe ou au début du IIIe s. ; la légende qui en faisait un disciple de saint Pierre aurait été rapportée dans la *Passion* du saint sous l'archevêque Maurus (642-671) à l'appui de la revendication de l'autocéphalie. Les plus anciennes inscriptions funéraires chrétiennes de Classis remontent au IIIe s. Mais les témoignages archéologiques sont moins clairs. La *basilica beati Probi* aurait-elle été

précédée d'un édifice de culte chrétien au IIIe s. ? La tombe de saint Apollinaire s'est-elle trouvée dans le cimetière où devait être construite au VIe s. la basilique qui lui fut dédiée ou avait-elle été aménagée là où fut plus tard érigé l'octogone (*martyrium* ?) au N. de la basilique de la «Cà Bianca», parfois considérée comme l'église de Saint-Démétrius ? Autant de questions qui demeurent sans réponse ! Mais Mme B. pense que la première communauté chrétienne s'est constituée à Classis et non à Ravenne.

Raffaella FARIOLI, *Pavimenti musivi di Ravenna paleocristiana*. Ravenne, A. Longo, 1974. 1 vol. 15 × 21 cm, 230 pp., 111 figg. (ANTICHITÀ - ARCHEOLOGIA - STORIA DELL'ARTE. I).. Prix : 8.500 lires.

Préparé par des études publiées dans les *Corsi di cultura* ... (XII, 1965, pp. 335-373 ; XVIII, 1971, pp. 419-473 ; XX, 1973, pp. 309-330) et dans *Felix Ravenna* (3e série, 40, 1965, pp. 109-117, et 42, 1966, pp. 116-128 ; 4e série, 1, 1970, pp. 169-222), ce volume, qui inaugure sous les meilleurs auspices, la collection dirigée par l'auteur à l'Université de Pise, vise non pas à nous donner la publication systématique des pavements en cause mais à dégager les tendances esthétiques profondes qu'ils expriment. A cette fin Mme F. en a analysé, d'une façon extrêmement poussée, les procédés de composition. Les pavements en mosaïque ravennates des Ve et VIe s. se rattachent aux traditions de l'Italie et de l'Afrique du N., attestées elles-mêmes au cours de la seconde moitié du IVe s. sur les rivages de la Haute Adriatique, d'Aquilée à Salone. Leur géométrie rigoureuse, fondée sur l'harmonie des proportions et, en quelque sorte sur des rapports musicaux, en même temps qu'elle répond aux articulations architecturales des édifices et aux fonctions liturgiques des parties décorées, leur conception bidimensionnelle, leur aniconisme et leur antinaturalisme, leur suggestion de l'infini par la répétition et l'opposition des motifs abstraits, leur coloris austère sont des caractères où survivent des traits de l'expression artistique provinciale ou mieux encore «plébéienne» et qui les opposent aux mosaïques les plus typiques de l'Orient méditerranéen, restées plus fidèles à l'art hellénistique, avec leurs décors imagés, leur goût du pittoresque, leur sens de la perspective, la vivacité de leurs couleurs. Les animaux qui s'introduisent dans le décor des pavements à Ravenne sous Justinien le font sans rompre l'allure géométrique de l'ensemble. Seuls deux beaux pavements retrouvés à Classis, l'un dans les ruines de la basilique de Probus, l'autre dans la zone de Saint-Sévère, montrent alors un emploi de l'*emblèma* inspiré de l'art aulique de l'Orient méditerranéen. A la fin du VIe s. les mosaïques de la basilique même de Saint-Sévère attestent un abandon de la précision du dessin et de

la rigueur de la composition géométrique, un graphisme dans le mode d'utilisation des couleurs, une parenté d'esprit avec le travail de la vannerie entrelaçant ses brins, un goût pour les thèmes zoomorphes traités d'une manière plus proche de l'Afrique du N. que de l'Orient, qui annoncent les pavements du Haut Moyen Age à Venise et plus lointainement ceux qui furent exécutés au début du XIIIe s. à Ravenne même à Saint-Jean Évangéliste. Dans l'intervalle, au XIe s., des fragments de pavement de cette même église et d'autres à Saint-François (ancienne basilique des Apôtres) avaient illustré la renaissance des motifs antiques qui se produisit alors en Italie.

Pour la conception géométrique et musicale des pavements ravennates du Ve et du VIe s. Mme F. a opéré un rapprochement pertinent avec l'esthétique de Boèce.

Le problème du rayonnement de l'école ravennate dans le bassin de l'Adriatique a été approfondi par Mme R. F. dans le *XXII Corso* ..., 1975, pp. 199-223 (*Tangenze ravennati nell'arte musiva pavimentale paleocristiana del litorale medio-adriatico*).

Giovanna BERMOND MONTANARI, *La chiesa di S. Severo nel territorio di Classe. Resultati dei recenti scavi.* Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1968. 1 vol. 16 × 24 cm, X-102 pp., 48 figg., 1 pl. en couleurs (STUDI DI ANTICHITÀ CRISTIANE. 2). Prix : 1.800 lires.

Mme B. M. a publié les résultats acquis par la fouille de ce monument qu'elle a conduite de 1964 à 1967 à la suite des sondages de G. Cortesi. Les mosaïques de pavement avec leurs cercles entrecroisés ou entrelacés offrent de nombreux points de comparaison avec celles de Grado, de Parenzo et de la Dalmatie. Elles semblent dues à des maîtres locaux influencés par Byzance et dateraient de la fin du VIe s. On constate aussi que cette école du N. de l'Adriatique a rayonné dans le Norique. Plusieurs similitudes avec les pavements en mosaïque de la basilique de la Pirrera (dans le S.-E. de la Sicile : voir *infra*, p. 464) ont conduit Mme R. Farioli à postuler des influences venues de l'Afrique du N. dans le traitement des motifs d'animaux (*Pavimenti musivi* ..., pp. 195-203).

Géza DE FRANCOVICH, *Il Palatium di Teodorico a Ravenna e la cosidetta «architettura di potenza». Problemi d'interpretazione di raffigurazioni architettoniche nell'arte tardoantica e altomediaevale.* Rome, De Luca Editore, 1970. 1 vol. 22 × 24,5 cm, 88 pp., 68 figg. (QUADERNI DI COMMENTARI, diretti da Mario Salmi. 1).

Tout en donnant à sa démonstration de féconds prolongements vers

l'étude de problèmes de l'architecture impériale romaine ou de la figuration d'édifices sur des objets du Bas-Empire ainsi que sur des miniatures carolingiennes et ottoniennes, G. de Fr. reprend, comme M. Deichmann l'a fait également pour sa part dans *Ravenna Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes*, t. 1, l'interprétation de Swoboda selon laquelle la représentation du «Palatium» de Théodoric sur la mosaïque de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf à Ravenne est celle d'un portique au milieu duquel s'avance un propylée tétrastyle et non d'une «basilica discoperta» conduisant à un «tribunal» où le prince aurait fait son apparition, telle que Dyggve croyait pouvoir en reconnaître une dans la partie centrale de la moitié S. du palais de Spalato. G. de Fr. établit, en effet, d'après les fouilles récentes, qu'il s'agissait dans ce dernier cas non d'une cour flanquée de portiques mais d'une rue bordée de colonnades fermées dans le bas de plaques de parapet et conduisant à un vestibule plutôt qu'à une salle du trône. La façade du palais de Théodoric à Ravenne dériverait de celle du long côté S. du palais de Spalato sur la mer et s'inspirerait plus directement de celle de la Chalcé à Constantinople, que G. de Fr., écartant l'hypothèse de M. C. Mango, situerait toujours sur le long côté S. de l'Augustéon et qui aurait également servi de modèle à la Grande Mosquée de Damas et au palais omeyyade de Khirbet al Mafyar.

Bengt THORDEMAN, *Il cosidetto Palazzo di Teodorico a Ravenna — un Palazzo Reale Longobardo?*, Stockholm, Paul Åströms Förlag, 1974. 1 brochure 23 × 30 cm, 18 pp., 16 figg. (OPUSCULA ROMANA. Vol. X : 2). Prix : 17 couronnes suédoises.

Pour B. Th. à Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf sur la mosaïque représentant le palais de Théodoric, le roi goth aurait été figuré trônant dans l'entrecolonnement médian pour recevoir l'hommage de ses sujets, tandis qu'en face, à l'extrémité O. du mur N., devant le mur de Classis, d'après l'interprétation que le savant suédois propose des personnages détruits au temps de l'archevêque Agnellus et dont seuls les contours ont pu être observés, Théodoric aurait été représenté, en compagnie d'un dignitaire de sa cour, recevant l'hommage de trois ambassadeurs étrangers (mais le parallèle que B. Th. établit avec les trois Rois mages apportant leurs offrandes vers l'extrémité E. de la même frise n'est pas pertinent puisque ceux-ci n'ont été exécutés qu'à l'époque d'Agnellus). Le «Palatium» sur la mosaïque de Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf rappelle le palais de Théodoric à Vérone, tel qu'on peut le connaître par des documents médiévaux, celui qu'E. Dyggve avait fouillé dans l'île de Meleda au large de la côte dalmate, et celui devant

lequel, sur le pseudo-frontal de casque du Musée National de Florence, le roi lombard Agilulf (590-616) reçoit l'hommage de deux chefs. B. Th. a repris l'histoire des salles basilicales destinées au culte impérial dans les palais, depuis celui de Domitien sur le Palatin jusqu'au règne d'Otton III, en insistant sur les imitations de la Magnaure de Constantinople à Pliska et à Aix-la-Chapelle. Vers 1100 leur succédèrent les salles de fête transversales à deux nefs. Notre confrère suédois a enfin proposé de voir dans le prétendu «palais de Théodoric» à Ravenne une salle de cérémonie que le roi lombard Aistulf, après s'être emparé de la ville en 751, aurait ajoutée au palais des exarques. Cela reste une simple hypothèse. Un malenconteux concours de circonstances a eu pour effet que l'étude de B. Th. rédigée dès 1968 n'a été publiée qu'en 1974. L'auteur n'a pu ainsi tirer parti des ouvrages de M. de Francovich et Deichmann parus dans l'intervalle.

Robert HEIDENREICH und Heinz JOHANNES (†), *Das Grabmal Theoderichs zu Ravenna*, unter Mitarbeit von Christian JOHANNES und Dieter JOHANNES. Wiesbaden, Franz Steiner, 1971. 1 vol. 23 × 31,5 cm, VIII-189 pp., 168 figg. Prix : 90 DM.

Cet ouvrage, dont une première impression fut détruite lors d'un bombardement de Leipzig en 1943, nous apporte le résultat de l'étude du mausolée de Théodoric à laquelle R. H. procéda, de l'automne de 1938 au printemps de 1939, avec la collaboration du regretté architecte Heinz Johannes, tombé sur le front de l'Est à la fin de la guerre et dont les relevés et dessins ont été mis au point par l'un de ses fils, Christian, alors que l'autre, Dieter, complétait l'abondant dossier de photographies. R. H. a décrit le monument ; il en a retracé l'histoire et proposé un reconstitution ; il a enfin, tenté, de le situer dans la tradition architecturale et ornementale.

Une grille, à trente piliers, aurait entouré le mausolée jusqu'à mi-hauteur à peu près du rez-de-chaussée : il y aurait eu trois plaques à claire-voie par côté du décagone que dessinait le mausolée proprement dit. La façade de l'étage aurait été décorée, sur chacun des côtés du décagone, sauf celui où était percée la porte d'entrée, de deux niches à fond plat séparées par des pilastres et ornées de coquilles sur leur tympan arrondi. Les consoles au sommet des pilastres auraient supporté des Victoires semblables à celles que l'on voit sur les écoinçons du *Palatium* de Théodoric à Saint-Apollinaire le Neuf et sur certaines des monnaies frappées par ce prince (c'est là l'un des éléments les plus incertains de la reconstitution proposée par R. H.). Des fentes verticales à chaque sommet des côtés du décagone scandaient le rythme architectural de cette façade. R. H. ne croit pas à l'existence d'une

colonnade à l'étage, qui avait été postulée par plusieurs de ses devanciers. La coupole posée sur un tambour lisse que ceinturaient, à la base et au sommet, deux zones décorées d'ornements, constituait le couronnement sobre et imposant qui convenait à ce monument où les constructeurs avaient visé à produire un effet de puissance affirmée avec clarté dans le traitement des volumes. L'essai de replacer l'édifice dans l'histoire de l'architecture et de l'ornementation aboutit à la conclusion qu'il s'agit bien d'une création singulière et complexe, à l'image de la personnalité du chef goth, qui, tout en restant fidèle à certaines traditions de son peuple —, n'oublions pas qu'il y avait fait placer une inscription en langue gothique ! — aspirait à se comporter comme un haut dignitaire de l'Empire. Fr. W. Deichmann (*Ravenna. II. Kommentar*, 1 Teil, pp. 211-239) a repris et approuvé, de toute son autorité, les restaurations de R. H. et H. J.

Peter GROSSMANN, *S. Michele in Africisco zu Ravenna. Baugeschichtliche Untersuchungen*. Mayence, Philipp von Zabern, 1973. 1 vol. 25,5 × 34 cm, 90 pp., 16 figg., 40 pll. (DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT ROM. SONDERSCHRIFTEN. Band I). Prix : 88 DM.

Chargé en 1962 par Fr. W. Deichmann de lever le plan de ce que l'on peut voir encore aujourd'hui de l'abside de Saint-Michel in Africisco, P. Gr. a constaté qu'il subsistait à l'O., dans les magasins qui en occupent actuellement l'emplacement, plus de vestiges de ce bâtiment qu'on ne l'avait cru. Il a ainsi reconnu que le monument était une basilique à deux rangées de deux larges piliers espacés, d'un type inconnu en Italie mais originaire de la Syrie, et plus particulièrement du N. de ce pays. La ressemblance entre Saint-Michel et ces édifices syriens s'accuserait aussi dans la présence d'un narthex. P. Gr. a été conduit à réexaminer sur place bien des églises de Syrie, à en dresser de nouveaux plans et à en prendre des photographies dont il a illustré sa publication. Des appendices ont été consacrés à la basilique de Cyrrhus (deuxième moitié du ve s.), à l'église de Saint-Étienne de Guwaniye (554) et à l'église N. de Bašmišli (vi^{e} s.). Son volume finit par nous instruire autant sur la Syrie que sur Ravenne et c'est toute l'histoire d'un type architectural de la deuxième moitié du ve s. et du vi^{e} s. qui se trouve récrite. Mais si le type de Saint-Michel est d'origine syrienne (de même que le culte des saints Côme et Damien, qui avaient été représentés sur les mosaïques des écoinçons de l'arc triomphal), le plan presque carré de l'église dénote l'influence de Constantinople, tandis que l'abside à cinq pans se rattache à la tradition ravennate.

Maria Cristina PELÀ, *La decorazione musiva della basilica ravennate di S. Apollinare in Classe*. Bologne, Riccardo Pàtron, 1970. 1 vol. 16 × 24 cm, VIII-183 pp., 34 figg., 1 pl. (STUDI DI ANTICHITÀ CRISTIANE. 8). Prix : 2.950 lires.

Mme P., après avoir rappelé la situation historique de Ravenne à l'époque de l'édification de Saint-Apollinaire in Classe et après avoir étudié rapidement l'architecture du monument, a décrit les mosaïques du point de vue stylistique et a analysé, du point de vue de l'iconographie et de l'iconologie, leur signification symbolique complexe, dont elle a cherché à dégager la richesse et la cohérence. L'élément fondamental lui paraît être le symbolisme liturgique pastoral. Mme P. a aussi retracé l'histoire des restaurations jusqu'à nos jours. Les observations nouvelles auxquelles elle a pu procéder confirment que la Transfiguration et les quatre évêques de l'abside ainsi que les archanges Michel et Gabriel au bas de l'arc triomphal sont contemporains des mosaïques de Saint-Vital. Sur l'arc triomphal les palmiers auraient été refaits au VIIe s. : c'est d'alors aussi que dateraient les brebis sortant de Jérusalem et de Bethléem ; la zone supérieure avec le Christ entre les symboles des quatre évangélistes appartiendrait à l'époque de la réfection de la toiture sous Léon III (795-816) ; les bustes de Matthieu et de Luc au bas des piédroits seraient contemporains des mosaïques de la cathédrale datant de 1112 (p. 51, fig. 19 : ce personnage représente non pas un prophète mais Luc ; p. 50, fig. 18 : cette mosaïque n'est pas dans l'abside mais dans la tribune S. de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople).

«*Corpus*» *della scultura paleocristiana bizantina ed altomedioevale di Ravenna*, diretto di Giuseppe BOVINI. Rome, De Luca Editore, 1968 (I et II), 1969 (III). 3 vol. 22 × 29 cm. I : Patrizia ANGIOLINI MARTINELLI, *Altari, amboni, cibori, cornici, plutei con figure di animali e con intrecci, transenne e frammenti vari*, 86 pp., 43 pll. — II : Giselda VALENTINI ZUCCHINI et Mileda BUCCI, *I sarcofagi a figure e a carattere simbolico*, introduzione di Rafella OLIVIERI FARIOLI, 66 pp., 59 pll. — III : Raffaella OLIVIERI FARIOLI, *La scultura architettonica. Basi, capitelli, pietre d'imposta, pilastri a pilastrini, plutei, pulvini*, 91 pp., 41 pll. (ISTITUTO DI ANTICHITÀ RAVENNATI E BIZANTINE DELL'UNIVERSITÀ DI BOLOGNA). Prix : 7.000 lires le volume.

L'abondance et la diversité des sculptures de Ravenne sont telles qu'il était hautement souhaitable d'en constituer le *Corpus*. Le premier fascicule comprend le mobilier liturgique : autels, ambons, ciboria. Mme Angiolini Martinelli y a ajouté les corniches, des piliers et les chancels avec figures

d'animaux ou décor d'entrelacs ainsi que les chancels ajourés et des «fragments» divers (dans cette rubrique ont été englobées des pièces non fragmentaires comme la plaque d'Hercule et du cerf de Cérynée et le reliquaire du Musée archiépiscopal avec l'Adoration des Mages et l'Ascension). Les corniches, les piliers et les chancels auraient aussi bien trouvé leur place dans le troisième fascicule consacré à la sculpture architectonique : bases de colonne, chapiteaux, colonnettes, piliers, chancels à décor de croix ou de chrismes, impostes. Dans le deuxième fascicule le catalogue des sarcophages à figures a été dressé par Mme Giselda Valentini Zucchini et celui des sarcophages à caractère symbolique par Mme Mileda Bucci. Dans l'introduction Mme R. Olivieri Farioli a classé les sarcophages d'après la structure de leur décor et recherché leur filiation par rapport aux antécédents païens d'Asie Mineure et d'Italie septentrionale ainsi que leurs parentés avec les productions contemporaines des pays de la Méditerranée orientale. Contrairement à ce qu'avait cru M. G. De Francovich, Constantinople a souvent joué le rôle d'intermédiaire dans la transmission à Ravenne des formules originaires d'Anatolie. Mme R. Olivieri Farioli pense que le sarcophage dit «Pignatta», sous l'arcade de «Braccioforte» devant Saint-François, aurait été exécuté par des artistes venus de la Méditerranée orientale mais travaillant à Ravenne et ayant répondu à des goûts locaux dans le choix des scènes des petits côtés. Les sujets symboliques pour la décoration de nombreux sarcophages lui paraissent constituer la caractéristique la plus saillante de Ravenne. Dans le domaine de la sculpture architectonique (fasc. 3) Mme R. Olivieri Farioli a relevé le conservatisme dont Ravenne a fait preuve dans l'adaptation des formules empruntées à l'Orient méditerranéen (ainsi l'emploi de l'imposte sur le chapiteau corinthien et non sur le chapiteau ionique — comme c'était le cas alors à Constantinople et en Grèce — ou encore le «pléonasme» de la superposition de l'imposte au chapiteau-corbeille). On retiendra aussi la fécondité des ateliers de Ravenne sous Théodoric. Enfin les historiens de l'art occidental ne manqueront pas d'attacher de l'intérêt aux aspects préromans que prend le traitement de motifs de tradition paléochrétienne sur des sculptures du VIIIe et du IXe s.

Ces trois fascicules ont été l'objet d'un compte rendu très minutieux de la part de M. Fr. W. Deichmann dans la *BZ*, t. 64, 1971, pp. 396-403. On tiendra compte aussi de ce que ce savant a écrit sur les sculptures de Ravenne dans *Ravenna*, I, *Geschichte und Monumente*, pp. 63-92, où il a serré de plus près la question de l'origine constantinopolitaine de plusieurs pièces.

Venise

Venezia e Bisanzio. Venezia, Palazzo Ducale, 8 giugno - 30 settembre 1974. Saggio introduttivo di Sergio BETTINI. Catalogo a cura di Italo FURLAN, Giovanni MARIACHER, Sotirios MESSINIS, Elpidio MIONI, Lino MORETTI, Michelangelo MURARO, Antonella NICOLETTI, Antonio NIERO, Rodolfo PALLUCCHINI, Fulvio ZULIANI. Milan, Electa Editrice, 1974. 1 vol. 25,5 × 28,5 cm, 223 pp., nombreuses figg. en noir et blanc, 8 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 8.000 lires.

La 19e biennale d'art ancien de Venise, qui s'est tenue au Palais des Doges en 1974, avec un prolongement à la Marcienne pour les manuscrits, a marqué un tournant par rapport aux manifestations précédentes puisqu'elle n'a plus été centrée sur un sujet monographique ou anthologique mais a constitué le début d'une nouvelle formule qui a pour but d'appeler à un réexamen critique de la civilisation artistique de Venise dans ses multiples aspects et ses phases successives. Il convenait évidemment de commencer par les problèmes des rapports avec Byzance. C'est à Sergio Bettini qu'il a appartenu de les exposer dans l'introduction du catalogue, où il a repris et synthétisé, en les enrichissant du fruit d'observations récentes, bien des idées qu'il avait déjà défendues dans ses publications antérieures.

Il voit dans le paysage de la lagune le facteur déterminant du *Kunstwollen* de Venise, qui, au cours des siècles, a fait prédominer les couleurs et les surfaces sur les volumes. Dans la formation de cet art S. B. relève les apports de plusieurs traditions : celle de l'exarchat de Ravenne dans l'architecture civile, où les palais avec un portique en façade entre deux avancées et une loggia continue à l'étage (comme le Fondaco dei Turchi) dériveraient des villas romaines ; celles des Lombards, des carolingiens, et enfin de l'Europe romane puis gothique en sculpture. S. B. me paraît avoir tendance à sous-estimer les influences byzantines pour l'époque des Partecipazi au IXe s. (voir à ce propos l'introduction de M. et Mme Forlati au livre de F. Zuliani analysé *infra*, pp. 457-459 et mon ouvrage sur *L'art byzantin*, pp. 170-171). Elles sont plus nettes à partir du moment où, sous Domenico Contarini (1052-1071), dans les années 1060, fut entreprise la construction du nouveau Saint-Marc, sans doute pour manifester la puissance et la richesse du patriarcat de Grado face aux prétentions de celui d'Aquilée. Les plus anciennes mosaïques, qui remontent à Domenico Selvo (1071-1085) et dont ne subsiste qu'un fragment de Déposition de Croix (cat. n° 33) seraient l'œuvre d'artistes constantinopolitains attardés qui, au

debut du règne d'Alexis Comnène s'inspiraient encore de la manière en faveur sous le règne de Léon VI le Sage et auxquels on devrait l'icone en mosaïque de l'Hodighitria commandée pour l'église de la Pammakaristos par Anne Dalassène (morte en 1067) et conservée aujourd'hui au Patriarcat grec d'Istanbul ; dans sa notice du catalogue (sous le n° 33) Italo Furlan a pertinemment rapproché cette mosaïque de celles de la Néa Moni de Chio. Peut-être le propos de S. B. eût-il été plus éclairant s'il avait replacé les phénomènes artistiques de la construction et des débuts de la décoration du nouveau Saint-Marc dans le contexte historique du resserrement des liens entre Venise et l'Empire byzantin face au danger commun que représentaient les Normands. Les maîtres byzantins venus à Venise sous Selvo formèrent des disciples locaux, qui travaillèrent à la deuxième phase de la décoration en mosaïque de Saint-Marc au commencement des années 1100 : la Vierge et les Apôtres dans les niches du portail central seraient dus aux artistes qui exécutèrent en 1109 les mosaïques de l'abside de Saint-Cyprien de Murano (transférées en 1837 à la Friedenskirche de Postdam). Les figures des saints Pierre, Marc, Hermagoras et Nicolas dans l'abside de Saint-Marc (restaurées après l'incendie de 1145) seraient l'œuvre du même maître que le Saint-Pierre de l'abside de l'ancienne cathédrale de Ravenne (en 1112 ; cat. n° 43) et la Vierge de l'abside de la cathédrale de Ferrare (1135) aujourd'hui au Musée de l'Opera del Duomo (cat. n° 42). Les mosaïques des coupoles du Christ Emmanuel et de l'Ascension à Saint-Marc, à la fin du XIIe s. et au début du XIIIe, portent la marque des changements profonds qui se sont opérés dans la peinture byzantine à partir des environs de 1150 et que l'on devait observer dans les nombreuses mosaïques dont se parèrent églises et palais de Constantinople de Manuel Comnène à Isaac Ange mais que nous ne connaissons plus malheureusement que par les textes. Pour S. B. ces influences byzantines se seraient exercées à Torcello d'abord entre 1160 et 1170, puis à Venise, surtout par l'intermédiaire de la Macédoine : mais il ne faut pas oublier que l'Ascension ornait aussi bien la coupole centrale des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople que celle de Sainte-Sophie de Salonique et qu'en plus dans la capitale de l'Empire ont disparu un grand nombre de monuments dont ont pu s'inspirer ceux de la Macédoine. A l'art tardo-comnène attesté dans cette région s'apparente aussi, comme les fresques de la crypte de la cathédrale d'Aquilée, la frise de la Vierge entourée d'anges et d'apôtres découverte en 1963 dans le baptistère de Saint-Marc (cat. n° 50).

Le XIIIe s. vit l'apogée de la mosaïque vénitienne, influencée par la peinture de Ratisbonne et de Salzbourg. S. B. y a distingué la part de quelques

personnalités marquées. Des mosaïstes vénitiens travaillèrent à Rome, où le pape Honorius III en appela, à Saint-Paul hors les murs (cat. n° 56) et peut-être à Saint-Pierre (cat. n° 58) (mais certains savants — O. Demus, V. Lazarev — attribuent ces dernières à des artistes venus de Sicile). Des artistes de Saint-Marc semblent avoir aussi exécuté des fresques (et à l'occasion des mosaïques) à la cathédrale de Trévise (les fragments sont conservés maintenant au Musée diocésain : cat. n° 59) et à la Rotonde de Brescia. Les fresques de San Zan Degolà à Venise, vers 1265 (cat. n°s 60-62) évoquent celles de Mileševo et de Sopoćani : S. B. aurait pu insister sur ce que les unes et les autres doivent à la libération de la tutelle de Constantinople dont bénéficia la peinture byzantine à la suite de la chute de la capitale de l'Empire en 1204 et qui fit sentir ses effets jusqu'à Sainte-Sophie de Trébizonde. Des ateliers de miniaturistes furent également florissants à Venise au XIIIe s. (cat. n°s 69-71).

Les influences byzantines redevinrent plus fortes dans les arts de la couleur (de la mosaïque à la miniature) au XIVe s., précisément à la suite du rétablissement du pouvoir impérial à Constantinople sous les Paléologues : le meilleur exemple en est fourni par Paolo Veneziano, d'abord marqué par le style giottesque mais dont les œuvres ultérieures sont si byzantinisantes que l'on a pu émettre l'hypothèse qu'il avait fait le voyage de Constantinople (la production de ce maître a été fort bien représentée à l'exposition : cat. n°s 86-91). En revanche l'architecture et la sculpture de Venise furent alors d'inspiration gothique. Ici encore les phénomènes artistiques eussent été mieux saisis s'ils avaient été resitués dans l'ensemble des relations alors complexes entre Venise et Byzance, faites de tout un réseau d'actes d'hostilité et de rapprochements. C'est par le recours à l'histoire que S. B. montre que l'abondance de la production des peintres créto-vénitiens s'explique non seulement par l'éclat dont brilla alors la Crète, grand centre de rencontres, mais par la faveur que Venise, désireuse d'apparaître comme la continuatrice de Constantinople, accorda à une activité qui constituait en outre une branche importante de son commerce.

Le dossier des relations artistiques enchevêtrées qui se nouèrent alors entre Venise et la Grèce postbyzantine s'est enrichi de l'étude consacrée par M. Ch. Bouras au tombeau mural en marbre placé peu après 1481 à Saint-Démétrius de Salonique pour contenir la dépouille de Loucas Spantounis, qui appartenait à une famille de riches marchands d'origine constantinopolitaine, dont plusieurs membres résidèrent à Venise et à Salonique. (*Τὸ ἐπιτύμβιο τοῦ Λουκᾶ Σπαντούνη στὴ βασιλικὴ τοῦ ἁγίου Δημητρίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, dans *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρίς τῆς Πολυτεχνικῆς Σχόλης, Τμῆμα ἀρ-*

χιτεκτόνων, t. VI, 1973, pp. 3-63). Ce monument s'inscrit parfaitement dans la phase de transition qui conduisit la sculpture vénitienne du gothique au style renaissant mais avec des traits d'adaptation au cadre d'une église orthodoxe. Il peut être assez sûrement attribué à l'atelier de Pietro Lombardo. Comme l'épigramme le suggère, il répondrait à la volonté d'affirmer la supériorité des traditions de l'hellénisme byzantin face aux conquérants ottomans.

Les œuvres réunies pour l'exposition — le catalogue comprend 148 numéros et S. B. a eu l'amertume de se voir opposer bien des refus, en Italie même — avaient pour but d'illustrer les créations des artistes vénitiens, les traditions dont ils s'étaient nourris et les états de l'art byzantin dont ils avaient subi l'action.

P. 46 : la proposition faite par S. B. de lire *ANACTACIC* (Résurrection) à la fin de l'inscription grecque sur l'arcade du petit tabernacle en marbre conservé au Trésor de Saint-Marc est inacceptable : on lit bien sur l'objet *ANACTACIAC* (cf. *Il Tesoro*, II, pl. V) ; en outre s'il s'agissait de la Résurrection il faudrait *ANACTACEΩC* ; enfin, la formule même de l'inscription indique bien qu'il doit s'agir d'un nom de personne. P. 50 : il me paraît difficile de dire que les Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople étaient une église *palatine*. P. 61 : les fresques de la *Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων* de Salonique datent de 1028 et non de 1044 (il y a longtemps que cette date est abandonnée). — P. 63 : le motif au-dessus de la porte dans les Noces de Cana à Kariye Cami où l'on avait cru lire en chiffres arabes la date de 6811 (= 1302/3 p.C.) est maintenant interprété comme un ornement (P. UNDERWOOD, *The Kariye C.*, I, p. 120) et il est bien établi que les mosaïques de cette église ont été exécutées entre 1315 et 1320/21 (*ibid.*, pp. 14-16). Même p. 63 : les examens du monument auxquels ont procédé en 1961 MM. Mango et Hawkins (*DOP*, 1965, pp. 115-152) ont montré que, contrairement à ce qu'avance encore S. B., la Vierge de l'abside de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople n'a pas souffert du tremblement de terre du 19 mai 1346. Cat. n° 29 : M. It. Furlan aurait pu rappeler que M. Bettini (p. 79) avait proposé de voir dans l'empereur Romain du calice en onyx du Trésor de Saint-Marc Romain IV (1067-1071). N° 44 : corriger *arthophoron* en *artophorion*. — N° 64 : après *Atene, 1964* ajouter n. 522. — N° 113 : lire *Paleologhi* et non *Comneni*.

J. J. TIKKANEN, *Die Genesismosaiken von S. Marco in Venedig und ihr Verhältniss zu den Miniaturen der Cottonbibel nebst einer Untersuchung über den Ursprung der mittelalterlichen Genesisdarstellung besonders in der byzantinischen und italienischen Kunst.* Soest, Davaco Publishers, 1972. 1 vol. 22 × 30,5 cm, II-153 pp., 16 pll.

On se réjouira de voir assurer une nouvelle audience à ce travail qui fit date lorsqu'il fut publié pour la première fois dans les *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennica*, t. 17, 1889 mais il n'eût peut-être pas été inutile de faire précéder cette réimpression d'une mise au point comme on l'a fait plus récemment pour la réédition de *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter* du même savant finlandais (voir *supra*, t. 46, 1976, p. 450).

Fulvio ZULIANI, *I marmi di San Marco. Uno studio ed un catalogo della scultura ornamentale marciana fino all'XI secolo.* Venise, Alfieri Edizioni d'Arte [1970]. 1 vol. 24,5 × 30,5 cm, 186 pp., 4 plans, 142 figg., 14 pll. (ALTO MEDIOEVO. 2).

F. Z. a dressé le catalogue des sculptures, antérieures à la fin du XIe s., encastrées dans les murs de Saint-Marc ou aujourd'hui exposées dans le cloître, restauré, de Sant'Apollonia. Il les a, en outre, resituées dans l'histoire de la sculpture médiévale, byzantine et occidentale, et dans le contexte de la civilisation vénitienne. M et Mme Forlati ont rédigé l'introduction sur l'architecture de l'église avant la reconstruction entreprise par le doge Contarini probablement en 1063. Les fouilles de M. Forlati ont révélé que, contrairement à l'hypothèse jusqu'alors admise, l'église érigée par les Partecipazi était non pas une basilique mais un édifice au plan en croix libre avec une coupole, sans doute unique, à la croisée des bras : c'était un martyrium inspiré des Saints-Apôtres de Constantinople ; et sur ce point M. et Mme F. admettent plus que F. Z. la volonté d'imiter le prestigieux monument de la capitale de l'Empire.

La classification des sculptures proposée par F. Z. part de celle qui a été établie par O. Demus dans *The Church of San Marco in Venice* (Washington, 1960).

Le premier groupe comprend : a) des plaques de chancel dont les motifs fondamentaux sont le chrisme, les lemnisques et les croix, employés soit simultanément, soit isolément ; b) des plaques de chancel ou de sarcophage aux ornements divers : réseaux ou rinceaux de feuilles d'acanthe, niches, animaux, losanges ; c) des plaques d'escaliers d'ambons. Chronologiquement ces plaques vont du Ve au VIIe s. F. Z. croit pouvoir y reconnaître des pièces originaires probablement : 1) de l'Adriatique (d'un style apparenté à

la *koiné* pratiquée dans les provinces occidentales de l'Empire), 2) de Constantinople, 3) de Ravenne. Il hésite à admettre l'hypothèse de Cattaneo pour qui elles auraient été utilisées dans le premier Saint-Marc et pense plutôt qu'elles auraient été remployées dans la troisième église, celle de Contarini, à une époque où l'on observe à Venise un retour aux modèles paléochrétiens. Mais peut-on être assuré que Justinien Partecipazio, son frère et successeur Jean et leurs concitoyens aient eu un goût si exclusif pour les innovations de leur temps qu'il aient rejeté les «dépouilles» du passé? On sait que Justinien Partecipazio avait fait venir des «pierres» d'Equilo et de Torcello pour Saint-Marc et qu'il en avait rapportées de sa campagne victorieuse en Sicile.

Le deuxième groupe est constitué de sculptures — plaques de chancel ou de revêtement, piliers, fragments de corniche — décorées d'entrelacs de «brins d'osier», d'un type carolingien connu de la France à l'Italie et à la Dalmatie. F. Z. les date du IXe s. et même pour certaines de façon plus précise des années 830-840 ; il pense qu'elles ont dû être exécutées pour le premier Saint-Marc et qu'elles proviennent du chancel du templon, du parapet des tribunes et du ciborium.

Le troisième groupe est composé de sculptures dont le schéma fondamental est formé par des rubans entrelacés dessinant des losanges, des cercles, des quadrilobes et des motifs sinueux à l'intérieur desquels s'inscrivent surtout des rosaces, des hélices, des losanges ou des triangles entrecroisés, des hexagones, des croix de feuilles d'acanthe et des croix grecques. Certaines sont byzantines, provenant de Constantinople ou de Grèce ; d'autres auraient été exécutées à Venise mais par des artistes byzantins ; d'autres enfin, imitant des modèles byzantins, seraient sorties d'ateliers vénitiens. Elles datent du Xe et du XIe s. L'influence de l'art arabe s'y fait sentir (p. 34, 2e col. il faut lire : *inizi dell'IX secolo* et non *dell'XI secolo* pour le règne de Théophile). La plupart de ces sculptures auraient été employées pour décorer extérieurement et intérieurement les murs du second Saint-Marc, restauré par Pierre Orseolo II après l'incendie de 976 provoqué par la révolte contre Candiano IV. D'autres sculptures où l'on trouve dans l'exécution une certaine «morbidezza» (comme les n°s 77 et 78) seraient de l'époque de Contarini.

F. Z. a rassemblé séparément trois plaques et des corniches surmontant des portes qui sont décorées de motifs ornementaux dont le schéma fondamental n'est plus tracé par les rubans. Elles s'échelonnent du IXe au XIe s. et la plus récente daterait même du XIIe s. Les unes auraient été sculptées en

Grèce, d'autres à Venise. La plupart auraient appartenu au second Saint-Marc, celui de Pierre Orseolo II ; d'autres à celui de Contarini.

Le cinquième et dernier groupe comprend les sculptures non étudiées dans les chapitres précédents qui furent exécutées pour le Saint-Marc de Contarini. Des éléments iconographiques antérieurs y sont traités dans un style nouveau que caractérise un penchant vers le naturalisme. Tout en soulignant des différences au sein de cet atelier F. Z. n'a pas cru devoir suivre la tentative de H. Buchwald (dans le *JbÖB*, t. XI-XII, 1962-1963, pp. 162-209, et t. XIII, 1964, pp. 137-170)) d'y distinguer différentes mains.

On ne manquera pas de voir le compte rendu d'O. Demus dans *The Art Bulletin*, t. 54, 1972, pp. 347-348.

Italie méridionale

Franco SCHETTINI, *La basilica di San Nicola di Bari*. Bari, Editori Laterza, 1967. 1 vol. 20,5 × 25 cm, 201 pp., nombreux dessins, plans et coupes, 196 figg. sur pll. Prix : 6.000 lires.

Sous le revêtement roman de cette église, dont la construction fut entreprise sous les Normands par l'abbé bénédictin Élie à la fin du XIe s. pour abriter les ossements de saint Nicolas arrivés le 9 mai 1087. Fr. Sch. a retrouvé, grâce aux fouilles et aux travaux de restauration commencés en 1918 et poursuivis sous sa direction à partir de 1938, la structure — dans son compte rendu des *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, t. XII, 1969, pp. 79-84, Mme Yvonne Labande-Mailfert a dit la «carcasse» — du palais des catépans byzantins qui résidèrent dans cette ville des environs de 975 jusqu'en 1071. Cet édifice apparaît comme l'un des plus importants temoins de l'architecture profane byzantine. Par les arcades des longs côtés N. et S. qui furent fermées lors de la conversion du monument en église, on pénétrait dans une cour à trois nefs, dont la nef centrale était vraisemblablement hypèthre tandis que les nefs latérales étaient couvertes en charpente. La nef N. communiquait avec le bassin maritime de Chiaffaro, où accostaient les navires, venus de l'Orient et d'ailleurs. Cette cour ouvrait à l'E. sur la salle du trône — l'actuel transept de la basilique —, au fond de laquelle s'incurvait une abside : le rapprochement a été opéré avec le palais de Dioclétien à Spalato. Le pavement de marbres multicolores, avec le monogramme d'Allah utilisé à des fins décoratives, appartiendrait à ce palais byzantin : on voit encore l'omphalos où était placé le trône. A l'E. aux angles de la salle du trône se dressaient deux tours aujourd'hui

disparues, qui répondaient à celles qui flanquaient l'entrée occidentale de la cour. De ces dernières, celle du S.-O. remonte à une époque antérieure au palais, peut-être à la première moitié du IXe s. La tour du N.-O., asymétrique, aurait été érigée en même temps qu'un bâtiment byzantin préexistant au palais et dont les assises inférieures subsistent dans la façade O. de l'église : ce bâtiment aurait été, à l'emplacement du parvis actuel, le siège des stratèges byzantins, dont le premier s'était installé à Bari en 876 à la demande des Longobards. On doit donc cesser de vouloir reconnaître dans la façade O. de Saint-Nicolas une imitation des façades normandes telles que celles de Saint-Étienne ou de Saint-Nicolas de Caen. La sculpture byzantine a aussi bénéficié des trouvailles de Fr. Sch. Le magnifique trône d'Élie serait, en effet, l'ancien siège du catépan. Quant au sarcophage de cet évêque, ce serait une œuvre orientale des IVe-Ve s. Le relief représentant un évangéliste assis (saint Matthieu ou saint Luc), découvert sous l'*omphalos*, provient vraisemblablement d'un ambon des VIIe-VIIIe s. Plusieurs chapiteaux byzantins s'échelonnent du VIe au IXe s.

Arnaldo VENDITTI, *Architettura bizantina nell'Italia meridionale. Campania-Calabria-Lucania.* Naples, Edizioni Scientifiche italiane, [1967]. 2 vol. 21 × 26 cm, XV-1099 pp., 573 figg. (COLLANA DI STORIA DELL'ARCHITETTURA AMBIENTE, URBANISTICA, ARTI FIGURATIVE). Prix : 22.000 lires.

A. V. a entendu nous donner non pas un simple répertoire des témoins de l'architecture byzantine en Campanie, en Calabre et en Lucanie mais une étude où l'examen des structures, combiné avec l'exploitation des données des sources historiques, lui permette de faire ressortir l'originalité de chacun d'eux et de dégager l'apport de l'individualité des architectes. Ce souci méthodologique et critique l'a conduit à écrire, dans une introduction longue de 84 pages, auxquelles s'ajoutent 66 pages de notes, l'histoire la plus approfondie que je connaisse des positions adoptées à l'égard de l'art byzantin depuis les jugements méprisants de Ghiberti et de Vasari jusqu'aux recherches, en sens divers, des savants contemporains et jusqu'aux réflexions des esthéticiens actuels. Vient ensuite un chapitre sur les vicissitudes du monachisme grec en Italie méridionale.

L'étude proprement architecturale débute par l'architecture rupestre (couvents, oratoires, églises), pour laquelle, débordant le cadre géographique indiqué par le sous-titre, A. V. a étendu son enquête à la Sicile et à la Pouille. Il a reproduit et décrit aussi plusieurs décors de fresques, comme ceux de la région de Matera ou encore ceux, trop méconnus, de la crypte des

Saintes-Marina-et-Christine à Carpignano Salentino, signés de Théophylactos en 959 et d'Eusthatios en 1020. Par la diversité et l'ingéniosité des aménagements dans le rocher, ces églises rupestres ne sont pas d'un moindre intérêt que celles de la Cappadoce, même si les décors peints n'y ont pas pris une égale ampleur et n'y ont pas connu l'extension en cycles. Plus d'une d'entre elles imite les églises à coupole au plan en croix grecque inscrite.

Le deuxième volume de l'ouvrage traite des églises construites de la Campanie, de la Calabre et de la Lucanie, y compris leur décor sculpté (surtout des chancels d'un grand intérêt). La Sicile a cette fois été laissée de côté, ce qui peut se justifier, en raison des particularités de son architecture, mais aussi la Pouille ce que l'on regrettera davantage puisque des monuments aussi importants que la Sainte-Croix de Casaranello et Saint-Pierre d'Otrante n'ont pas été étudiés pour eux-mêmes et sont simplement cités à titre de références. Le volume se termine par l'examen des influences byzantines dans les églises d'époque normande, d'abord en Calabre, puis en Lucanie. A. Venditti a composé une véritable somme d'où ressortent la diversité et la complexité de l'architecture byzantine ou d'influence byzantine dans l'Italie méridionale à l'image même de l'histoire des populations mêlées de ces régions.

La Scaletta, *Le Chiese rupestri di Matera*. Rome, De Luca Editore, [1966]. 1 vol. 25 × 28,5 cm, 328 pp., 78 figg., 26 pll. en couleurs, nombreux plans, coupes et dessins.

Le cercle de la Scaletta, qui groupe de jeunes chercheurs sous la présidence de Mauro Padula, présente de façon méthodique les résultats des prospections conduites de 1961 à 1965 dans 105 églises rupestres des environs de Matera. On y a ajouté des informations sur dix autres grottes aujourd'hui détruites mais connues par des documents ou par la tradition orale. Le recueil des illustrations et des notices est précédé d'un texte de 126 pages où Raffaelo de Ruggieri, après avoir rappelé les principales phases de l'histoire de la région depuis la conquête par les Lombards en 580 jusqu'au XIIIe s., a défini les différents types d'églises et a reconstitué l'évolution de la peinture du point de vue stylistique et iconographique. Les fresques, pour la plupart inédites, vont du VIIIe au XVIe s. Les influences byzantines, perceptibles dès le IXe, s'accentuèrent avec la seconde hellénisation de l'Italie méridionale, après la reconquête de Matera par Nicéphore Phocas en 886. Elles furent particulièrement fortes du XIe au XIIIe s. mais jusqu'à la fin elles ne cessèrent jamais complètement d'exercer leurs effets même dans les

figures qui ressortissent à l'art populaire italien. Dans la légende de la fig. 44 on lira *Santa Marina* (comme il est dit correctement p. 105 et p. 265) et non *Santa Caterina*.

Cosimo Damiano FONSECA, *Civiltà rupestre in Terra jonica*. Milan-Rome, Carlo Bestetti-Edizioni d'Arte, 1971. 1 vol. 26,6 × 31,5 cm, 232 pp., 213 figg., 16 pll. en couleurs. Prix : 15.000 lires.

C. D. F. a publié, dans l'ordre alphabétique du nom des sites, une suite de notices descriptives, accompagnées de références bibliographiques et de plans, sur les établissements rupestres, religieux et laïques, de la province ionienne, c'est-à-dire de la province de Tarente. Le texte est illustré de photographies dues au talent de M. Ciro de Vincentis. On y trouve des vues d'extérieurs et d'intérieurs et un certain nombre de peintures murales. Plusieurs de ces établissements (à Ginosa surtout) étaient inconnus jusqu'ici.

Dans son introduction, C. D. F. a suivi l'évolution des recherches sur ces grottes depuis le temps où on les considérait comme des refuges d'anachorètes jusqu'à la conception actuelle qui y voit les témoins d'une civilisation rupestre comprenant des établissements religieux et laïques, où les apports byzantins sont venus se greffer sur d'antiques traditions locales. Des comparaisons pourront être poussées entre ce système d'existence et celui de la Cappadoce, où l'on a maintenant aussi reconnu des villes en plus des fondations monastiques, ce qui ne signifie nullement qu'il y ait eu influence de cette région de l'Anatolie centrale sur l'Italie méridionale. C. D. F. a encore retracé l'histoire de Tarente et de son territoire depuis la reconquête byzantine de 880 jusqu'à la prise de la ville par les Normands de Robert Guiscard en 1080. Il s'est plus particulièrement attaché au sort du monachisme italo-grec et à celui du monachisme bénédictin, qui s'est répandu à la fin du XIe s. et au XIIe grâce à la faveur des Normands. Dans le domaine artistique C. D. F. a brièvement analysé les types d'églises et caractérisé l'iconographie, où les saints orientaux sont nombreux à côté de quelques saints occidentaux. Dans la Déisis Jean Baptiste a été quelquefois remplacé par saint Barthélémy (dans l'église de Ginosa consacrée à cet apôtre) ou par saint Jacques (sur la calotte de l'abside méridionale du Saint-Ange à Mottola). C. D. F. rejette, à juste titre, l'hypothèse d'une action du style de la Cappadoce sur les fresques d'Italie méridionale. On aurait souhaité de la part de l'auteur un effort plus poussé et plus systématique pour tenter de dater les peintures.

Quelques erreurs se sont introduites dans les restitutions d'inscriptions

grecques. P. 114, 1re colonne, 3e l. avant la fin, on lira évidemment *M[HTH]P* et non *M[ETH]P*. P. 134, 3e col., dans le verset de Luc, I, 38 et dans celui de Matthieu, III, 3 on lira *KY[PIOY]* et non *KY[PION]*. On se permettra de s'interrroger sur l'exactitude de certaines transcriptions. P. 122, 1re col., à S. Marina de Massafra est-ce bien *MNEC[ΘHTI]* et non *MNHC[ΘHTI]* que l'on lit? P. 148, 1re col., à S. Giovanni de Massafra également est-ce *BOE[ΘEI]* ou *BOH[ΘEI]*?

Georges DIMITROKALLIS, *Contribution à l'étude des monuments byzantins et médiévaux d'Italie*. Athènes, 1971. 1 vol. 17 × 24,5 cm, 242 pp., 157 figg., 12 pll.

Ce recueil groupe huit études de G. D. dispersées dans diverses publications et qui se rapportent presque toutes à l'architecture de l'Italie méridionale.

La plus étendue est celle qui, parue d'abord dans l'*Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Ἑταιρείας τῶν βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*, t. 36, 1968, pp. 267-334, traite des églises au plan en croix grecque inscrite de Sicile et de l'Italie méridionale. On y joindra l'article repris à l'*Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*, t. XXXV, 1967, pp. 31-36, sur la date de la «Cattolica» de Stilo, que C. D. plaçait dans la seconde moitié du XIIe s. ou au début du XIIIe par comparaison avec la Pantanassa de Monemvasie et l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge à Tégée. Ces rapprochements ne me paraissent pas décisifs. (C. MANGO, *Architettura bizantina*, p. 366 est resté fidèle à la date du Xe s. adoptée par A. H. S. MEGAW dans le *Χαριστήριον εἰς Α. Κ. Ὀρλάνδον*, t. III, 1966, pp. 10-22). Contrairement à ce qui est dit p. 36, la Métropole de Mistra a été transformée au début non du XIVe mais du XVe s. Les églises à conques ont aussi retenu l'attention de G. D. Ce sont : d'abord Saint-Satyros de Milan, à propos de quoi notre collègue grec a reposé le problème des origines des églises tétraconques du Haut Moyen Age (dans l'*Archivio storico lombardo*, t. XII, 1969, pp. 127-140), puis l'église triconque de Saint-Laurent à Mesagne en Apulie, qu'il a rapprochée des églises semblables de la même région et de Sicile et dont il ferait remonter le premier état au milieu du VIe s. ou plus vraisemblablement au VIIe (article du *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, 4e série, t. V, 1966-1969, pp. 173-184, pll. 78-79).

Deux articles, publiés l'un dans *Θησαυρίσματα*, Venise, t. IV, 1967, pp. 214-222, l'autre dans les *Cah. arch.*, t. XVII, 1967, pp. 247-248, et qu'il eût été préférable de reproduire ici l'un à la suite de l'autre, sont consacrés aux Ascensions d'Alexandre en Italie et font connaître surtout les reliefs de

la cathédrale de Fidenza et de l'église San Domenico de Marni (sur ce thème on verra maintenant l'étude d'ensemble de Chiara SETTIS-FRUGONI, *Historia Alexandri ele:ati per grifos ad aerem. Origine, iconografai e fortuna di un tema*, Rome, Istituto istorico italiano per il Medio Evo, 1973). On trouvera encore dans le recueil de G. D. une bibliographie des travaux des savants grecs sur la Sicile byzantine et la thèse présentée par l'auteur à l'Ecole d'architecture de l'Université de Rome en 1968 sur le château de Borghetto dans le Latium le long de la Via Flaminia (travail publié déjà dans les *Πεπραγμένα τῆς Η' 'Επιστημονικῆς Συνόδου Internationales Burgen Institut : 'Αθῆναι 25-29.4.1968*, Athènes, 1969, pp. 233-257).

Sicile

Gino Vinicio GENTILI, *La basilica bizantina della Pirrera di S. Croce Camerina*. Ravenne, A. Longo, 1969. 1 vol. 17,5 × 24,5 cm, 113 pp., 45 figg., 2 dépliants (COLLANA DI QUADERNI DI ANTICHITÀ RAVENNATI, CRISTIANE E BIZANTINE. Nuova Serie, 2). Prix : 1.800 lires.

G. V. G. a fouillé en 1962 une basilique à trois nefs avec un narthex et une abside inscrite dans un massif rectangulaire flanqué, au S., d'une sacristie, au lieu-dit la Pirrera sur le territoire de S. Croce Camerina qui, à l'époque byzantine, dépendait du port de *Καύχανα* dans le S.-E. de la Sicile. L'intérêt du monument vient surtout des pavements en mosaïque, figurant des poissons à l'intérieur de cercles entrecroisés dans la nef S. et des oiseaux dans des *emblémata* bordés de *peltae* dans la nef N.

G. V. G. croit pouvoir les dater de la fin du ve ou du début du vi^e^ s., notamment en raison de la présence, dans une tombe du narthex, d'un bronze de Justinien daté de 545-546, qui donnerait un *terminus post quem non* au milieu du vi^e^ s., mais il faut tenir compte de la durée de circulation de ces monnaies qui peut être d'environ cent ans (cf. les judicieuses remarques de J.-P. Callu dans *Apamée de Syrie, Bilan des recherches archéologiques 1969-1971*, pp. 159-160). De toute manière les ressemblances avec les pavements de Saint-Sévère de Classe datés de la fin du vi^e^ s. par Mme Bermond Montanari (voir *supra*, p. 447) invitent à approfondir les problèmes de la chronologie des mosaïques de ce type et ceux de la transmission des motifs.

Byzance et l'Europe occidentale et centrale

Otto DEMUS, *Byzantine Art and the West*. Londres, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1970. 1 vol. 21 × 27,5 cm, XXI-274 pp., 264 figg., 8 pll. en couleurs. (THE WRIGHTSMAN LECTURES. III). Prix : 120 s.

Dans ces conférences faites en 1966 à l'Institute of Fine Arts de l'Université de New York, O. D. s'est proposé de saisir en profondeur le rôle d'initiateur et de guide que l'art de l'Empire byzantin a joué dans la formation et le développement de celui de l'Europe occidentale depuis le VIIe s. et l'époque carolingienne jusqu'aux peintres vénitiens du XVIe s. et jusqu'au Greco. Cette fonction, l'art byzantin l'a remplie pour plusieurs raisons. Il a inconstestablement bénéficié du prestige de l'Empire, dont il fut l'une des créations les plus séduisantes. Mais surtout il a gardé vivant tout un héritage de formes antiques qu'il a rendues plus assimilables en dissociant et en simplifiant les composantes qu'elles avaient intégrées dans des ensembles plus complexes. L'art byzantin proposait aussi un riche répertoire de schémas iconographiques aptes à traduire plusieurs sujets et à qui leur grandeur solennelle conférait l'autorité de représentations du sacré. Le sens de la monumentalité, qui imprimait sa marque jusque dans les miniatures, l'auréolait d'un puissant ascendant. A cela s'ajoutait encore la maîtrise des techniques. L'action de l'art byzantin se fit plus ou moins profondément sentir selon les circonstances où elle s'exerçait : passagère dans la Lombardie à l'époque de Castelseprio ou dans le Gotland du XIIe s., elle rayonna puissamment à partir de la Sicile, de Rome et de Venise. O. D. a, en outre rappelé, que les recherches de ces dernières années ont établi que les États fondés par les Croisés à Jérusalem, Acre et en Chypre avaient été aussi des foyers de diffusion. Il a examiné plus particulièrement, avec des exemples précis à l'appui, la place tenue par les cahiers de modèles dans cette expansion de motifs iconographiques et de formules stylistiques. Les arts figurés seuls ont été pris en considération, à l'exception de l'étude des rapports entre Saint-Vital de Ravenne et l'octogone d'Aix-la-Chapelle.

La première période envisagée par O. D. comprend la «renaissance anglo-saxonne» et surtout l'époque carolingienne. Celle-ci aurait été animée, durant un certain temps, par des tendances anti-iconiques en liaison avec les sentiments anti-byzantins nourris par Charlemagne à la suite de ses conflits avec l'impératrice Irène. L'abside de l'église de Germigny-des-Prés porterait l'arche d'alliance parce que, comme le rappelaient les *Livres carolins*, celle-ci aurait été exécutée conformément aux prescriptions de

Dieu et que ce serait une grande erreur de la confondre avec les images faites de la main des hommes (*manufactae imagines*). O. D. reprend aussi l'hypothèse de H. Schnitzler, pour qui l'abside de l'Octogone d'Aix-la-Chapelle aurait d'abord montré l'Agneau. L'image du Pantocrator se rencontre seulement dans le plus ancien et le plus récent des Évangiles copiés et enluminés dans le *scriptorium* du Palais : l'Évangéliaire de Godescalc (781-783), antérieur au conflit avec Byzance, et l'Évangile dit de Lorsch (vers 810). Cette image manque dans les Évangiles intermédiaires. Mais il existe aussi de nombreux manuscrits carolingiens dont les miniatures s'inspirent de modèles byzantins, soit venus directement de Constantinople soit connus par l'intermédiaire de Ravenne. L'éclectisme des sources d'inspiration de ces manuscrits est un indice que l'art carolingien est une création artificielle qui n'a pas eu le loisir de mûrir. Le nouveau style qui apparaît à la cour de Charlemagne avec l'Évangile du Couronnement (au *Schatzkammer* de Vienne) serait le fait d'artistes originaires de Constantinople, où ils auraient travaillé pendant la période transitoire de rétablissement des images après le Concile de Nicée de 787. A Rome s'opéra une intégration des éléments latins et des éléments grecs, qui firent fonction de levain. Mais O. D. met aussi l'accent sur le prestige dont jouissaient auprès de Charlemagne et de son entourage les modèles proposés par Ravenne. Les ivoires carolingiens, enfin, révèlent l'imitation assez fidèle des prototypes byzantins.

La période qu'a ensuite distinguée O. D. est celle qui, deux cents ans après Charlemagne, conduisit à l'art roman. Notre collègue autrichien opère dans ce chapitre, en l'enrichissant d'apports nouveaux, la synthèse de nos connaissances sur les multiples emprunts faits par l'art ottonien à l'art byzantin, à la fin du xe et au début du xie s., dans un climat d'admiration enthousiaste mais aussi d'émulation. Parmi les additions introduites par O. D. on notera le Pantocrator — inédit — peint dans la coupole de l'église paroissiale de Wieselburg (en Autriche) et les anges de la chapelle de Frauenchiemsee (en Bavière). L'art ottonien s'est montré plus réceptif que l'art carolingien à la monumentalité de Byzance. O. D. a souligné aussi l'importance de l'adoption, sur l'exemple de Byzance, d'un nouveau format rectangulaire pour les miniatures. Le système de formes qui se développa dans l'Empire ottonien, c'est-à-dire non seulement en Allemagne mais en Italie et dans une partie de la Bourgogne, à partir d'un choix judicieux et d'une interprétation libre des modèles byzantins, fut à l'origine de l'art roman dans ces régions. Il fallut un nouvel afflux d'apports byzantins, un bon demi-siècle plus tard, pour donner à l'art de l'Europe occidentale, où

s'était perdu tout souvenir de l'art classique, la cohérence, la tension intérieure et le rythme organique qui amenèrent l'éclosion de l'art roman. La route de pèlerinage conduisant du Mont-Saint-Michel aux sanctuaires de l'archange en Apulie et en Campanie a pu être l'une des voies de pénétration de l'influence byzantine. Dans les villes de la Campanie et de l'Apulie, qu'elles aient été ou non sous la domination byzantine, fleurissait un art grec italianisé, dont on ne doit pas méconnaître l'importance. O. D. a procédé à une nouvelle analyse des principaux éléments introduits dans l'art du Mont-Cassin par les maîtres grecs que l'abbé Didier fit venir de Constantinople : effets empruntés aux émaux cloisonnés, emploi de couleurs complémentaires pour le modelé, élégance poussée. Mais le pontificat de Didier devenu pape en 1086 sous le nom de Victor III fut trop bref et trop tourmenté pour qu'au sentiment de O. D. on puisse attribuer à son action personnelle le renouveau qui se produisit à Rome même et qui devait atteindre son apogée, environ vingt ans plus tard, avec les fresques de l'église inférieure de Saint-Clément. Les artistes de Rome et de l'Italie centrale ont dû avoir leurs propres sources d'inspiration dans le monde byzantin. Une nouvelle vague d'influences byzantines atteignit Rome dans les années 1140 avec le décor de la Sainte-Croix de Jérusalem mais ce fut un épisode sans lendemain, l'art de Rome ayant conservé de fortes traditions propres qui ne l'incitaient pas à chercher des modèles au dehors. C'est la Campanie plus que Rome qui semble avoir proposé à la France, notamment aux ateliers de Limoges, de nouveaux schémas de composition et de nouveaux procédés de modelé d'inspiration byzantine à la fin du XIe et au début du XIIe s. Dans l'art de l'abbaye de Cluny, qui relevait du Saint Empire romain, O. D. observe des traits anciens venant de l'époque ottonienne. Les fresques de Berzé-la-Ville lui paraissent comporter non seulement des traits empruntés à des modèles byzantins récents de la fin du XIe s. mais aussi des éléments relevant d'une tradition où se superposent plusieurs couches d'origine byzantine, dont les plus anciens remonteraient à l'époque carolingienne tandis que d'autres dateraient du Xe et du XIe s. Pour l'étude des rapports entre l'art byzantin et la peinture romane on se reportera aussi au livre de O. D., *Romanische Wandmalerei*, publié à Munich chez Hirmer en 1968 et en traduction française (*La peinture murale romane*) à Paris chez Flammarion en 1970.

Le quatrième chapitre est consacré à ce que O. D. a appelé l'*art colonial* : d'abord Venise et la Vénétie, d'où les influences ont rayonné à Aquilée, dans le Tyrol et jusqu'en Bohème ; puis la Sicile normande, d'où deux vagues ont gagné l'Europe occidentale : les mosaïques de la Chapelle

Palatine de Palerme ont influencé les peintures de la chapelle de Tous-les-Saints à Ratisbonne et de la crypte de Quendlinburg ainsi que plusieurs œuvres des arts de la vallée de la Meuse et de la Rhénanie ; les mosaïques de la cathédrale de Monreale ont fait sentir leur action à Grottaferrata, dans la Campanie du XIIIe s., à San Silvestro de Tivoli, dans la crypte de la cathédrale d'Anagni, et en Angleterre (alors au pouvoir des Normands et en relations étroites avec la Sicile).

Dans le cinquième chapitre intitulé «la naissance du gothique», sans méconnaître les effets résultant dans le domaine esthétique des changements qui s'opéraient dans la société et la civilisation de l'Europe occidentale et dont l'une des conséquences fut le besoin d'un retour aux œuvres d'époque romaine, O. D. attribue, au moins en partie, le sens de la liberté des figures et de leur humanisation qui se fit jour vers 1200 au fait que les maîtres de ce temps ont su retrouver au-delà de l'art byzantin les racines que celui-ci plongeait dans l'art grec antique. D'ailleurs l'art byzantin avait été animé après 1160 d'un intense dynamisme, qui l'avait doté de plusieurs chefs-d'œuvre, et, après la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés en 1204, il avait fait preuve dans les territoires marginaux d'une grande capacité de renouvellement. Devenus les maîtres d'une bonne partie de l'Empire byzantin, les Latins ne pouvaient manquer de puiser dans le vaste répertoire de formes qu'il proposait à leur admiration.

Le sixième et dernier chapitre montre la part prise par les influences byzantines dans la naissance de la peinture européenne de Cimabue jusqu'aux Vénitiens du XVIe s. et jusqu'au Greco.

Dans son compte rendu de *The Art Bulletin* (t. 54, 1972, pp. 542-544), H. Belting a proposé quelques vues complémentaires sur les rapports entre Byzance et l'Occident à partir du XIIe s. On verra aussi la communication de W. Fritz VOLBACH, *Die Langobardische Kunst und ihre byzantinischen Einflüsse*, dans les *Atti del Convegno internazionale sul tema : La Civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa (Roma, 24-26 maggio 1971 ; Cividale del Friuli, 27-28 maggio 1971)*, Rome, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1974, pp. 141-155 (18 pll.), et celle de Kurt WEITZMANN, *Byzantium and the West around the Year 1200*, dans *The Year 1200 : A Symposium*, publishing by The Metropolitan Museum of Art, pp. 53-93 (38 figg.).

André GRABAR, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe siècles)*. Paris, Éditions Klincksieck, 1972. 1 vol. 23 × 31 cm, 103 pp., 362 figg. sur 92 pll. (BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES CAHIERS ARCHÉOLOGIQUES. VIII). Prix : 128 fr. français.

A. Gr. a rassemblé les plus importants des manuscrits qu'il croit avoir été

exécutés en Italie centrale et méridionale et il les a situés dans les courants artistiques qui se sont entrecroisés entre l'Empire byzantin et l'Europe occidentale. Son enquête a visé à étendre au domaine de la miniature et de l'enluminure les recherches des codicologues, et tout particulièrement celles de Mgr. Devreesse, qui ont abouti à établir de longues listes de manuscrits grecs sortis des *scriptoria* d'Italie. Son propre effort portant sur les aspects artistiques, il n'a pas mentionné d'abord — ce qui eût pu paraître plus probant au premier regard —, les *codices* dont le colophon nous apprend qu'ils ont été exécutés dans telle ville ou tel monastère de la Campanie, de la Calabre ou de la Basilicate, mais il a fondé son classement sur les rapprochements qu'autorisent les parentés stylistiques et sur l'ordre chronologique.

Il a distingué une premiére catégorie de 9 manuscrits illustrés de miniatures, dans laquelle le Vatican grec 749 (Livre de Job avec commentaires), l'Ambrosienne cod. 49-50 (Recueil de sermons de Grégoire de Nazianze) et le Paris grec 923 (*Sacra parallela* attribués à Jean Damascène) forment, en tête, à la fin du IXe s., un groupe particulier où des miniaturistes formés au goût et à la technique de l'art byzantin du temps ont subi l'influence des mosaïques et des peintures murales de Rome. C'est dans cette ville qu'ils auraient travaillé. Leurs manuscrits peuvent aussi être rapprochés du Psautier carolingien de Stuttgart (pour lequel il eût fallu ajouter dans l'index un renvoi à la p. 82), qui, comme l'avait déjà avancé Mme F. Müttherich, s'inspirerait d'un ou de modèles grecs venus d'Italie. Ces manuscrits nous éclairent donc sur les sources grecques des peintures carolingiennes et ottoniennes, sources qui ne seraient pas nécessairement originaires de Constantinople. La seconde catégorie constituée par A. Gr. est composée de 43 manuscrits à enluminures décoratives. En plus des indications données par les colophons et des critères codicologiques, fournis notamment par l'écriture, A. Gr. a considéré comme indices d'une exécution dans des ateliers d'Italie les ornements comprenant des motifs d'origine latine, que ceux-ci aient été transmis par des manuscrits enluminés en Italie ou par d'autres provenant de différentes écoles des pays transalpins. Les initiales composites, zoomorphes et anthropomorphes, créées dans les ateliers irlandais et anglo-saxons peu avant le VIIIe s. et reprises dans les manuscrits carolingiens, représenteraient l'un des principaux emprunts des enlumineurs grecs d'Italie à leurs modéles latins et elles auraient été transmises par leur intermédiaire aux ateliers constantinopolitains, qui les ont transformées soit en intitiales à scènes ou à un seul personnage soit en initiales de petites dimensions d'un aspect plus aimable et plus harmonieux.

A. Gr. relève encore comme traces d'influences latines dans le Patmos grec 33 (Homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze) la disposition du texte en trois colonnes (comme dans le Psautier d'Utrecht) et les frontispices multiples à cadres de formes diverses. Plusieurs manuscrits révèlent en outre dans leur décor des motifs d'origine islamique, repris à des enluminures du Coran ou à des tissus de luxe, ce qui ne peut surprendre dans des régions aussi proches de la Sicile.

Sans doute n'oserait-on dire que toutes les attributions de A. Gr. à des *scriptoria* italiens sont pleinement assurées. Lui-même accompagne plusieurs d'entre elles de points d'interrogation. De plus, il présente p. 96 comme «byzantins», c'est-à-dire fabriqués à Constantinople ou dans les provinces orientales de l'Empire le Patmos 29, le Caracallou 11, le n° 42 du Musée historique de Moscou, le British Museum Arundel 547, qu'il avait attribués plus haut, avec plus ou moins de réserves, à l'Italie. On notera aussi une légère divergence pour la date des trois manuscrits Vatican gr. 2034, 2036 et 2041, provenant de la bibliothèque du monastère grec de Patir à Rossano, rapportés au XIe s. p. 78 et au XIIe s. pp. 95-96. On retiendra encore que maints de ces manuscrits avaient été assignés par K. Weitzmann à des *scriptoria* d'Asie mineure (par exemple de Cappadoce ou de Trébizonde).

Mais je crois que, quelque incertitude que l'on éprouve touchant certaines attributions, l'on peut accepter les conclusions générales de A. Gr. sur l'importance des *scriptoria* grecs d'Italie, formant (avec leurs diversités propres) une école régionale, leur rôle dans la constitution de la peinture carolingienne et de la peinture ottonienne, leurs emprunts aux manuscrits latins et aux arts décoratifs musulmans et leur transmission de motifs aux ateliers de Constantinople et des provinces orientales de l'Empire. A. Gr. croit que lorsque saint Christodule monta la bibliothèque du couvent de Saint-Jean qu'il avait fondé à Patmos, il fit venir plusieurs manuscrits grecs exécutés en Italie (d'après son colophon le Patmos 33 a été exécuté à Reggio de Calabre). On voit donc se confirmer ce que A. Gr. avait déjà montré dans plusieurs de ses travaux antérieurs, à savoir que dans le problème complexe des relations artistiques entre l'Empire byzantin, l'Europe et le monde islamique, le premier n'a pas seulement donné mais qu'il a aussi emprunté.

Rhin-Meuse. Art et Civilisation 800-1400. Une Exposition des Ministères belges de la Culture française et de la Culture néerlandaise, du Schnütgen-Museum de la Ville de Cologne, du 14 mai au 23 juillet 1972 à la Kunsthalle de Cologne ; du 19 septembre au 31 octobre 1972 aux Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire à Bruxelles, Cologne-Bruxelles, 1972. 1 vol. 22 × 30 cm, 431 pp., nombreuses figg. en noir et blanc, pll. en couleurs, cartes.

J. J. M. TIMMERS, *De kunst van het Maasland.* Assen, 1971. 1 vol. 21 × 26 cm,II-448 pp., 534 figg. (avec des résumés en allemand, en français et en anglais).

Les chercheurs désireux d'approfondir l'étude des rapports entre l'art byzantin et celui des évêchés de Cologne et de Liège, unis dans le même archidiocèse, trouveront dans le catalogue de l'exposition Rhin-Meuse non seulement un exposé de Joachim M. Plotzek sur les influences byzantines (p. 169) et des notices sur des objets byzantins importés en Occident mais bon nombre d'œuvres (ivoires, miniatures, émaux, travaux d'orfèvrerie, sculptures en pierre ou en bois) où, à des degrés divers, se marque, l'action immédiate ou indirecte, de modèles byzantins (pp. 169 et 191, on corrigera Theophan*u* en Théophan*ô*). Le problème des influences byzantines sur l'art mosan a été abordé à plusieurs reprises par M. Timmers dans son livre, où il a renvoyé aux publications antérieures sur le sujet.

Yves CHRISTE, *Les Grands Portails Romans. Études sur l'iconographie des théophanies romanes.* Genève, Librairie Droz, 1969. 1 vol. 16 × 23 cm, 205 pp., 20 figg., 24 pll. (ÉTUDES ET DOCUMENTS PUBLIÉS PAR LES INSTITUTIONS D'HISTOIRE DE LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DE GENÈVE. 7).

Les byzantinistes trouveront beaucoup plus que le titre ne pourrait le leur laisser attendre dans ce volume où l'auteur a appliqué les méthodes d'analyse préconisées et mises en œuvre par André Grabar pour faire ressortir le rôle de la pensée théologique dans l'élaboration du style des sculptures des grands portails romans et dans la vision nouvelle de l'art sacré qui y inspire le traitement du thème de l'Apparition ou du Retour du Christ à la fin des temps. L'étonnante effervescence de formes que l'on rencontre dans les visions théophaniques des portails de la fin du XIe et du début du XIIe s. trahit le même souci de pénétrer le monde surnaturel et ses mystères que les écrits mystiques de Jean Scot Erigène (grand admirateur et traducteur de Pères grecs), de saint Odilon de Cluny et de Suger, qui avaient renoué avec les conceptions des Byzantins en matière d'art sacré et qui étaient influencés

par les théories néoplatoniciennes qu'avaient christianisées saint Augustin, le Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite (pour lequel on ressentit au XIIe s. un engouement que Y. Chr. a pu qualifier de «presque excessif»), Maxime le Confesseur et les Pères iconodoules (Jean Damascène, Nicéphore et Théodore Stoudite). «La pauvreté de l'esthétique carolingienne ne pouvait être à l'origine d'un épanouissement [dans l'art roman] des thèmes d'apparition triomphale» (pp. 21-22) et ce phénomène ne s'explique que par la reprise de contacts avec Byzance apres la crise iconoclaste. Y. Chr. a étudié les principaux motifs de l'imagerie triomphale en situant les illustrations romanes par rapport aux versions paléochrétiennes et byzantines et montré en quoi les théophanies occidentales du XIIe s., enrichissant de nouvelles réalités dogmatiques leurs antécédents carolingiens, se différencient des usages de Rome et de Constantinople.

Janine WETTSTEIN, *La fresque romane. Italie-France-Espagne. Études comparatives*. Genève, Droz, 1971. 1 vol. 22 × 30,5 cm, 130 pp., 51 pll.

Le livre de Mlle W. est né de réflexions suscitées par l'affirmation de l'unité de l'art roman que tentèrent de démontrer les organisateurs de la huitième Exposition du Conseil de l'Europe qui s'est tenue en 1961 à Barcelone et à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle. Préoccupée par les problèmes ainsi posés, notre consœur suisse a réexaminé cinq ensembles picturaux qui nous apprennent comment des écoles de peinture romane se sont assimilé de façon différente les éléments byzantins qu'elles recevaient directement ou indirectement.

Le premier de ces ensembles comprend les fresques qui décoraient les parties hautes du baptistère de Novare, nettoyées et restaurées entre 1959 et 1966. Elles constituent des témoins majeurs de la peinture dans la vallée du Pô à la fin du Xe s. ou au tout début du XIe. Elles sont de peu antérieures à celles qui ont été exécutées en 1007 dans l'église Saint-Vincent de Galliano (aujourd'hui faubourg de Cantù dans la Brianza). Pour mieux apprécier les caractères de ces deux ensembles, Mlle W. les a rapprochés de nombreuses autres œuvres : peintures murales de la vallée du Pô, miniatures ottoniennes, fresques carolingiennes et ottoniennes, manuscrits enluminés dans le N. de l'Italie, émaux et pièces d'orfèvrerie exécutés à Milan. Il en ressort que, tout en entretenant des rapports avec l'art ottonien au N. des Alpes, exista dans la vallée du Pô, aux environs de l'an mil et après, une école de peinture florissante, dont les maîtres à la facture vigoureuse travaillaient à la décoration murale des églises et à l'illustration de manuscrits. La renommée acquise par cette école fit qu'au témoignage des

textes certains de ses maîtres furent appelés à l'étranger, comme Jean qui, sur l'ordre d'Otton III, vint exécuter des fresques dans la chapelle palatine d'Aix-la-Chapelle à la fin du xe s., puis à Saint-Jacques de Liège, ville où il mourut. Tel encore le peintre Nivard qui fut appelé au monastère de Fleury (l'actuel Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire) par l'abbé Gauzlin (1004-1029). Est-ce lui ou un autre Italien du N. qui peignit les dix-huit scènes apocalyptiques le long de la façade occidentale de Fleury, cycle aujourd'hui disparu mais connu par la *Vie de Gauzlin* et dont nous aurions une réplique dans le porche de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe? Ainsi pourraient s'expliquer les correspondances non seulement iconographiques mais aussi stylistiques que Mlle W. relève entre les fresques de Novare et celles de Saint-Savin.

Le deuxième problème traité par Mlle W. est celui des apports byzantins en Campanie (Sant' Angelo in Formis), en Bourgogne (Berzé-la-Ville) et en Catalogne (Saint-Clément de Tahull). Mlle W. pense que les fresques qui décorent les absides et les nefs de la basilique de Sant' Angelo in Formis, dont la construction a été entreprise en 1072 sur l'initiative de Didier, abbé du Mont Cassin, sont antérieures ou de peu postérieures à la mort, survenue en 1087, de ce prélat, encore représenté avec le nimbe carré des vivants. Le grand Jugement Dernier de la paroi occidentale et les fresques du portail sous le porche (l'archange Michel et le médaillon de la Vierge orante soutenu par deux anges) auraient été exécutés un peu plus tard mais pas beaucoup après 1100. Ces fresques du porche sont d'un style si constantinopolitain d'allure que l'on peut supposer qu'elles ont été peintes par un maître grec. Celles de l'intérieur, qui offrent une étroite parenté avec les manuscrits enluminés au Mont Cassin, montrent comment les leçons proposées par Byzance, sans doute en grande partie grâce à la présence des peintres grecs et des objets précieux que Didier avait fait venir, peu avant 1071, pour la décoration de son abbatiale, ont été transformées en une manière campanienne novatrice. Mais un problème se pose dans une certaine mesure : comment expliquer que les peintures du porche aient été confiées à un maître grec, que l'on peut supposer avoir été plus prestigieux, et celles de l'intérieur à des artistes locaux? Ne serait-ce pas plutôt que ces fresques seraient en réalité contemporaines de la reconstruction du porche dans le courant du xiie s.?

Reprenant et approfondissant l'étude sur les *fresques bourguignonnes de Berzé-la-Ville et la question byzantine* qu'elle a publiée dans *Byzantion* (t. XXXVIII, 1968, pp. 243-266), Mlle W. établit que les peintures du célèbre prieuré bourguignon, qu'elle date des premières années du xiie s., constituent au sein de la peinture romane, une création originale où « la maîtrise

technique du fresquiste et sa parfaite connaissance des règles de la composition» l'ont conduit à procéder à une synthèse raffinée et personnelle de traits empruntés à la tradition aulique byzantine et d'éléments venus de l'art ottonien. Quant aux fresques de Saint-Clément de Tahull, que Mlle W. fait remonter au XIe s. , elles révèlent les effets d'une greffe byzantine sur une puissante tradition mozarabe. C'est dans cette église que le peintre a le plus radicalement transformé ses emprunts byzantins, au point qu'il est bien difficle de les dissocier et de les analyser. Et Mlle W. conclut son livre en constatant que par leur génie les peintres indigènes ont su poser les bases de véritables traditions régionales.

Les dates de publication des ouvrages de M. Demus et de Mlle Wettstein font qu'ils s'jgnorent l'un l'autre. Il y aura intérêt à rapprocher à l'avenir leurs observations.

Gérard CAMES, *Byzance et la Peinture romane de Germanie*. Apports de l'art grec posticonoclaste à l'enluminure et à la fresque ottoniennes et romanes de Germanie dans les thèmes de majesté et les Évangiles. Paris, A. et J. Picard, 1966. 1 vol. 21,5 × 27,5 cm, XVI-360 pp., 1 carte, 331 figg. sur 84 pll.

G. C. a entrepris une tâche, méritoire et périlleuse, en étudiant les apports iconographiques, stylistiques et techniques de Byzance à l'illustration des thèmes de majesté et des scènes évangéliques dans l'enluminure et la peinture murale des territoires germaniques (y compris l'Autriche et l'Alsace) à l'époque des dynasties des Ottoniens et des Hohenstaufen, avec une sorte de temps mort entre 1080 (date de la mort de Rodolphe de Souabe, de la déposition du pape Grégoire VII par l'empereur Henri IV et de l'excommunication de ce dernier) et les années 1140 (où, à la suite de la seconde croisade, les relations germano-byzantines se resserrèrent et où apparurent les premières œuvres romanes de Salzbourg, fortement marquées par les influences byzantines). L'introduction replace les relations artistiques entre Byzance et la Germanie, du IXe au XIIIe s., dans le cadre plus général des faits historiques. Les deux empires ont entretenu alors de nombreux rapports politiques, commerciaux et artistiques, soit directement, soit par l'intermédiaire de la péninsule italique ou même de la Russie kiévienne (par la voie du Danube). Les alliances matrimoniales ont joué un grand rôle. Si l'on s'est attaché depuis longtemps aux répercussions qu'eut le mariage de Théophano et d'Otton II dans le renforcement des influences byzantines, on avait moins bien mesuré jusqu'à présent l'importance qu'ont eue dans le même sens les trois duchesses byzantines d'Autriche à la cour des Baben-

berg à Vienne : Théodora I, fille d'Andronic Comnène, nièce de Manuel Ier, qui épousa en 1149 Henri II Jasomirgott, duc de Bavière, prince d'Autriche et frère de l'empereur Conrad III ; Théodora II, fille du sébastocrator Isaac Comnène, qui épousa en 1203, le duc d'Autriche Léopold VI, fils du couple précédent ; Sophie, fille de Théodore I Lascaris et femme du dernier Babenberg, Frédéric II le Querelleur (1230-1246).

Pour mieux apprécier la part effective des apports byzantins à l'art de l'époque qui était l'objet de son étude, G. C. a d'abord repéré les éléments de la peinture de Germanie qui pouvaient remonter à la tradition paléochrétienne. Il a ensuite recherché les schémas des ivoires, des miniatures, des mosaïques et des fresques de Byzance qui ont été repris dans l'iconographie germanique des thèmes de majesté et des scènes évangéliques (au nombre de quelque 90). Mais alors que pour les thèmes de majesté, G. C. a repéré les influences byzantines sujets par sujets, pour les épisodes de l'Évangile il a jugé plus opportun et plus probant (p. XIII) de considérer les modèles byzantins dans leur succession chronologique en examinant ce que chacun d'eux avait pu donner à la Germanie. Il en résulte de nombreuses redites quand un même thème apparaît dans des modèles de date différente, et aussi un certain manque de clarté sur les conclusions à tirer. Les résultats acquis par G. C. devraient être maintenant exploités dans deux directions : une étude par thèmes et une autre pour chacune des grandes œuvres de la miniature ou de la peinture murale des territoires germaniques.

Le deuxième aspect sous lequel se sont exercées les influences byzantines est celui du style. On voit s'y accuser les différences entre écoles dans la manière dont elles ont assimilé les éléments byzantins ; les unes, comme celles de Trèves, de la Reichenau et d'Echternach, étant plus ouvertes aux données iconographiques ; d'autres, comme celles de Ratisbonne, d'Hildesheim et de Salzbourg étant plus marquées par les procédés stylistiques. Le long chapitre relatif aux transmissions qui se sont opérées dans les procédés de coloris est aussi riche d'enseignements, qu'il s'agisse des fonds d'or, des applications de teintes par coulées, des carnations ou des ombres et des lumières à la surface des vêtements. Le dernier problème abordé a été celui du rôle joué dans cette expansion de l'art byzantin en Germanie par les recueils de modèles et par les traités de peinture.

Les spécialistes de l'art byzantin formuleront des réserves sur la vision que G. C. propose des grands moments de l'évolution de cet art. Ils hésiteront à admettre qu'«avant l'iconoclasme, l'art grec se borne à continuer la tradition paléochrétienne» (p. IX et p. 29). C'est là méconnaître toute la différence qui, du point de vue de l'iconographie et des canons

esthétiques, s'accuse, sous l'effet des «mutations créatrices», entre les fresques populaires, narratives et symboliques des catacombes et le style solennel des icones du Sinaï, des panneaux impériaux de Saint-Vital de Ravenne, des mosaïques de Saint-Démétrius de Salonique et des évangiles dits de Rossano, de Sinope et de Rabula. Pour l'époque iconoclaste il est inexact de dire que l'interdit a «frappé systématiquement tout dessin figuré» (p. 55) ; nous savons au contraire par les textes que tout un art figuré à sujets profanes s'est épanoui jusque dans les églises. Les fresques de ce temps à Naxos, les miniatures du Ptolémée du Vatican, voire les mosaïques de Nicée, démentent que «le schématisme ... se soit étendu à tous les ... secteurs artistiques, notamment à la peinture» (*ibid.*). La manière très pertinente dont G. C. définit les traits caractéristiques de la «Renaissance macédonienne» (p. 58) s'oppose à son affirmation répétée (pp. IX, XI, XII, 29) selon laquelle cette «Renaissance» aurait ressuscité «l'esprit et les formes de l'art hellénistique» alors que justement, par delà l'art hellénistique, elle a su retrouver l'harmonie et la sobre grandeur du classicisme hellénique. On n'approuvera pas non plus l'opposition radicale (pp. 253, 268, 269) entre art de la Cappadoce et art qualifié tantôt de byzantin et tantôt de grec. La Cappadoce était grecque. Son art est un rameau de celui de l'empire byzantin. L'opposition aurait dû être marquée avec l'art de Constantinople, encore que celui-ci ait déjà fait sentir son influence à Qeledjlar (p. 268). Pour la Cappadoce il convenait de parler de tradition iconographique *locale* et non pas *nationale* (p. 269). Je n'accorderai pas non plus à G. C. que le second âge d'or byzantin se soit éteint après 1180 «peu de temps avant la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés (en 1204)» (p. 107). C'est réduire à néant la valeur des fresques de Kurbinovo (1191), des Saints-Anargyres et de la Panaghia Mavriotissa de Castoria, du réfectoire de Vatopédi, de Saint-Néophyte (1183, 1196) et de la Panaghia Arakiotissa (1192) de Chypre. Si l'art de la mosaïque du XIIe s. est surtout connu par les grands ensembles de Sicile, on ne peut dire pour autant qu'il a «quitté la Grèce pour l'Italie» (p. 108), le terme Grèce étant pris par G. C. dans son sens de pays de langue grecque, car on a exécuté alors, — nous le savons par des textes — d'importants décors de mosaique à Constantinople à l'église du Pantocrator et aux Saints-Apôtres.

Quelques points particuliers appellent encore des observations ou des corrections. L'épouse de Romain II sur l'ivoire du Cabinet des Médailles s'appelait Eudocie (comme il est dit correctement p. 8) et non Eudoxie (pp. 3, 27, 66, 67). — P. 31 : l'Évangile syriaque de Rabula ne peut être qualifié de «grec». — P. 46 : pour les portraits d'Évangélistes assis il eût fallu

songer à la tradition attestée par les portraits de Dioscoride dans le manuscrit de Vienne, qui dérivent eux-mêmes des statues de philosophes assis. — P. 49 : il est loin d'être assuré que l'Évangile de Rossano ait été enluminé en Calabre. — P. 53 : les mosaïques des Miracles du Christ à Saint-Apollinaire-le-Neuf de Ravenne sont de l'époque de Théodoric et non de Justinien. — P. 54 : l'Ascension de Sainte-Sophie de Salonique date non pas du VIIe s. mais de la deuxième moitié du IXe ; la formule du Christ en croix revêtu du colobium sans le «suppedaneum» sous les pieds est déjà attestée dans l'Évangile de Rabula. — P. 62 : le Coislin 79 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris remonte un peu moins haut que le milieu du XIe s. ; commencé pour Michel VII Doucas (1071-1078), il fut terminé pour Nicéphore III Botaniate (1078-1081). — P. 75 : lire coryphée et non choryphée. — P. 84 : l'Évangile de Karahissar (Léningrad grec 105) date non pas du Xe s., mais du XIIIe : cf. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina*, pp. 276, 278, 279. — P. 88 : le Sacramentaire de Lorsch est à Chantilly et non à Paris. — P. 92 : on s'étonne de voir ranger sous le XIe s. le Ménologe de Basile II exécuté vers 985. — P. 94 : L'Évangile Laur. VI 23 de Florence est maintenant édité par Mme T. Velmans, qui le date des environs de l'an 1100 (voir *supra*, t. 46, 1976, pp. 451-452). — P. 109 : l'Évangile Iviron 5 date non pas du XIIe s. mais du XIIIe (Weitzmann, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1944, pp. 202-203 : première moitié du XIIIe s. ; Lazarev, *Viz. Vremennik*, V, 1952 : dernier tiers du XIIIe s., datation reprise par O. Demus, *Entstehung des Paläologenstils*, pp. 16-20).

Il y aurait beaucoup à ajouter à la bibliographie finale. Citons : Victor H. Elbern, *Ottoniano*, dans l'*Enciclopedia Universale dell'arte*, t. X, coll. 307-329 ; P. Metz, *Ottonische Buchmalerei : Evangeliar Otto III und Perikopenbuch Heinrich II*, Munich, Hirmer, 1959 ; A. von Euw, *Zu den Quellen der ottonischen Kölner Buchmalerei*, dans *Das Erste Jahrtausend, Kultur und Kunst im werdenden Abendland an Rhein und Ruhr*, Textband 2, Dusseldorf, L. Schwann, 1964, pp. 1043-1067.

Anna RÓŻYCKA-BRYZEK, *Bizantyńsko-ruskie malowidła ścienne w kolegiacie wiślickiej*, (*Les peintures murales byzantino-russes dans la collégiale de Wiślica*), dans *Folia historiae artium*, Cracovie, t. II, 1965, pp. 47-82, 35 figg., 1 pl. en couleurs (avec un résumé en français).

——, *Bizantynsko-ruskie malowidła ścienne a kaplicy świętokrzyskiej na Wawelu* (*La peinture murale byzantino-russe dans la chapelle de la Sainte-Croix au Wawel, 1470*), dans *Studia do Dziejów Wawelu*, Cracovie, t. III, 1968, pp. 175-293, 65 figg., 2 pll. en couleurs (avec un résumé en français).

L'étude des peintures byzantino-russes conservées dans quatre églises gothiques de Pologne est un des problèmes qui méritent d'être creusés. L'existence de ces peintures est due aux goûts de Ladislas II (ou V) Jagellon Ier (± 1350-1434) et de son fils et second successeur Casimir IV Jagellon (1424-1492). Ladislas, fils du grand-duc, encore païen, de Lithuanie, Olgierd, et d'une princesse russe orthodoxe, Julianne de Tver, et, de plus, époux d'une princesse russe, Sophie de Holszany, ressentait pour la culture russe un profond attachement, dont hérita Casimir. Celui-ci fit décorer par des artistes russes les châteaux de Witebsk et de Troki en Lituanie. Il soumit les provinces E. de la Pologne à la juridiction de Jonas, métropolite de Moscou. Selon le chroniqueur polonais Jean Dlugosz (Longinus), Ladislas fit décorer «more graeco» le chœur de la collégiale de Wiślica, érigée en l'honneur de la Vierge au milieu du XIVe s. par Casimir III le Grand (1310-1370). Ces peintures exécutées au cours de la dernière décennie du XIVe s. ou de la première du XVe, accusent, comme celles de la cathédrale de Sandomierz à la même époque, dans l'iconographie et dans le style, une manière archaïque qui remonte à l'époque des Comnènes, mais avec l'introduction de quelques motifs du temps des Paléologues. Elles présentent des affinités avec les écoles de la Russie centrale et méridionale et de la Serbie. Dans l'état actuel de nos connaissances on voit mal d'où seraient originaires les artistes auxquels on les doit. Quant aux peintures de la chapelle funéraire de la Sainte-Croix au château du Wawel à Cracovie, terminées en 1470 sur la commande de Casimir IV, leur coloris sombre et leur style ont conduit Mme R.-Br. à les attribuer à deux maîtres, au talent inégal, de l'école de Pskov, qui empruntèrent à l'art polonais certains motifs iconographiques venus de l'Occident. Le programme iconographique, d'origine byzantine, a été adapté à la destination funéraire de la chapelle. Ces peintures sont des témoins émouvants de la force du rayonnement de Byzance par l'entremise de la Russie.

XVI Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. 16-29 Marzo 1969. Ravenne, Edizioni A. Longo, 1969.

On trouvera dans ce fascicule plusieurs textes sur la Hongrie, dont on a tendance à sous-estimer le rôle dans l'histoire de la civilisation byzantine en raison de sa situation un peu marginale. Dans son exposé intitulé *Byzance et le christianisme hongrois du moyen âge* (pp. 313-341), Gyula Moravcsik a décrit, à partir des données de l'histoire et de l'archéologie et en les replaçant dans tout le contexte des relations politiques, culturelles, et des alliances matrimoniales, le rôle que l'église de Byzance avait joué dans la vie des Hongrois et de leurs devanciers en Pannonie et dans les Carpathes, à partir de la conversion des Goths et des Gépides à l'arianisme, d'abord, puis des missions religieuses, sous le règne de Justinien, chez les peuples hunoturcs de Crimée, ancêtres des Hongrois. Les relations entre les Hongrois et l'Empire byzantin s'intensifièrent après le baptême de Gyula à Constantinople sous Constantin VII Porphyrogénète. Même après le baptême de Géza et de son fils Etienne I par l'église catholique, «l'influence de l'Eglise byzantine sur la vie religieuse des Hongrois» resta «beaucoup plus considérable et plus complexe qu'on ne croyait auparavant». On a évalué à 600 le nombre de monastères grecs d'hommes et de femmes, en Hongrie ; ils passèrent progressivement sous l'autorité de l'église catholique. La population du S. du pays resta très attachée à l'église orthodoxe. G. M. a aussi insisté sur l'importance de l'alliance des Hongrois et des Byzantins successivement contre les Bulgares, les Normands et les Turcs. M. Zoltán Kádár a dressé un inventaire détaillé des restes de l'époque paléochrétienne en Hongrie (pp. 179-201). Et dans deux exposés riches en vues nouvelles (pp. 151-178), Ferenc Fülep a présenté les résultats et les conclusions des fouilles conduites à *Sopianae* (au moyen âge Quinque Basilicae ; aujourd'hui Pécs), ville située au confluent de la Drava et du Danube, au carrefour de routes importantes et qui devint le centre administratif de la province de Valeria sous Dioclétien. Seuls des résumés ont été imprimés (pp. 203-211) des deux leçons où Gyula László a cherché à dénombrer les principaux témoins du goût de l'artistocratie avare pour les produits des ateliers byzantins que ses membres importaient ou faisaient imiter localement. Angelo Lipinsky (pp. 213-266) a étudié les spécimens de l'orfèvrerie, de l'argenterie et de l'émaillerie byzantines découverts en Hongrie. Il a repris notamment l'examen de trois chefs-d'œuvre des arts somptuaires de Byzance : la staurothèque d'Esztergom (où il verrait l'œuvre de deux émailleurs différents, entre le milieu du XIe s. et les premières décennies du XIIe) ; la couronne de Constantin IX Monomaque et la couronne de saint Etienne. La

transcription des inscriptions grecques figurant sur ces objets n'est pas toujours exempte d'erreurs. P. 236 : il faut lire *CTPOY* (pour σταυροῦ) et non *CTPO*. P. 241 : on lit sur les plaques de la couronne *ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ 'Η ΕΥCΑΙΒΕCΤΑΤΙ ΑΥΛΟΥCΤΑ* et non *ΘΕΟΔΟΡΑ 'Η ΕΥCΑΙΒΕCΤΕC ΥΤΙΝ* (*sic*!) *ΑΥΛΟCΤΑ* ; *'Η ΑΛΙΘΗΑ* et non *'Η ΑΛΙΘΗΙ* ; *'Η ΤΑΠΙΝΟCΙC* et non *'Η ΤΑΙΝΟCΙC*.

Arménie

Sirarpie Der Nersessian, *The Armenians*. Londres, Thames et Hudson, 1969. 1 vol. 15 × 21 cm, 216 pp., 48 figg., 2 cartes, 32 pll. (Ancient Peoples and Places).

Le livre de Mlle D. N. est une synthèse des divers aspects des civilisations qui se sont succédé sur le sol de l'Arménie antique et médiévale. L'auteur a retracé l'histoire du pays et de ses habitants depuis le paléolithique supérieur jusqu'à la chute, en 1375, au pouvoir des Mamelouks d'Egypte, du royaume de Cilicie, fondé après la prise d'Ani par les Seldjoukides en 1064. Mlle D. N. a décrit les systèmes sociaux et économiques, les croyances et les pratiques religieuses et rappelé les apports capitaux de l'Arménie à la littérature et à la vie intellectuelle en général. A la fin du volume trois chapitres ont traité successivement de l'architecture, de la sculpture et de la peinture. Mlle D. N. a su dominer et présenter clairement une matière complexe et abondante en prenant elle-même position à l'égard des théories soutenues sur l'ampleur du rôle créateur et sur l'originalité, réelle, de l'Arménie, que sa compétence de byzantiniste lui a permis de mieux mesurer au sein des chrétientés orientales.

Burchard Brentjes, *Drei Jahrtausende Armenien*. Vienne et Munich, Anton Schroll et Ce, 1974. 1 vol. 19 × 22 cm, 238 pp., 80 pll. en noir et blanc, 4 pll. en couleurs, nombreux dessins. Prix : 36 DM.

Ce sont aussi des vues de synthèse sur l'histoire et la civilisation des territoires de l'Arménie que M. B. B. nous a apportées, en allant cette fois jusqu'aux cruelles épreuves subies au cours de la première guerre mondiale et jusqu'à la renaissance d'une vie nationale dans la République soviétique d'Arménie. Après avoir fait l'historique des recherches archéologiques relatives à l'Arménie depuis le début du XIXe s. jusqu'à nos jours, l'auteur a divisé son exposé par grandes périodes : 1) du paléolithique supérieur jusqu'à la disparition de l'Ourartou vers — 585 ; 2) les royaumes, avec leurs vicissitudes de réelle indépendance, d'autonomie relative et de subordination, depuis l'installation des Arméniens dans le pays dans la première

moitié du — VIe s. jusqu'au partage entre les Sassanides et les Byzantins en 387 ; 3) «l'âge d'or» de «la Grande Arménie chrétienne» jusqu'à la chute d'Ani et de Kars en 1064 au pouvoir des Seldjoukides (la littérature, la vie de l'église et les arts — architecture, sculpture, peinture, miniature, arts somptuaires — ont été traités dans un chapitre spécial pour cette période) ; 4) «l'âge d'argent» du royaume de Petite Arménie (ou Cilicie) ; 5) la période «sous le joug étranger». L'illustration, abondante, rendra les plus grands services ; en raison de la matière embrassée par l'ouvrage, elle fait une place aux survivances des traditions artistiques de l'Arménie jusqu'au XIXe s.

L'art arménien de l'Ourartou à nos jours. Musée des arts décoratifs. Octobre 1970-janvier 1971. Paris. 1 vol. 18 × 23 cm, 142 pp., nombreuses figg., 1 carte, 8 pll. en couleurs.

On appréciera les services que rendra l'illustration du catalogue de l'exposition «L'art arménien de l'Ourartou à nos jours» qui s'est tenue à Paris au Musée des arts décoratifs d'octobre 1970 à janvier 1971. L'introduction se réduit à deux pages. Les notices, brèves, sont totalement démunies de bibliographie. On observera aussi qu'il s'agit de monuments et d'œuvres du seul territoire de la République soviétique d'Arménie.

A. KHATCHATRIAN, *L'Architecture Arménienne du IVe au VIe siècle*. Préface par André GRABAR. Paris, Editions Klincksieck, 1971. 1 vol. 23 × 31 cm, 123 pp., 176 figg. sur 40 pll. (BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES CAHIERS ARCHÉOLOGIQUES. VII). Prix : 92 fr. français.

Le regretté Kh. a appliqué la méthode typologique et fonctionnelle à l'étude des monuments de la première grande époque de l'architecture chrétienne de l'Arménie : monuments funéraires, églises à nef unique, basiliques à trois nefs (d'abord couvertes en charpente, puis voûtées), salles palatines de type basilical, église carrée à coupole sur quatre piliers (cathédrale d'Etchmiadzin, qui, selon Khatchatrian, aurait présenté ce plan dès son premier état au IVe s.). Architecte de formation, l'auteur a décrit les techniques, propres au pays, de construction des murs, des voûtes et des coupoles à l'aide de ce béton dont les maçons arméniens avaient eu connaissance sans doute par l'entremise de la Cilicie mais auquel la qualité remarquable de la pierre volcanique de leur pays a permis de donner une très grande solidité. C'est l'emploi de ces techniques qui a conféré leur aspect spécifique aux édifices arméniens élevés selon des plans que A. Kh. croyait empruntés à ceux de la Syrie (mais sur ce point il faudrait sans doute nuancer, au profit notamment de l'Anatolie).

XX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna 11-24 Marzo 1973. Ravenne, Longo editore, 1973. 1 vol. 17 × 24,5 cm, 494 pp., nombreuses figg. Prix : 8.000 lires.

Plusieurs leçons faites par des savants de diverses nationalités au *XX Corso* constituent un apport capital à la connaissance de l'Arménie médiévale. Il y a été traité de monuments peu connus, révélés parfois seulement au cours de ces dernières années. C'est surtout l'architecture qui a été à l'honneur. Mme Fernanda De Maffei a cherché les parentés, dans les plans et les appareils orthogonaux des murs, entre l'architecture ourartéenne et celle de l'Arménie d'abord païenne, puis chrétienne ; elle a rappelé le remploi de blocs ourartéens dans des églises arméniennes (pp. 275-286). Dans le même esprit de recherche des filiations, elle a montré comment les Arméniens, après avoir emprunté la coupole aux Sassanides, auxquels ils avaient été soumis, l'ont traitée de façon originale, en construisant en pierres une forme pour laquelle les Iraniens avaient employé le conglomérat ou la brique. Elle a suivi les phases de son évolution de Saint-Serge (ou Sarkis) de Tekor (pour la coupole de laquelle elle propose la fin du ve s.) à Saint-Etchmiadzin de Soradir (qu'elle date des premières décennies du vi^e^ s.) puis à Saint-Jean (ou Hovhanes) de Mastara (qu'elle place encore au vi^e^ s.) : de là le passage fut facile à Sainte-Gayiané de Vagharchapat (630-641) et à la cathédrale de Mren (achevée en 639) (pp. 287-307). Pour les monuments non datés par des inscriptions Mme De M. a tendance à adopter une chronologie plus haute qu'un certain nombre de ses confrères, mais cela ne modifie en rien les étapes du développement. M. P. Cuneo a dégagé des vues d'ensemble sur la typologie des plans et des élévations ainsi que sur l'esthétique des murs, d'abord des basiliques paléochrétiennes à une nef (une quarantaine d'exemplaires) et à trois nefs (six monuments), de la fin du ive s. au début du vi^e^ (ce type devant être supplanté au viie par les églises à coupole), puis des églises à plan central (de la fin du ve au viie s.) (217-262). M. A. Zarian a retracé l'évolution de la basilique à une nef à coupole depuis l'adaptation d'une coupole sur l'église des Saints-Pierre et -Paul à Zovouni (au ve-vi^e^ s.) jusqu'à Saint-Thaddée d'Aroutch (autrefois Talich ; 661-682) (pp. 467-481). M. T. Breccia Fratadocchi a traité d'un problème similaire pour les basiliques à trois nefs à coupole du vi^e^ s. jusqu'au xe (cathédrale d'Ani) (pp. 159-178). Il a aussi étudié l'église tétraconque de Saint-Jean de Mastara (qu'il date de la première moitié du viiie s. et non du vi^e^ comme Mme De Maffei : voir *supra*) et il l'a rapprochée des églises contemporaines de même type (Saint-Serge d'Artik, Voskepar, Saint-Grégoire au couvent de Haričavank) (pp. 179-193). M. T. Scalesse a

repris l'examen de la cathédrale de Mren (achevée en 639) (pp. 383-396). L'architecture de la fin du XIIe s. a été l'objet d'une leçon de M. A. Zarian sur l'église principale du monastère de Gošavank (1191-1196) avec son *jamatun* (1197) (pp. 483-492). La peinture a été présentée par Mme Nicole Thierry : au VIIe s. des sujets conformes à la tradition paléochrétienne universelle ont été traités d'une manière schématique ; dans les grands ensembles du Xe et du XIe s. s'accusent des manières différentes selon les régions (pp. 397-407). Mme Thierry a aussi retracé l'histoire de la miniature de l'époque paléochrétienne au XIVe s.

Architettura medievale armena. Roma-Palazzo Venezia 10-30 giugno 1968. Rome, De Luca, 1968. 1 vol. 21,5 × 23,5 cm, 167 pp., nombreux plans, 1 carte, 212 photographies sur 119 pll. Prix : 3.000 lires.

Tommaso BRECCIA FRATADOCCHI, *La Chiesa di S. Ejmiacin a Soradir. The Church of St. Ejmiacin at Soradir.* Rome, De Luca Editore, 1971. 1 vol. 21,5 × 27 cm, 89 pp., 81 figg., 1 carte (STUDI DI ARCHITETTURA MEDIOEVALE ARMENIA. STUDIES ON MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE. I) (texte en italien et en anglais).

Francesco GANDOLFO, *Chiese e cappelle armene a navata semplice dal IV al VII secolo.* Rome, De Luca Editore, 1973. 1 vol. 21,5 × 27 cm, 266 pp., 175 figg. sur 93 pll. (STUDI DI ARCHITETTURA MEDIOEVALE ARMENA. STUDIES ON MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE. II) (texte en italien et en anglais).

Maria D'ONOFRIO, *Le chiese di Dvin.* Rome, De Luca Editore, 1973. 1 vol. 21,5 × 27 cm, 122 pp., 107 figg. sur 57 pll. (STUDI DI ARCHITETTURA MEDIOEVALE ARMENA. STUDIES ON MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE. II) (texte en italien et en anglais).

Paolo CUNEO, *Le Basiliche di T'ux, Xncorgin, Pašvack', Hogeac'vank'. The Basilicae of T'ux, Xncorgin, Pašvack', Hoheac'vank'.* Rome, De Luca Editore, 1973. 1 vol. 21,5 × 27 cm, 130 pp., 88 figg. (STUDI DI ARCHITETTURA MEDIOEVALE ARMENA. STUDIES ON MEDIEVAL ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE. IV) (texte en italien et en anglais).

Notre connaissance des monuments arméniens s'est considérablement enrichie et précisée à la suite des missions accomplies par des architectes italiens de 1966 à 1973 en Arménie soviétique, dans l'E. de la Turquie et dans le N.-O. de l'Iran sous la direction scientifique de M. Geza de Francovich grâce à l'appui du Conseil national italien de la Recherche et sous le patronage de la section médiévale de l'Institut d'histoire de l'art de l'Université de Rome.

Une exposition qui s'est tenue au Palais de Venise en 1968 a eu pour but de faire connaître les relevés et les photographies exécutés au cours des deux premières missions accomplies en 1966 et 1967. Le catalogue nous apporte un recueil de plans accompagnés de notices descriptives avec les références bibliographiques nécessaires et de nombreuses photographies. Deux monuments de l'E. de la Turquie jusqu'alors totalement inédits y sont présentés : l'église en croix libre de Zibini (VIIe s.) et la basilique voûtée en berceau de Moujoumbar (IXe-Xe s.). D'autres étaient à peine connus. Le volume débute par des exposés sur : les arts de l'Arménie (Mme F. De Maffei), les architectes et les maîtres constructeurs de l'Arménie médiévale (M. H. Kh. Vahramian), les composantes religieuses et symboliques de l'architecture médiévale arménienne (M. T. Breccia Fratadocchi), l'architecture arménienne en général (M. P. Cuneo), puis dans sa première période (IVe-VIIe s., P. Cuneo) et enfin dans sa seconde période (IXe-XIVe s., E. Costa). Il faut encore noter une très précieuse carte des sites répartis dans les trois pays entre lesquels sont actuellement partagés les territoires de l'Arménie médiévale.

D'autre part, la collection des *Studi di Architettura Medioevale Armena* a été fondée pour présenter le nombre le plus grand possible d'édifices étudiés, avec un dossier copieux de plans, de coupes et de photographies.

Dans le premier volume, M. T. Br. Fr. a fait connaître l'église tétraconque à niches angulaires de Saint-Eǰmiacin de Soradir, à l'E. du lac de Van. Une analyse comparative poussée de caractères typologiques et stylistiques la lui fait dater de la première moitié du VIIe s., de la même époque que Sainte-Hripsimeh de Vagharshapat et que les églises dérivant immédiatement de celle-ci. Il l'identifie avec l'église de la Sainte-Croix de Aghbak, où auraient été conservées des tombes de la famille des Arzruni du IXe s. et du début du Xe. Ce type fut repris en Arménie et en Géorgie lors de la renaissance du Xe s. (l'exemple le plus célèbre étant l'église construite par Gagik I Arzruni dans l'île d'Aghtamar).

M. Fr. Gandolfo a présenté, avec de nombreux plans plus précis que ceux de ses devanciers, des églises et des chapelles à nef uniques qu'il a étudiées en Arménie soviétique en 1971 et 1972 dans la région historique de l'Ayrarat et dont il a essayé de préciser la chronologie en se fondant sur des critères tirés de l'architecture et du décor sculpté : 1. l'église du village de Garni (IVe s.) ; 2. la chapelle du village de Lowsakert (fin du IVe s.) ; 3. l'église de la Mère de Dieu au village d'Avan dans la région d'Aštarak (1re moitié du Ve s.) ; 4. la chapelle d'Eǰmiacin (fin du Ve s.) ; 5. la chapelle dite de Saint-Vardan près du village de Zovowni, avec un hypogée (reconstruite à la fin du Ve ou au début du VIe s.) ; 6. l'église du Sauveur

près du village de Šenik (VIe s.) ; 7. l'église près du village d'Elvard (milieu du VIe s.) ; 8. l'église du village de Karnowt (milieu du VIe s.) ; 9. la chapelle de Saint-Jean au village d'Avan près d'Erevan (VIe s.) ; 10. l'église du village d'Aṙājowł (fin du VIe, début du VIIe s.) ; 11. la chapelle dite de la Mère de Dieu à Aṙaǰowł (Ve s.) ; 12. l'église de la Mère de Dieu au couvent d'Astvacenkal, avec un martyrium (début du VIIe s.).

Des missions accomplies en 1971 et 1972 ont permis à M. D'Onofrio de reprendre, en l'étoffant de nombreuses comparaisons, l'étude des deux églises proches l'une de l'autre dans le quartier principal de Dvin, la florissante capitale de l'Arménie du IVe au IXe s. : 1. la cathédrale, — basilique à trois nefs —, de Saint-Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans les deux phases qu'elle a connues au Ve s. et dans son état de basilique à coupole avec des conques sur les longs côtés, qui a résulté de sa réédification, après l'incendie allumé par les Byzantins en 572, par Smbat Bagratuni à partir de 608 ; 2. l'église à une nef dédiée au saint martyr perse Yiztbuzit (= Sauvé par Dieu), mort en 553, et construite dans les dernières années du patriarcat de Nersès II (548-557). Le palais patriarcal voisin, élevé par le patriarche Gyut (461/5-478) doit être publié dans un prochain volume de la collection. M. D'O. a ajouté dans ce tome d'après le témoignage des historiens et les avis des érudits modernes, quelques considérations sur la basilique de Saint-Serge, aujourd'hui complètement disparue mais dont deux chapiteaux au décor de vannerie, datant du VIIe s., ont été découverts en 1907 à un endroit dont le souvenir s'est perdu.

Dans le quatrième volume M. P. C. a publié quatre basiliques du S.-O. de l'Arménie, situées en Turquie dans les *vilayet* de Bitlis et de Van. Trois se trouvent dans des villages proches l'un de l'autre, à T'ux (en turc Tuğ), Xncorgin (turc : Han Elmalı) et Pašvack' (turc : Paşa Elmalı ; l'église était peut-être dédiée aux Quarante Martyrs de Sébaste) à l'extrémité occidentale de la rive S. du lac de Van. La quatrième appartenait au couvent abandonné de Hogeac'vank' (on trouve aussi la transcription Hołoc'vank') (aujourd'hui Dermeryam kilisesi), plus au S., au S.-E. du lac. Ce sont des basiliques en pierres à une nef voûtée en berceau et à l'abside en arc outrepassé englobée dans un chevet rectangulaire. Elles se rattachent à un type qui a été étudié par M. Cuneo dans le *XX Corso... (1973)*, pp. 217-239. Mais elles offrent la particularité de présenter à l'intérieur des extensions latérales. A. Pašvack' et à Hogeac'vank' la nef centrale est flanquée sur chacun des deux longs côtés de compartiments voûtés transversalement ; ceux-ci ne se rencontrent que sur le côté S. de la nef de T'ux. M. P. C. trouve à ces partis des antécédents d'époque impériale romaine en Anatolie. A Xncorgin les compartiments se réduisent à des arcades sur demi-colonnes engagées dans les

murs de part et d'autre de la nef selon une formule largement représentée dans l'architecture du S. de l'Arménie. Les absides de Pašva'k et Hogeac'vank' étaient flanquées d'un compartiment au N. et au S. ; celle de T'ux, d'un seul compartiment au S., mais surmonté d'une petite chambre suivant un dispositif attesté dans plusieurs autres églises arméniennes. Ces basiliques semblent dater du ve s. ou du début du vi^e^.

La collection se clôturera par un fascicule de synthèse sur les questions relatives au style, à la chronologie, à l'origine de l'architecture médiévale de l'Arménie.

O. H. Khalpakhčian, *Sanahin. Architekturiji ansamblj Armenii X-XIII Vekov*, Moscou, Iskusstvo, 1973. 1 vol. 22,5 × 28,5 cm, 88 pp., 33 figg., 126 pll. 1 dépliant (texte russe avec un résumé en anglais).

M. Khalpakhčian a repris, en mettant l'accent sur les particularités techniques et esthétiques, l'étude de l'ensemble des constructions, conservées ou en ruines, de l'important couvent de Sanahin, qui devint à la fin du xe s. et au début du xie le grand centre spirituel du royaume de Tashir-Dzoraghet. L'église de la Vierge, construite vers 934, et celle du Sauveur, érigée sur l'ordre de Hosrovanuysh, femme du roi d'Ani Ashot III Bagratuni et terminée en 966, montrent l'adaptation, en Arménie, du plan byzantin en croix inscrite : il en fut de même de l'église, aujourd'hui en ruines, d'Akop à la fin du xe s. M. Khalpakhčian a fait ressortir aussi l'intérêt des autres bâtiments de ce monastère : chapelle circulaire, avec intérieur tétraconque, de Saint-Grégoire (dans les années 980), académie (fin du xe-début du xie s.), bibliothèque (construite sur l'ordre de la princesse Granush en 1063 ; chef-d'œuvre original de l'architecture médiévale de l'Arménie), *gavits* (équivalents arméniens de la *liti*) élevés, l'un en 1181 devant l'église du Sauveur, l'autre en 1211 devant celle de la Vierge ; etc.

Arpag Mekhitarian, *Trésors du Patriarcat arménien de Jérusalem.* (textes en versions arménienne, anglaise, française, arabe, et hébraique). Jérusalem, Patriarcat arménien, 1969. 1 vol. 18 × 21,5 cm, 44 pp. de texte français, 37 pll. en noir et blanc, 8 pll. en couleurs (Musée Helen et Edward Madrigian. Catalogue N° 1).

Ce catalogue d'une exposition qui a eu lieu aux Musées Royaux d'art et d'histoire de Bruxelles en 1969 comprend des notices précises (mais sans références bibliographiques) sur 47 manuscrits (de la fin du xe s. au xviiie, comportant surtout des tétraévangiles), 26 objets liturgiques tardifs (du xviie au xixe s. : calices, encensoirs, bras-reliquaires, croix, crosses doc-

torales, etc.), 11 vêtements sacerdotaux (XVIIe-XVIIIe s.), 4 lampes (en or, en argent ou en faïence), 1 porte en bois (1371) et des carreaux de faïence de Kutayha avec des sujets religieux, exécutés en 1719 par des céramistes arméniens d'Asie Mineure. Le catalogue est précédé d'introductions sur : l'histoire du peuple arménien (A. Mekhitarian), l'église arménienne (archevêque Tiran Nersoyan), le patriarcat arménien de Jérusalem (Avedis K. Sanjian), le monastère de Saint-Jacques, siège du patriarcat (Assadour Antreassian), l'art arménien (A. Mekhitarian) et la miniature arménienne (Mlle S. Der Nersessian a souligné l'intérêt des principaux manuscrits exposés mais en renvoyant à leur numéro d'inventaire et non à ceux du catalogue, ce qui rend plus difficile la lecture de ce texte plein d'enseignements et de notations subtiles sur l'originalité des œuvres présentées et leur place dans l'évolution du genre). On notera la présence de quatre manuscrits peints par le célèbre Thoros Roslin entre 1260 et 1266 (pour trois d'entre eux, dont il fut aussi le copiste, au siège patriarcal de Hromkla ; pour le quatrième à Sis). D'autres manuscrits montrent l'apparition en Cilicie, à la fin du XIIIe s., d'une nouvelle école portée à la dramatisation, à l'expressivité des gestes et à la vivacité des mouvements.

Géorgie

David MARSHALL LANG, *The Georgians*. Londres, Thames et Hudson, 1966. 1 vol. 15 × 21 cm, 244 pp., 49 figg., 32 pll. (ANCIENT PEOPLES AND PLACES. 51).

Comme le livre de Mlle S. Der Nersessian pour l'Arménie, celui de M. D. M. L. fournit d'utiles synthèses sur les civilisations qui se sont succédé en Géorgie depuis le paléolithique inférieur jusqu'à l'époque de la reine Tamar (1184-1213), avec l'évocation rapide de quelques prolongements ultérieurs. Un chapitre traite, pour le Moyen Age jusqu'au XIIe s., de l'architecture (y compris l'intéressante et originale architecture profane en bois) et des arts (sculpture sur pierre et sur bois, peinture, orfévrerie, émaux, céramique influencée du XIe au XIIIe s. par celle de l'Iran et de la Chine). M. M. L. a réagi contre les vues de J. Baltrušaitis, pour qui les constructeurs de l'Arménie et de la Géorgie, accordant trop de place à l'ornementation sculptée, n'auraient pas été des architectes dans le sens le plus élevé du terme.

XX Corso di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina. Ravenna 11-24 Marzo 1973. Ravenne, Longo editore, 1973. 1 vol. 17 × 24,5 cm, 494 pp., nombreuses figg. Prix : 8.000 lires.

Au *XX Corso*, outre les leçons consacrées à l'Arménie (*supra* pp. 482-483), d'autres se sont rapportées à la Géorgie. M. Vachtang Béridzé a traité des nombreux monuments de l'architecture paléochrétienne, depuis la seconde moitié du IVe s. (église du monastère de Nékressi) jusqu'au VIIe s. (types divers : basiliques à trois églises ou églises cloisonnées, églises cruciformes, tétraconques, basiliques à coupole) (pp. 63-86). Il en a dégagé les caractères principaux et s'est attaché plus particulièrement aux églises du Sion de Bolnissi (478-493), de Djvari à Mzkheta (586/7-604) et de Tsromi (626-634) (pp. 87-111). (Le texte de ces deux leçons a aussi paru en russe à Tbilissi en 1974 aux éditions Metsniéréba). M. Paolo Verzone a étudié les grandes églises géorgiennes du XIe s. (cathédrales de Kutaïsi, Mzkheta, Alaverdi ; église de Nikorzminda) et a souligné les ressemblances qu'elles offrent avec les églises romanes dans les domaines de l'architecture et du décor sculpté (pp. 423-446). Ce savant a aussi traité des spendides émaux géorgiens du VIIIe-IXe s. à la fin du XIe (pp. 447-465). Quant à la peinture médiévale géorgienne, comme Mme N. Thierry l'a bien montré dans son exposé d'ensemble, elle est «d'une abondance, d'une variété, d'une qualité surprenantes» et elle «témoigne à la fois d'une grande fidélité aux traditions chrétiennes primitives, de sa parenté avec le monde byzantin et de son appartenance au monde oriental et caucasien», mais «plus que la peinture murale, l'art des manuscrits nous renseigne sur l'iranisation profonde de la très chrétienne société géorgienne» (pp. 409-421).

Architettura georgiana IV-XVIII secolo. Bergamo, Palazzo della Regione, Piazza Vecchia, 28 giugno/ 21 luglio 1974. 1 fasc. 10 × 22 cm, 70 pp., nombreux plans. Prix : 500 lires.

V. Beridze, A. Alpago Novello et F. Bianchi, *Ricerca sull'architettura georgiana. Bibliografia*. Milan, Istituto di Materie Umanistiche, Facoltà di Architettura, 1974. 1 vol. 21 × 29 cm, V-32 pp. (Ricerca sull'Architettura Georgiana. 9).

Depuis 1971 l'«Istituto di Materie Umanistische» de la Faculté d'architecture de l'Ecole polytechnique de Milan a entrepris en Géorgie des recherches systématiques comparables à celles qui avaient été entamées en 1966 en Arménie. Il a organisé les 28, 29 et 30 juin 1974 un colloque à Bergame, à l'occasion duquel s'est tenue une exposition sur l'architecture géorgienne ; le catalogue nous fournit des notices et des plans pour une

bonne quarantaine de monuments ou ensembles de constructions depuis le Sion de Bolnisi (478-493) jusqu'au monastère fortifié d'Ananuri, dont les constructions s'échelonnent du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle. A la différence du catalogue de l'exposition de Rome sur l'architecture arménienne (cf. *supra*, p. 484), il ne donne pas de références bibliographiques.

La bibliographie a été présentée dans un volume spécial de la collection *Ricerca sull'architettura georgiana* (vol. 9). On peut y apporter des compléments, tels que : V. A. LEKVINADZE, *O postrojkach Justiniana v zapadnoj Gruzii* (sur les constructions de Justinien dans l'Ouest de la Géorgie) dans *Vizantijski Vremennik*, t. 34, 1973, pp. 179-186 ; V. A. LEKVINADZE, *Rannesredneve kovye pamjatniki Vašnari* (les constructions du Haut Moyen Age à Vašnari), dans *Sovietskaja Arkheologija*, 1972, 3, pp. 309-323 ; L. A. MATSULEVITCH, *Découvertes d'un pavement en mosaïque dans l'ancienne Pitiunt* (en russe), dans *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*, t. 4, 1956, pp. 146-153 ; L. A. MATSULEVITCH, *Mosaïques de Bir-al-Kuta et de Pitsunda*, dans *Vizantijski Vremennik*, t. 19, 1962, pp. 138-143 ; T. VELMANS, *Une image paléochrétienne rare au baptistère de Pitzunda*, dans les *Cahiers archéologiques*, t. 19, 1969, pp. 29-43.

Nicole THIERRY, *L'art monumental byzantin en Asie Mineure du XIe siècle au XIVe*, dans les *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, t. 29, 1975, pp. 75-111.

Nicole et Michel THIERRY, *Peintures du Xe siècle en Géorgie méridionale et leurs rapports avec la peinture byzantine d'Asie Mineure*, dans les *Cahiers archéologiques*, t. 24, 1975, pp. 73-113.

Dans le rapport qu'elle a présenté au symposium de Dumbarton Oaks sur le déclin de la civilisation byzantine en Asie Mineure (cf. *Byzantion*, t. 46, 1976, p. 547), Mme N. Th. a réservé une rubrique spéciale au royaume de Taoclardjétie, où «la continuité de l'art monumental s'est poursuivie ... à l'abri dans les hautes montagnes» et où «le nombre et la qualité des monuments édifiés permettent d'apprécier» par comparaison «l'importance du déclin de la civilisation byzantine en Asie Mineure» occupée par les Turcs.

C'est dans ce royaume de Taoclardjétie que se trouvaient les églises des importants monastères de Dört kilise et d'Işhan, dont N. et M. Th. ont étudié très attentivement les peintures dans leur article des *Cahiers archéologiques*. Ces peintures paraissent dater des années 960. Leurs programmes dénotent «une plus grande fidélité à l'esprit symbolique et dogmatique du christianisme primitif» que dans l'art byzantin. Les peintures d'Işhan peuvent être considérées comme un chef-d'œuvre de la renaissance macédonienne.

Vakhtang BERIDZE, *Quelques aspects de l'architecture géorgienne à coupole de la seconde moitié du Xe siècle à la fin du XIIIe*. Tbilissi, Editions Metsniéréba, 1976. 1 vol. 22 × 29 cm, 104 pp., 35 figg., 60 pll. (texte en russe et en français).

M. V. B. a publié, sous forme d'un volume, le substantiel rapport qu'il avait présenté au colloque de Bergame sur l'architecture de la période du second épanouissement de la civilisation médiévale en Géorgie, qui vit, surtout au Xe et au XIe s., la construction des monuments les plus importants. On renonça alors aux basiliques à trois nefs (dont les dernières datent des années 970), aux églises dites «à six absides» (dont les plus récentes sont celles de Katski et de Nikorzminda au début du XIe s.) et aux plans tétraconques. Le type principal, qui connut bien des variantes, est l'église de plan cruciforme allongé à coupole. Une tendance à passer du complexe au simple et à un équilibre mieux organisé, s'affirme dans l'évolution des plans, de la cathédrale d'Ochki (vers 960) à celle de Samtavro (1re moitié ou milieu du XIe s.). M. V. B. a très clairement mis en lumière l'originalité des églises géorgiennes de cette époque par rapport à celles de l'Arménie, de l'Empire byzantin, de la Russie kiévienne et de l'Europe romane. Cette originalité s'accuse notamment dans la netteté de l'articulation des volumes.

G. TCHOUBINACHVILI, *I Monumenti del tipo di Ǧvari*. Milan, Istituto di Materie Umanistiche, Facoltà di Architettura, Politecnico, 1974. 1 vol. 21 × 29 cm, 370 pp., 27 pll. (RICERCA SULL'ARCHITETTURA GEORGIANA. 14).

A l'occasion du Colloque de Bergame, l'«Istituto» a publié une traduction italienne de l'ouvrage du regretté G. Tchoubinachvili qui avait été édité en 1948 à Tbilisi (en russe avec un résumé en français) sur les monuments du type de Djvari. L'éminent savant y montrait que la grande église de la Croix de Djavri, commencée par Stépanoz I dans la dernière décennie du Ve s. et non au début du VIe, était l'expression architecturale significative d'un Etat en plein essor qui se dotait de sa propre culture et qu'elle avait été imitée dans plus d'une église légèrement postérieure.

Aneli VOLSKAÏA, *Rospisi Srednevekovikh Trapeziikh gruzii. (Peintures murales des réfectoires géorgiens médiévaux)*. Tbilisi, Izdatel'stvo «Metsniéréba», 1974. 1 vol. 23 × 29,5 cm, 169 pp., 10 figg., 50 pll. en noir et blanc, 3 pll. en couleurs (texte en russe avec un bref résumé en français).

Mme A. V. publie les peintures murales des réfectoires de trois monastères rupestres fondés au VIe s. en Kakhétie par saint David Garédja,

l'un des « 13 Pères syriens». Celles d'Oudabno, remontant au début du XIe s., sont d'une monumentalité austère, avec une répartition symétrique des scènes, et d'un coloris clair. A Bertoubani, dans les premières années du XIIIe s., au temps de la reine Thamar, le sens de la solennité dans la composition et l'abondance de l'iconographie se combinent avec un grand raffinement des couleurs, influencé par le style de la Géorgie centrale, ainsi qu'avec une harmonie poussée du dessin et un goût très vif pour les ornements, qui conduit à imiter des tissus de soie dans la niche de l'higoumène. Les peintures, plus endommagées, du réfectoire de Kolaguiri, dans la deuxième moitié du XIIIe s., témoignent d'un retour au coloris d'Oudabno et d'une fidélité maintenue aux schémas iconographiques propres à la tradition de l'école de peinture garédjienne, telle qu'elle se transmettait sans doute par l'intermédiaire des prescriptions d'un manuel.

E. L. PRIVALOVA, *Pavnissi*. Tbilissi, Metsniéréba, 1977. 1 vol. 23 × 29,5 cm, 162 pp., 35 dessins, 23 pll. (ACADÉMIE DES SCIENCES DE LA RSS DE GÉORGIE. INSTITUT G. TCHOUBINACHVILI D'HISTOIRE DE L'ART GÉORGIEN).

Les fresques de Saint-Georges de Pavnissi, peintes apparemment dans les années 1170-1180, comportent, outre une Déisis dans l'abside et les Grandes Fêtes, les portraits des donateurs et un cycle, assez bref, de la Vie du saint patron, dont plusieurs scènes auraient pu être élaborées en Géorgie même. Mme E. L. Pr. croit y déceler l'influence de la peinture profane et pense que ces fresques auraient été exécutées par le maître qui, au témoignage des textes, aurait décoré les palais de scènes de chasse et de triomphe.

Niko TSCHUBINASCHVILI, *Chandisi. (Das Reliefproblem am Beispiel einer Gruppe georgischer Stelenreliefs des letzten Viertels des V., VI. und der ersten Hälfte des VII. Jhs)*. Tbilisi, Izdatel'stvo «Metsniéréba», 1972. 1 vol. 22 × 29 cm, 125 pp., 95 pll. (AKADEMIJA NAUK GRUZINKOJ SSR. INSTITUT ISTORII GRUZINSKOGO ISKUSSTVA) (texte russe avec un bref résumé en allemand).

Partant des stèles de Chandisi et de Pantiani qui, au VIe s., étaient décorées de figures (Christ, Vierge, anges, saints), de motifs végétaux et ornementaux et qui étaient sommées de croix, M. N. Tsch. a suivi l'évolution du style des reliefs en Géorgie au-delà de la première moitié du VIIe s., contrairement à ce que pourrait laisser croire le sous-titre, jusqu'à la première moitié du XIe s. De nombreuses comparaisons peuvent être faites avec les

styles préromans de l'Europe occidentale jusqu'au IXe s., puis avec l'art roman. Au XIe s. les influences byzantines sont nettes.

Gaïane ALIBEGACHVILI, *Khudošestvennii Princip Illjustrirovanija Gruzinskoï Rukopisnoï Knigi XI- Načala XIII Vekov (Miniatures des manuscrits géorgiens des XIe-début XIIIe siècles).* Izdatel'stvo «Metsniéréba», 1973. 1 vol. 23 × 29,5 cm, 167 pp., 55 pll. en noir et blanc, 3 pll. en couleurs.

Mme G. Al. a étudié trois manuscrits géorgiens du Musée des Arts de la République de Géorgie de Tbilisi. Les 74 miniatures des fragments du Synaxaire de Zacharie de Valachkerti (A 648) furent exécutées dans le premier quart du XIe s. par des artistes grecs dont la manière rappelle celle des maîtres du Ménologe de Basile II. Les 7 miniatures du Triodion (A 734), dues à des Géorgiens travaillant dans la première motié du XIIe s. correspondent à l'essor culturel du pays, que dénote aussi la fondation d'une Académie auprès du monastère de Ghelati. Enfin les 13 miniatures des Homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze (A 109) attestent, au début du XIIIe s. que ce mouvement a atteint son plein épanouissement dans un style d'une grande monumentalité. L'originalité de la Géorgie ne se fait pas aussi nettement sentir dans la miniature qu'en architecture ou en sculpture. Elle y est toutefois perceptible à certains traits que Mme G. Al. a dégagés, comme : l'expressivité de la ligne, la discrétion du coloris.

Communications au IIe Symposium international sur l'art géorgien. Tbilissi 25-31 mai 1977. Brochures dactylographiées en offset sous couverture imprimée (sans illustration) de 14,5 × 20 cm, publiées par l'Institut Tschubinaschvili d'histoire de l'art géorgien (Académie des Sciences de la R. S. S. de Géorgie).

Plusieurs des communications faites à ce symposium, qui a réuni quelque 180 participants, ont été publiées sous forme de brochures séparées. Il m'a paru opportun de les regrouper par matières :

1. *Architecture* :

Vakhtang BERIDZE, *L'architecture religieuse géorgienne des IVe-VIIe siècles* (39 pp. ; remarquable synthèse de la constitution et de l'évolution des types architecturaux, mises en rapport avec la situation historique). Georg TSCHUBINASCHWILI (†), *Zu Anfangsformen der christlichen Kirche* (18 pp. ; dans ce texte, dont la publication est posthume, G. Tsch. soulignait la diversité des plans des premières églises en Géorgie et montrait

qu'ils contredisaient la thèse des plans basilicaux reservés aux églises paroissiales et des plans centraux affectés aux *martyria* ; il pensait que les plans centraux de la Géorgie se rattachaient à la tradition des habitations locales appelées *darbasi*).

Djurdje Bošković, *Réflexions sur les rapports entre l'architecture et la sculpture médiévales de la Géorgie et celles de la Méditerranée* (texte en russe et en français ; 6 pp. ; M. Dj. B. a dégagé, à grands traits, les particularités de la Géorgie et les connexions qui la relient à l'ensemble du bassin méditerranéen).

Charles Delvoye, *Architecture de la Géorgie et architecture de l'Empire byzantin à l'époque paléochrétienne* (10 pp. ; les parentés s'accusent surtout avec la région des hauts plateaux du centre de l'Anatolie).

Dm. Tumanischwili, *Zur Typologie der orientalisch-christlichen Baukunst* (12 pp.).

Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann, *Zur Entwicklung der Pfeilerbasilika : Die Basilika Sion von Bolnissi* (14 pp., dans ce texte, que son absence au Symposium ne lui a pas permis de présenter, Fr. W. D. soutient que le système des piliers cruciformes et des voûtes du Sion de B. est une création originale de la Géorgie et il conteste toute influence de basiliques syriennes ; la basilique d'Urbnisi s'expliquerait plus par une évolution locale que par une imitation des basiliques syriennes aux larges arcades, qui ont, au contraire, fait sentir leur action en Arménie, par exemple à Ereruk).

R. Gverdtsiteli, *On the Original Form of the Vaulted Roofing of the Nave and of the Roof of Sioni Church at Bolnisi* (5 pp.).

R. Mepissaschwili, *Die Haupteigenheiten der Entwicklung der Drei-Kirchen Basiliken Georgiens* (20 pp. ; ce type, caractéristique de la Géorgie, fit son apparition au VIe s. à Kvemo-Bolnissi et à Vanati, se développa au VIIIe s. et se maintint jusqu'au XIIIe-XIVe s., où on le rencontre à Bediani).

M. M. Astratian, *L'architecture des églises géorgiennes et arméniennes avec un sanctuaire rectangulaire à l'intérieur* (12 pp.).

Jean Michel Thierry, *L'église de Čengelli köy* (10 pp. avec un plan ; cette église du vilayet de Kars est une restauration ou une reconstruction, sans doute exécutée dans les années 1030, d'une église au plan en croix libre, bâtie peut-être à l'époque pré-arabe, peut-être un peu plus tard, et ornée de sculptures qui figuraient des scènes évangéliques selon l'iconographie paléochrétienne).

W. Djobadze, *The Evidence of Georgian Masons in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes* (13 pp. ; l'église dont on voit les ruines près du

village de Sürütme sur le versant méridional du Musadağı, dans le massif de l'Amanus, serait celle de Dzeli Chorebisa, — l'Eglise de la Sainte-Croix —, construite, à l'initiative de David Djibisdze à partir de 1035 par des architectes et des maçons géorgiens, qui auraient peut-être appartenu au même atelier que celui qui travailla à l'église de Samtavisi ; M. W. Dj. relève aussi l'intervention d'artisans géorgiens dans la sculpture architectonique du monastère de la Vallée des Roseaux et du monastère de Saint-Barlaam sur le Mont Kasios).

M. N. Lojkine, *Kamennaïa Altarnaïa Pregrada Khrama N° 1 Il'ičevskogo Gorodiša XII-XIII B. B. Otradnenskom Raïone Krasnodarskogo Kraïa* (Chancel en pierre, église n° 1 d'Illitch, Cité antique, XIIe-XIIIe siècles, District d'Otradnoe, région de Krasnodar) (texte en russe et en français) (6 pp. ; dans cette communication dont le contenu a dépassé ce que le titre annonçait, M. N. L. a montré, par l'exemple de trois églises d'Illitch que des artisans géorgiens avaient travaillé en Alanie occidentale sur les versants N.-O. du Caucase aux XIIe-XIIIe s. pour construire des églises et les décorer de sculptures).

E. Neubauer, *Untersuchungen zur georgischen und deutschen Portalarchitektur des Mittelalters* (11 pp. E. N. croit pouvoir reconnaître dans les portails romans d'Allemagne de très nettes influences de l'art géorgien, dont la connaissance se serait transmise par l'intermédiaire de dessins).

E. Csemegi-Tompos, *Contribution to the Confrontation of Architectures in the Caucasus Region, in the Carpathian Bassin and in Dalmatia* (23 pp. ; insiste sur l'originalité des églises «à six absides» ou hexaconques en Hongrie).

2. *Peinture* :

A. Volskaïa, *Les écoles de peinture de la Géorgie médiévale* (19 pp. ; écoles des monastères rupestres de David-Garedjà et de Svanétie se constituant aux Xe-XIe s. et durant jusqu'aux XIIIe-XIVe s.).

J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Recherches sur les programmes décoratifs des églises médiévales en Géorgie en relation avec la peinture monumentale byzantine* (28 pp. ; de Tsromi, au VIIe s., jusqu'à l'église de la Vierge à Nabatchevi, dont les peintures sont datées de 1412-1431 ; Mme L.-D. conclut que «la Géorgie a joué un rôle considérable, tant par l'adoption de certaines formules byzantines que par le maintien de ses traditions originales»).

E. PRIVALOVA, *La peinture monumentale géorgienne à la limite des XIIe-XIIIe siècles* (25 pp. ; de nombreuses monuments attestent que la peinture a atteint alors un niveau exceptionnellement élevé).

Nicole THIERRY, *Les peintures de l'église Saint-Grégoire de Tigran Honenc' à Ani (1215)* (13 pp. ; cette communication a utilement complété celle de Mme Privalova, qui, faute d'une documentation suffisante, avait laissé de côté cet ensemble, monument capital de l'art géorgien en milieu arménien, dont «le programme est ... à la fois fidèle aux traditions byzantines et aux traditions géorgiennes» et où Tigrane Honenc', bien que chalcédonien, a marqué son attachement à ses origines arméniennes en faisant illustrer la vie de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur).

A. OVTCHINNIKOV, *La peinture d'Atchi en tant que témoignage des rapports existant entre les centres spirituels de l'Orient chrétien du «Monde byzantin»* (21 pp. ; les peintures de l'église Saint-Georges d'Atchi, à la fin du XIIIe s., auraient été exécutées par deux peintres géorgiens et deux autres peintres d'origine «cappadocienne» ou, plus largement, «byzantine»).

L. CHERVACHIDZE, *Peinture murale de l'église de Lykhne* (16 pp. ; ces fresques auraient été exécutées vers le milieu du XIVe s. par trois peintres, l'un plus conservateur, les deux autres plus novateurs ; tous trois seraient vraisemblablement des artistes locaux influencés par l'école de Constantinople).

I. LORDKIPANIDZE, *La peinture murale de Tsalendjikha. Peintre : Cyr Manuel Eugenikos* (16 pp. ; I. L. a entrepris une étude extrêmement approfondie du programme et du style de ce célèbre ensemble exécuté aux environs de 1390 par le peintre Manuel Eugénikos, venu de Constantinople, et ses aides. La campagne photographique menée en 1976 nous permet d'espérer une publication digne de ce monument important du style des Paléologues, qui exerça son influence sur le développement ultérieur de la peinture géorgienne).

L. M. EVSEEVA, *Rospisi XIV Veka v Sobore Monast'ria Zarzma (Istoki Ikonographii i Stilia)* (Peintures murales du XIVe s. dans la cathédrale du monastère de Zarzma. Sources de l'iconographie et du style (en russe) ; 12 pp.).

I. R. KHIPSHIDZE, *Some Specific Image Features of Archangels in the Medieval Painting of Svaneti* (7 pp.).

L. MAVRODINOVA, *Particularités iconographiques communes dans la peinture monumentale médiévale de la Géorgie et de la Bulgarie* (13 pp. ; L. M. a rappelé que le monastère de Bačkovo avait été fondé par un Géorgien et

que des écrivains géorgiens y avaient vécu et travaillé ; des possibilités de contact existaient aussi à l'Athos).

Marina VACHNADZE, *Certain Specific Features of a Group of 16th Century Kakhetian Murals and their Chronology* (15 pp. ; les fresques exécutées à Saint-Jean Baptiste d'Alvani, l'Assomption de la Vierge à Nekresi, la Nativité de la Vierge à Akhali Shuamta et aux Archanges de Gremi pourraient être dues à des peintres que le roi Levan (1520-1577) aurait fait venir de Grèce).

G. BABIĆ, *Les fondateurs d'églises et les fresques du XIVe siècle en Serbie* (11 pp.).

3. *Miniatures et icones* :

Gaïane ALIBEGACHVILI, *Miniatjurinaïa i Stankovaïa Živopisi Gruzii XI-Načala XIII vv. (Istoki i Puti Razvitia)* (Enluminures et peinture de chevalet de la Géorgie des XIe-début du XIIIe s. Sources et voies de développement) (en russe) (16 pp.).

Elena MATCHAVARIANI, *Gruppa Gruzinskich ukrašennich Rukopiseï Pervoï Treti XI Veka, Prinadležašaïa k Konstantinopoliskoï Khudožestvennoï Škole* (Groupe de manuscrits géorgiens enluminés appartenant à l'école d'art de Constantinople) (en russe) (10 pp.).

O. PODOBELOVA, *Programma Dekora Gelatskogo Evangeliia Kak Otraženne Ideïi'ch Dviženni Vtoroï Polovini XII Veka* (Programme du décor de l'Évangile de Ghélati en tant que reflet des mouvements d'idées de la seconde moitié du XIIe s.) (en russe) (17 pp.).

Tjunde VELI, *Vostočiie Elementi v Miniatjurach Biblii Admonta* (Éléments orientaux dans les enluminures de la Bible d'Admont) (en russe) (9 pp.).

4. *Sculpture* :

Natela ALADASCHVILI, *Nekotorie osovennosti Gruzinskoï Fasadnoï Skul'pturii X-XI Vekov* (Quelques particularités des sculptures de façades géorgiennes des Xe-XIe siècles) (en russe) (13 pp.).

N. TCHOUBINACHVILI, *Sculpture sur bois en Géorgie à la fin du Xe et du premier tiers du XIe s.* (18 pp. ; cette étude qui concerne surtout les portes est suivie d'une liste des objets sculptés en bois).

G. WAGNER, *L'image équestre du guerrier dans la sculpture médiévale de Géorgie et de la Russie ancienne (Origines)* (15 pp.).

M. ANGOULADZE, *Sur l'histoire des relations d'art géorgien-sassanide* (7 pp. ; les ailes déployées et enrubannées, de part et d'autre d'une croix, dans

la basilique de Tsilkani — fin du ve s., 1re moitié du vi^e^ — apparaissent comme l'adaptation locale d'un motif sassanide).

5. *Arts somptuaires* :

Al. V. Bank, *K Probleme «Konstantinopoli i Načionaliie Školi» v Malich Formach Iskusstva (Sviazi s Gruzneï)* (A propos du problème «Constantinople et les écoles nationales» dans les art mineurs : liens avec la Géorgie) (en russe) (10 pp.).

Russudan Kenia, *Treibarbeitkunstwerkstätten Swanetiens (XII-XIII Jahrhunderte)* (17 pp.).

K. Matchabeli, *Les traditions de l'art du repoussé géorgien au Haut Moyen Age* (13 pp. ; K. M. a étudié la formation de l'art du repoussé géorgien aux viiie-ixe s.).

Le rédacteur de cette chronique remercie vivement les auteurs et les éditeurs qui veulent bien lui faciliter la tâche en envoyant directement leurs publications à son adresse personnelle : Charles Delvoye, Professeur à l'université de Bruxelles, 76, avenue des Ortolans, B-1170 Bruxelles, Belgique.

Charles Delvoye.

LA BYZANTINOLOGIE SOVIÉTIQUE EN 1972

Sujets traités aux congrès et conférences

K. A. Osipova, *Vizantinovedenie na XIII Meždunarodnom kongresse istoričeskich nauk* - «La byzantinologie au XIIIe congrès international des sciences historiques», VV, 33 (1972), 251-256. Z. V. Udalcova, K. A. Osipova, *XIV Meždunarodnyj kongress vizantinistov* - «Le XIVe congrès international d'études byzantines», V. I (1972), n° 4, 177-180. R. A. Nasledova, *XIV Meždunarodnyj kongress vizantinistov v Buchareste* - «Le XIVe congrès international des byzantinistes à Bucarest», VV, 33 (1972), 266-277. N. Murgoulia, *XIV Meždunarodnyj kongress vizantinologov* - «Le XIVe congrès international d'études byzantines:, VON (1972), série hist., n° 2, 161-165 (en géorgien). Z. G. Samodurova, *Devjataja vsesijuznaja vizantinovedceskaja sessija v Erevane* - «9e Session de byzantinologie soviétique à Erevan», VV, 33 (1972), 256-266.

Travaux concernant les byzantinistes

N. Usačev, *Alexandre Petrović Djakonov. Social'no-ekonomičeskoe razvitie Rossii i zarubežnych stran* - « A. P. Djakonov. Le développement social et économique de la Russie et des pays étrangers», Smolensk, 1972, 271-275. A. P. Djakonov (31-X-1873 - I.VIII.1943), syriologue et byzantiniste renommé, auteur de travaux sur Jean d'Ephèse, sur les incursions slaves à Byzance, sur les dèmes et les partis du cirque (partisan de la théorie dite «des quartiers»). S. E. Kolandžjan, *Nikolaj Iorga i ego trudy po armenovedeniju* - «Nicolas Iorga et ses travaux arménologiques», VON (1972), n° 8, 42-51, portrait (en arménien).

Problèmes généraux d'histoire byzantine

G. K. Sadretdinov, *K voprosu o rešenii problemy perechoda ot antičnosti k srednim vekam v buržuaznoj istoriografii 20-30-ch godov XX veka*

- «Du problème de la transition de l'antiquité au moyen âge dans l'historiographie bourgeoise des années 20-30 du XXe s.», 211 (1972), 95-115, Panorama des travaux de F. Lot, R. Latouche, G. I. Bratianu, L. Halphen, L. B. Moss, etc. M. Ja. SJUZJUMOV, *Dofeodal'nyj period* - «La période préféodale», ADSV, 8, 1972, 3-41. Selon Sjuzjumov, la période préféodale est un moment historique à part, transition entre un régime esclavagiste et le moyen âge dans les pays, qui se trouvaient directement ou non, sous l'influence de la culture élevée d'une société esclavagiste en décadence. Dans la société de la basse antiquité, deux tendances se dégagent — l'une menant à l'affermissement des petites propriétés, l'autre, tendant au développement des grandes propriétés terriennes. Toutes deux menaient à la féodalité, mais la lutte fut longue (à Byzance jusqu'au IXe s.). Primitivement (sous Phokas), l'aristocratie terrienne avait été battue, ce qui renforça les petits propriétaires et l'organisation des paysans. Par la suite, le système féodal s'installe à Byzance, moins par la violence que par une voie «légale» — achat global de terres.

A. P. NOVOSEL'CEV, V. T. PAŠUTO, L. V. ČEREPNIN, *Puti razvitija feodalizma* - «Les voies du développement de la féodalité» (Transcaucasie - Asie Centrale - Russie - Bords de la Baltique), Moscou, 1972, Essai de typologie des processus de la genèse de la féodalité, basé en particulier sur une analyse socio-économique du développement des voisins immédiats de Byzance (Arménie, Géorgie - peuplades turques - Russie).

Histoire sociale et économique de Byzance
Forces de production

E. P. NAUMOV, *Srednevekovyje istočniki o razvitii proizvoditel'nych sil na Balkanach* - «Sources médiévales concernant le développement de la production dans les Balkans (fin XIIIe-1re moitié XIVe s.), SIBI, 24-33. L'essor de l'économie en Dalmatie méridionale et dans les régions avoisinantes (fin XIIIe-1re moitié XIVe s.).

Relations agraires

Ks. V. CHVOSTOVA, *Nekotoryje voprosy primenenija količestvennych metodov pri izučenii social'no-ekonomičeskich javlenij srednevekov'ja* - «A propos de l'application des méthodes quantitatives à l'étude des phénomènes sociaux et économiques du moyen âge» (d'après les sources byzantines des XIIIe-XIVe s.), Moscou, 1972, 15-88 (avec résumé en français). Mlle Ch-

vostova poursuit l'analyse quantitative de l'histoire agraire de Byzance (cf. *Byz.*, 41, 1971, p. 522 sqq.). L'article analyse la situation de 1255 parèques, d'après des recensements de Macédoine méridionale de la première moitié du XIVe s. L'auteur constate 1) l'absence de corrélation entre la possession d'une parcelle arable «personnelle» et celle de bêtes de trait sauf dans quelques villages où les paysans avaient des parcelles importantes ; 2) le maintien des principes fondamentaux de l'imposition de la population dépendante et non privilégiée, caractéristiques pour le Bas Empire romain, mais aussi l'abandon de cette pratique dans une série de villages ; 3) la structure de l'impôt ne dépend pas de tous les objets figurant dans les inventaires ; 4) la structure «basse» de l'immunité, c.-à-d. l'absence d'une série rigide de privilèges, constituant l'immunité en tant que système cohérent.

V. A. SMETANIN, *O statuse nekotorych kategorij parikov v Pozdnej Vizantii* - «Du statut de certaines catégories de parèques à Byzance», VV, 33 (1972), 7-22. De la différence entre les parèques des monastères, des pronoiaires et de l'état.

La ville et le commerce à Byzance

V. N. GABAŠVILI, *Bliznevostočnyj gorod v rannem srednevekovje* - «Les villes du Proche Orient au début du moyen âge», 2, Tbilisi, 1972, 5-72 (en géorgien avec résumé en russe). La continuité des cités antiques du Proche Orient est liée au renforcement du «secteur esclavagiste», à l'époque de l'invasion arabe.

I. F. FICKMAN, *Čislennost' naselenija pozdnerimskogo Oksirincha* - «Nombre d'habitants d'Oxyrynchos à l'époque romaine», VDI (1972), n° 3, 178-184. L'auteur l'évalue entre 15 et 25.000 hommes.

V. A. SMETANIN, *O nekotorych aspektach social'no-ekonomičeskoj struktury pozdnevizantijskogo goroda* - «Quelques aspects de la structure sociale et économique de la cité byzantine à l'époque tardive», ADSV, 8 (1972), 108-119. Les sources des XIIIe-XVe s. attestent 55 sortes d'artisanat rural et 84 d'artisanat urbain.

M. N. ŠITIKOV, *Torgovlja prodovol'stviem v Konstantinopole i ego okrestnostjach v pervoj polovine XV v.* - «Le commerce des denrées alimentaires à Constantoniple et aux environs dans la première moitié du XVe s.» (d'après les livres de comptes de Giacomo Badoer), ADSV, 8 (1972), 120-127. La modification de l'assortiment des denrées alimentaires aux XIVe et XVe s. reflète la métamorphose de Constantinople, capitale d'empire, en centre de transit.

A. A. Ierusalimskaja, *K složeniju školy chudožestvennogo šelko-tkačestva v Sogde* - «A propos de l'école de tissage artistique des soieries de Sogdiane», *Srednjaja Asija i Iran*, Leningrad, 1972, 5-56 ill. Parallèlement, l'auteur pose le problème de l'influence byzantine sur les motifs des soieries de Sogdiane.

Rapports sociaux

M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, *O ponjatii «trudjaščijsja» v Vizantii* - «La notion de «travailleur» à Byzance», VV, 33 (1972), 3-6. Dans les sources du xe s. le mot πένης signifie «travailleur» ; par la suite, il acquiert le sens de «pauvre, mendiant».

G. A. Lebedeva, *Raby i problemy rabstva v kodeksach Feodosija i Justiniana* - «Esclaves et esclavage dans les codes de Théodose et de Justinien». Résumé de thèse, Leningrad, 1972, 26 p. (rotaprint). Au début, la société byzantine garde un caractère esclavagiste malgré une série de modifications (l'instabilité croissante des sources d'esclavage, pratique plus large de l'affranchissement d'esclaves, usage plus étendu de diverses formes d'esclavage temporaire). Ce n'est que sous Justinien que la législation tend à limiter l'esclavage.

L. G. Turkina, *K voprosu o social'nom sostave i strukture pozdnerimskogo plebsa po kodeksu Feodosija* - «Composition sociale et structure de la plèbe d'après le code de Théodose», *Nekotorye voprosy vseobščej istorii*, fasc. 6. Čeljabinsk, 1971, 118-131 (1). A la fin du ive s. et au début du ve s. la plèbe était une classe à part, au-dessus des esclaves et des colons. Elle se partageait en 3 groupes : 1) ceux qui possédaient des biens meubles et immeubles ; 2) ceux qui travaillaient à la production ; 3) ceux qui étaient dénués de tout moyen et vivaient d'aumônes.

A. A. Čekalova, *Senatorskaja aristokratija Konstantinopolja v pervoj polovine VI v.* - «L'aristocratie sénatoriale à Constantinople dans la première moitié du vi^e^ s.», VV, 33 (1972), 12-32. La différenciation entre l'aristocratie provinciale et celle de la capitale n'est pas très nette au vi^e^ s. Parmi les sénateurs, il y avait des descendants de l'aristocratie romaine (peu nombreux), des aristocrates qui s'étaient élevés aux ive-ve s. et des *homines novi* (parents de l'empereur, administrateurs capables, chefs d'armée). Leur richesse est constituée de terres, de maisons, d'ateliers et de biens meubles.

(1) Omis dans le compte rendu précédent.

On n'observe pas de changements nets dans la première moitié du VIe s.

M. A. POLJAKOVSKAJA, *K voprosu o social'nych protivoréčijach v pozdnevizantijskom gorode* - «Des contradictions sociales dans la cité byzantine de basse époque» (d'après Alexis Makrembolites), ADSV, 8 (1972), 95-107. L'auteur souligne l'abîme séparant les riches et les pauvres à Byzance au XIVe s. La notion d'égalité, exprimée par Makrembolitès, dépasse les cadres habituels de la morale chrétienne.

Relations sociales et économiques chez les Slaves méridionaux

L. V. GORINA, *Social'no-ekonomičeskie otnošenija vo vtorom Bolgarskom carstve* - «Relations sociales et économiques dans le second royaume Bulgare», Moscou, 1972, 159 pp. Les particularités de la féodalité bulgare ont leur racines dans une forte influence byzantine. L'état Bulgare assumait un droit de propriété suprême (impôts recueillis par l'état sur toutes les terres, distribution des impôts aux seigneurs, droit de retour des terres au fond gouvernemental en cas de décès du propriétaire sans héritiers mâles). Un modèle byzantin était à la base du système de direction. La monnaie byzantine avait cours. Cf. le compte rendu de L. G. LITAVRIN (VI, 1973, n° 12, 158-161) qui combat la thèse de l'état propriétaire des terres, à Byzance comme en Bulgarie.

M. M. FREIDENBERG, *Derevnja i gorodskaja žizn' v Dalmacii XIII-XV v.* - «La campagne et la vie urbaine en Dalmatie aux XIIIe-XVe s.», Kalinin, 1972, 253 p. (rotaprint). E. P. NAUMOV, *Iz istorii feodal'noj zemelnoj sobstvennosti v Serbii vo vtoroj polovine XIV v.* - «A propos de l'histoire de la propriété terrienne féodale en Serbie dans la deuxième moitié du XIVe s., Sl. Ros. 55-63.

E. P. NAUMOV, *K istorii feodal'noj soslovnoj terminologii drevnej Rusi i južnoslavjanskich stran* - «A propos de la terminologie féodale de corps dans l'ancienne Russie et les pays Slaves méridionaux», IISBN, 223-236. Le terme «boljare» dans les pays slaves méridionaux aux XIIe-XIIIe s.

Organisation de l'état

I. P. MEDVEDEV, *Imperija i suverenitet v Srednie veka* - «L'empire et la Souveraineté au moyen âge» (d'après l'histoire de Byzance et de quelques pays limitrophes), Leningrad, 1972, 412-424. La souveraineté de Byzance n'impliquait pas une atteinte aux limites territoriales des souverains locaux,

mais elle jouait le rôle d'arbitre suprême dans la vie internationale. Le «caractère fictif» des prétentions byzantines a varié selon l'époque et les peuples.

I. P. MEDVEDEV, *K voprosu o principach vizantijskoj diplomatii nakanune padenija imperii* - «Des principes de la diplomatie byzantine à la veille de la chute de l'empire», VV, 33 (1972), 129-139. Organisation des ambassades et des problèmes posés aux diplomates. Comme dans l'article ci-dessus, l'auteur avance la thèse du maintien de l'idée universelle (suprématie de l'empereur), même dans les relations avec les Turcs.

V. A. ARUTJUNOVA, *Iz istorii severo-vostočnych pograničnych oblastej Vizantijskoj imperii v XI v.* - «Questions d'histoire à propos des régions frontières nord-est de l'empire Byzantin au XIe s.», IFŽ (1972), n° 1, 91-102 (avec résumé en arménien). Les limites territoriales du thème d'Ibérie ont été restreintes dans les années 70 du XIe s. Jusqu'à 1048 c'était essentiellement des Grecs qui gouvernaient le thème, après 1048, ce furent des représentants de l'aristocratie chalcédonite d'Arménie.

V. KOPALIANI, *K voprosu o kuropalate «vsego Vostoka»* - «A propos du curopalate de tout l'Orient», VOON (1972), série hist., n° 3, 171-176 (en géorgien).

V. P. GRAČEV, *Serbskaja gosudarstvennost' v X-XIV vv.* - «Le système de l'état serbe aux Xe-XIVe s.», (Critique de «l'organisation des župas»), Moscou, 1972, 332 p.

Droit

I. B. NOVICKIJ, *Osnovy rimskogo graždanskogo prava* - «Les fondements du droit civil romain», 3e ed., Moscou, 1972, 296 p.

Le Petit nomokanon, Tbilisi, 1972, 154 p. (en géorgien ; résumé en russe). Code canonique d'Euthyme Mtacmideli à la fin du Xe s.

E. P. NAUMOV, *K istoriografii Zakonnika Stefana Dušana* - «Historiographie du code d'Etienne Dušan», SI.BI, 219-228.

Ja. N. ŠČAPOV, *Knjažeskie ustavy i cerkov' v Drevnej Rusi XI-XV vv.* - «Les chartes princières et l'église dans la Russie ancienne des XIe-XVe s.», Moscou, 1972, 340 p.

Histoire politique

L. D. SANIKIDZE, *Rimskaja imperija* - «L'empire romain», IIe partie : L'époque du Bas Empire, Tbilisi, 1972, 127 p. (en géorgien).

A. M. REMENNIKOV, *Istočniki po istorii vojn plemen Podunav'ja s Rimom III-IV vv.-n.e.* - «Les sources concernant l'histoire des guerres entre les peuples danubiens et Rome aux IIIe-IVe s. après J.-C.», Kazan, 1972, 213-248 ; du même auteur : *Zapadno-evropejskaja buržuaznaja istoriografia o bor'be plemen Podunav'ja s Rimom v III-IV vv.- n.e.*, «Historiographie bourgeoise occidentale concernant la lutte des peuples danubiens contre Rome aux IIIe-IVe s. après J.-C.», Kazan, 1972, 172-178.

V. T. SIROTENKO, *Bor'ba Zapadnoj Rimskoj imperii i Vizantii za prefekturu Illirii v 395-425 gg. i ee posledstvija* - «La lutte, entre l'empire romain d'Occident et Byzance pour la préfecture d'Illyrie en 395-425 et ses conséquences», ADSV, 8 (1972), 73-88.

G. G. LITAVRIN, *Vosstanie v Konstantinopole v aprele 1042 g.* - «La révolte d'avril 1042 à Constantinople», VV, 33 (1972), 33-46. Attitude des diverses classes sociales (sénateurs, aristocratie de province, marchands et usuriers) à l'égard du gouvernement de Michel V. La révolte de 1042 résultait d'une profonde crise générale du régime bureaucratique de l'autocratie.

Les peuples Slaves

V. P. PETROV, *Etnogenz slovjan. Džerala, etapi rozvitku, problematika* - «Ethnogenèse des Slaves - Sources, étapes du développement et problématique», Kiev, 1972, 214 p. (en ukrainien). F. P. FILIN, *Proischoždenie russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo jazykov. Istoriko-dialektologičeskij očerk* - «L'origine du russe, de l'ukrainien et du bielorusse - Esquisse historique et dialectologique», Leningrad, 1972, 656 p. (Cf. le compte rendu de S. I. KOTKOV, *Izvestija AN SSSR. Otdelenije literatury i jazykd*, 31, 1972, fasc. 4, 383-385). F. P. FILIN, *K probleme proischoždenija slavjanskich jazykov* - «Problème de l'origine des langues slaves», VJaz (1972), n° 5, 3-11.

I. S. VINOKUR, *Lesostepnye plemena II-V vv. n.e. i ich rol' v istorii Jugo-Vostočnoj Evropy* - «Les peuples de la steppe coupée de forêts aux IIe-Ve s. après J.-C. et leur rôle dans l'histoire de l'Europe du Sud-Est», S.A. (1972), n° 4, 131-144 (avec résumé en français) ; du même auteur : *Istorija ta kul'tura černjachivs'kich plemen Dnistro-Dniprovs'kogo mežirečcja II-V st. n.e.* - «Histoire et culture des peuplades de Černiakhovo entre le Dniestr et le Dnieper aux IIe-Ve s. après J.C.», Kiev, 1972, 180 p. (en ukrainien).

I. A. RAFALOVIČ, *Slavjane VI-IX vekov v Moldavii* - «Les Slaves en Moldavie aux VIe-IXe s.», Kichinev, 1972, 244 p. ; E. A. RIKMAN,

Nekotorye tradicii černjachovskoj kul'tury v pamjatnikach VI-X vv. v nizov'jach Dnestra i Dunaja - «Quelques traditions de la culture de Černiakovo dans les monuments des VIe-Xe s. dans le bas Dniestr et le bas Danube». I.I.S.B.N., 29-45 ; du même auteur : *Vopros datirovki importnych veščej v pamjatnikach plemen černjachovskoj kul'tury Dnestrovsko-Prutskogo meždureč'ja* - «Le problème de la datation des objets importés dans les monuments des peuplades de Černiakhovo entre le Dniestr et le Prut», SA (1972), n° 4, 84-101 (avec résumé en français).

V. D. Baran, *Ranni slov'jani miz Dnistrom i Prip'jattju* - «Les Slaves primitifs entre le Dniestr et la Pripiat'», Kiev, 1972, 244 p. (en ukrainien) ; V. V. Sadov, *Formirovanie slavjanskogo naselenija Srednego Podneprov'ja* - «La formation de la population Slave dans la région centrale du Dnieper», SA (1972), n° 4, 119-130 (avec résumé en français). O. M. Prichodnijuk, *Slov'jans'ke naselennja Seredn'ogo Podnistrov'ja naperedodni utvorennja Kyivs'koi Rusi* - «La population slave dans la région centrale du Dniestr avant la formation de la Russie Kiévienne», *Ukrains'kyi istoryčnyi žurnal* (1972), n° 2, 71-76.

V. D. Koroljuk, *Nekotorye itogi i perspektivy istoriko-slavističeskich issledovanij v oblasti medievistiki* - «Quelques bilans et perspectives des recherches historiques slaves dans le domaine médiéval», VISL, 3-8 ; du même auteur, *Osnovnye problemy formirovanija rannefeodal'noj gosudarstvennosti i narodnostej slavjan Vostočnoj i Central'noj Evropy* - «Problèmes fondamentaux de la formation de l'état primitif féodal et des nationalités chez les Slaves d'Europe Orientale et Centrale», IISBN, 7-28.

E. P. Naumov, *Dve kotorskie gramoty Stefana Dušana* - «Deux chartes de Kotor d'Etienne Dušan», VISL, 9-19, Ja. N. Scapov, *Pervonačal'nyj sostav Rašskoj kormčej knigi 1305 g.* - «Composition primitive du nomocanon de Raš de 1305», Moscou, 1972, 140-147.

A. P. Každan, *Slavjane v sostave gospodsvujuščego klassa Vizantijskoj imperii XI-XII vv.* - «Les Slaves dans la classe dominante de l'empire byzantin aux XIe-XIIe s.», Sl. Ros., 32-40. Leur rôle est important au XIe s., par contre, ils semblent avoir été expulsés de l'élite byzantine après Alexis I (à l'exception des immigrés slaves). Il est possible que leur rôle grandisse de nouveau sous Andronic I et les Anges.

A. I. Rogov, *Kul'turnye svjazi vostočnych i zapadnych slavjan v rannefeodal'nyj period* - «Les liens culturels entre Slaves orientaux et occidentaux au début de la période féodale» (problèmes pour recherches futures), IISBN, 165-177. Y compris les rapport entre les Slaves et Byzance.

La Russie ancienne et Byzance

V. T. PAŠČUTO, *Mesto drevnej Rusi v istorii Evropy* - ««La place de la Russie ancienne dans l'histoire de l'Europe», Feod. Ros., 188-200. Le rôle de la Russie dans l'histoire de Byzance et sa participation aux croisades.

Ja. N. ŠČAPOV, *Russkaja letopis' o političeskich vzaimootnošenijach Drevnej Rusi i Vizantii* - «Ce que la chronique russe dit des rapports politiques entre la Russie ancienne et Byzance», Feod. Ros., 201-208.

S. M. KAŠTANOV, *O procedure zaključenija dogovorov meždu Vizantiej i Rus'ju v X v.* - «La procédure préliminaire aux traités entre Byzance et la Russie au Xe s.», Feod. Ros., 209-215. Les traités étaient élaborés par les deux parties en commun sur base des pratiques de la chancellerie byzantine.

G. V. VILINBACHOV, *Nekotorye soobraženija o «kolbjagach» «Russkoj Pravdy»* - «Quelques considérations à propos des «Kolbiag» de la *Lex Rossica*», Leningrad, 1972, 18-25 (rotaprint). Les kolbiagi (koulpingoi des actes byzantins) sont peut-être, des marchands slaves-pomores de Kolabreg.

G. G. LITAVRIN, *Vojna Rusi protiv Vizantii v 1043 g.* - «La guerre de 1043 entre la Russie et Byzance», IISBN, 178-222. Analyse détaillée de la campagne de 1043. La cause de l'expédition russe contre Constantinople est la répression de Constantin IX à l'égard de la droužina varègue-russe.

M. F. MUR'JANOV, *Russko-vizantijskie cerkovnye protiverečija v konce XI v.* - «Contradictions religieuses entre la Russie et Byzance à la fin du XIe s.», Feod. Ros., 216-224. L'instauration de la fête des reliques de s. Nicolas (9 mai) en 1091 en Russie, selon l'exemple latin, est une provocation à l'adresse de Byzance.

G. G. LITAVRIN, *Rus' i Vizantija v XII veke* - «La Russie et Byzance au XIIe s.», VI (1972), n° 7, 36-52 (résumé en anglais). Intérêt de Byzance pour Tmutarakan' à cause de l'extraction du pétrole. Tentatives russes de s'installer sur le bas Danube. Alliance entre Manuel I de Byzance et Suzdal' contre Kiev. Disparition du système des traités entre la Russie et Byzance.

G. G. LITAVRIN, *Novye svedenija o Severnom Pričernomorje (XII v.)* - «Données nouvelles concernant le littoral septentrional de la mer Noire (XIIe s.)», Féod. Ros., 237-242. Manuel Straboromanos parle de l'acquisition de territoires du Bosphore Cimmérien par Alexis I ; l'auteur pense qu'il s'agit de la principauté de Tmutarakan'. Ces possessions byzantines s'étendaient sur les deux rives du Bosphore.

A. P. KAŽDAN, *Neizvestnoe grečeskoe svidetel'stvo o russko-vizantijskich otnošenijach v XII v.* - «Un témoignage grec inconnu sur les relations russo-byzantines au XIIe s.», Féod. Ros., 235-236. Le rhéteur Michel parle

d'une (prétendue?) expédition de Manuel I sur les bords de la mer d'Azov.

E. C. Skržinskaia, *Kto byli Ralevy, posly Ivana III v Italiju* - «Qui étaient les Ralev, ambassadeurs d'Ivan III en Italie» (histoire des relations italo-russes au XVe s.), Leningrad, 1972, 267-281. Les Ralev étaient des Grecs de Morée, de la famille aristocratique byzantine des Raoul.

Protobulgares, Khazares, Hongrois, Petchénègues

V. T. Sirotenko, *Pis'mennye svidetel'stva o bulgarach IV-VII vv. v svete sovremennych im istoričeskich sobytij* - «Témoignages écrits sur les Bulgares des IVe-VIIe s. à la lumière des événements historiques contemporains», SIBI, 195-218.

S. A. Feigina, *Istoriografija evreisko-chazarskoj perepiski X v.* - «Historiographie de la soi-disant correspondance des Juifs Khazariens au Xe s.», Féod. Ros., 225-234.

A. A. Moskalenko, *Slavjano-vengerskie otnošenija v IX v. i drevnerusskoe naselenie Srednego i Verchnego Dona* - «Les relations slavo-hongroises au IXe s. et l'ancienne population russe du Don moyen et supérieur», Moscou, 1972, 189-196.

V. A. Arutjunova, *K voprosu o vzaimootnošenijach Vizantii s pečenegami i polovcami vo vremja normannskoj kampanii* - «Des rapports entre Byzance, les Petchénègues et les Polovtzi du temps de la campagne normande», VV, 33, 115-119. Selon les données de l'Alexiade et de la règle du monastère de Bačkovo.

Transcaucasie et Byzance

V. Kalandze, *Vostočnaja politika Justiniana* - «La politique orientale de Justinien», Tbilisi, Tbilisskij gos. ped. institut. XXIII-ja studenčeskaja naučnaja konferencija. Tezisy dokladov 1972, 76-77. La politique de Justinien en Lazique et en Arménie.

T. Ch. Akopjan, *Osvoboditel'nye dviženija v Armenii v V-IX vv.* - «Les mouvements de libération en Arménie aux Ve-IXe s.», 1072, n° 1, 120-135 (avec résumé en russe). Les révoltes de 450-451 contre la Perse, la lutte de l'Arménie contre les khalifats aux VIIIe-IXe s.

S. A. Oganesjan, *Edinoverie kak neobchodimoe uslovie venčanija v rannefeodal'noj Armenii* - «Communauté de religion - condition féodale ancienne indispensable du mariage», VON (1972), n° 7, 86-95 (en arménien avec résumé en russe). Les mariages entre monophysites et chalcédoniens étaient considérés comme nuls.

S. T. MELIK-BACHŠJAN, *Feodal'nye otnošenija i obrazovanie arabskich knjažestv v Armenii* - «Les relations féodales et la formation des principautés arabes en Arménie» (1972), n° 3, 128-138 (avec résumé en arménien).

M. D. LORKIPANIDZE, *Iz istorii gruzino-vizantijskich otnošenij na grani X-IX vv.* - «Relations byzantino-géorgiennes à la limite du xe-ixe s.», *Voprosy istorii Gruzii feodal'noj epochi*, II, Tbilisi, 1972, 31-42. Annexion par Byzance des possessions de David le Curopalate.

D. K. STEPNADZE, *K datirovke pochoda Georgija III v Širvan* - «De la datation de la campagne de Georges III à Širvan», *Soobščenija AN Gruz SSR*, 65 (1972, n° 3, 749-752 (avec résumé anglais). Andronic Comnène a participé à la campagne de Georges III en 1173.

A. V. URUŠIDZE, *Ob odnom soobščenii vizantijskogo sbornika 'Ιωνιά* - «A propos d'un passage du recueil *'Ιωνιά*», Ant. sovr., 175-178. Le recueil grec médiéval *Violarium* assimile les Albanais aux Mingreliens.

La culture et la vie à Byzance

I. P. MEDVEDEV, *Vizantijskij gumanizm* - «L'Humanisme byzantin», VI (1972), n° 4, 214-217. La sécularisation de la culture byzantine aux xive-xve s.

V. V. BYČKOV, *Vzaimosvjaz' filosofskogo, religioznogo i estetičeskogo v vostočno-christianskom iskusstve* - «Les interférences des éléments philosophiques, religieux et esthétiques dans l'art chrétien oriental» (Résumé de thèse, Moscou, 1972, 24 p.). Du même auteur, *Problema obraza v vizantijskoj estetike* - «Le problème de l'image dans l'esthétique byzantine», *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Filosofia* (1972), n° 1, 50-59 ; du même auteur, *Estetičeskie aspekty ikonografičeskogo kanona v vostočno-christinaskom iskusstve* - «Les aspects esthétiques du canon iconographique dans l'art chrétien oriental», *Voprosy teorii i istorii estetiki*, 7 (1972), 148-168. Après avoir édifié un système d'antinomies théologiques sur un plan conceptuel, les Byzantins les ont transférées dans la sphère de l'inconscient psychologique. Une des voies de la connaissance non conceptuelle était pour eux la voie imagée symbolique de la conception de la cause première. Des images perçues par les sens et des symboles servaient à la contemplation des principes spirituels. Le canon contenait un modèle de structure pour l'artiste (sur le plan de la sémantique en formation) et un schéma qui, surmonté (sur le plan de l'information esthétique) créait des structures artistiques personnelles.

A. P. KAŽDAN, *Vizantijskaja škola* - «L'école byzantine», VI (1972), n° 7, 209-213. Étude générale.

M. V. GORLIK, *Bliznevostočnaja miniatjura XII-XIII vv. kak etnografičeskij istočnik* - «La miniature au Proche Orient aux XIIe-XIIIe s. en tant que source ethnographique» (étude du costume masculin, 1972, n° 2, 37-50 (résumé anglais), ill. Les traditions du bas empire romain et de Byzance dans le vêtement arabe ont été particulièrement étudiées.

Archéologie byzantine

Ju. L. ŠČAPOVA, *Traktat Teofila i proizvodstvo stekla v srednevekovoj Evrope* - «Le traité de Théophile et la production du verre en Europe au moyen âge», Moscou, 1972, 191-197.

N. N. BUSJATSKAJA, *Chudožestvennoe steklo stran Bližnego Vostoka na territorii Vostočnoj Evropy* - «La verrerie artistique du Proche Orient sur le territoire de l'Europe orientale», *Vestnik Moskovskogo universiteta. Istoria* (1972), n° 2, 83-90. Des vases byzantins en verre ont été trouvés à Smolensk, Novgorod, Novogrudsk, Turov. La voie commerciale venait d'Asie Mineure (ou de Constantinople) par la Crimée et Tmutarakan' jusqu'à la Volga ou de Constantinople jusqu'au Dnieper.

S. A. BELJAEV, *K voprosu o severoafrikanskoj krasnolakovoj keramike IV v. n.e. iz Chersonesa i Kerči* - «La céramique rouge laquée d'Afrique du Nord au IVe s. après J.C. à Cherson et Kertch», KSIA, 130 (1972), 122-125, ill. De la céramique de Maurétanie de la 2e moitié du IVe-début Ve s. a été importée sur le littoral septentrional de la mer Noire.

T. I. MAKAROVA, *Polivnaja keramika v Drevnej Rusi* - «La céramique vernie dans l'ancienne Russie», Moscou, 1972, 20 p. et 8 tabl. (textes russe et français). Un bilan des trouvailles de céramiques byzantines.

I. A. RAFALOVIČ, *Raskopki drevneslavjanskogo poselenija VI-VII vv. n.e. u sela Selište* - «Fouilles d'un habitat slave ancien des VIe-VIIe s. près du village Selište», Kichinev, 1972, 122-142 (résumé de thèse), ill. Au cours de fouilles dans le village Selište (district Orgeev de la République de Moldavie) des fragments d'amphores byzantines des VIe-VIIe s. ont été découverts (1,1% de l'ensemble des poteries).

Archéologie de Crimée

Chersones Tavričeskij - «La Chersonèse Taurique», Simferopol, 1972, 102 p., ill. Guide du musée et des fouilles. Un addendum donne la traduc-

tion des inscriptions de Chersonèse ; deux sont byzantines.

G. D. Belov, *Chersonesskaja ekspedicija Gosudarstvennogo Ermitaža* - «Expédition organisée en Chersonèse par le Musée de l'Ermitage», Arch. otkr., 354-356 ; V. I. Kadeev, A. I. Romančuk, *Raskopki v portovom rajone Chersonesa* - «Les fouilles dans le quartier du port de Cherson», Arch. otkr., 373-374 : O. Ja. Savelja, *Raboty na Geraklejskom poluostrove* - «Travaux sur la presqu'île d'Héraclée», Arch. otkr., 369-370 ; G. Belov, *Srednevekovyj dom v Chersonese* - «Une maison du moyen âge en Chersonèse» (d'après les matériaux de l'expédition), 35 (1972), 52-54, ill.

A. I. Romančuk, *K voprosu o položenii Chersonesa v «temnye veka»* - «De la situation de Cherson «aux siècles sombres»», ADSV, 8 (1972), 42-55. L'auteur affirme que la vie à Cherson n'a pas changé aux VIIe-VIIIe s. Elle est restée une petite ville de province, dont les habitants étaient artisans, s'occupaient de la pêche, de la production du sel ou étaient marchands. La ville avait gardé une autonomie politique.

A. L. Jakobson, M. Ja. Čorev, *Gončarnye peči VIII-IX vv. v Jugo-Zapadnom Krymu* - «Les fours des potiers des VIIIe-IXe s. dans le sud-ouest de la Crimée», Arch. otkr., 377-379. L'essor de la production artisanale dans la campagne de Crimée aux VIIIe et IXe s.

O. Dombrovskij, *Krepost' v Gorzuvitach* - «La forteresse de Gorzuviti», Simferoppl, 1972, 111 p., ill. Les Gorzuviti de Procope (*Aed.*, III, 7, 11) sont localisés sur un rocher près de Gurzuf (Crimée méridionale). Trois étapes de la vie de la forteresse.

D. L. Talis, *Sjuren'skaja krepost'* - «La forteresse de Sjuren», VV, 33 (1972), 218-229, ill. La forteresse de Sjuren' (dans les montagnes de Crimée) n'a pas été construite au VIe s., mais apparemment, vers le Xe s., peut-être en fonction de l'activité d'Alexis I dans le Bosphore Cimmérien (cf. plus haut l'article de T. G. Litavrin, *Nouvelles données*).

T. I. Makarova, *Raskopki okolo cerkvi Ioanna Predteči v Krymu* - «Les fouilles faites près de l'église de S. Jean Baptiste en Crimée», Arch. otkr., 375-377, ill.

Archéologie de la région d'Azov

I. B. Zeest, A. K. Korovina, *Raskopki Tamanskogo gorodišča* - «Les fouilles du site de Taman'», Arch. otkr., 142-143. La céramique des couches des Xe-XIe s. est essentiellement d'origine byzantine.

T. I. MAKAROVA, *Figurka voina iz Tmutarakani* - «Une figurine de guerrier de Tmutarakan'», SA (1972), n° 3, 324-330 (avec résumé en français), ill. La figurine du guerrier (XIe-XIIe s.) est de production locale, mais influencée par des traditions byzantines.

D. B. ŠELOV, *Tanais i Nižnij Don v pervye veka našej ery* - «Tanaïs et Don inférieur aux premiers siècles de notre ère», Moscou, 1972, 851 p., ill. T. M. ARSEN'EVA, D. B. ŠELOV, *Issledovanija Tanaisa* - «Fouilles à Tanaïs et leur interprétation», Arch. otkr., 150-151. La décadence de Tanaïs au IVe s., la reprise peu après 375, la désolation totale après le Ire moitié du Ve s.

Archéologie du Caucase

A. L. JAKOBSON, *O date bol'šogo chrama v Picunde (Abkhazie)* - «De la datation du grand temple à Picunda», KSIA, 132 (1972), 38-45. Le temple de Picunda n'est pas postérieur au VIe s.

V. A. LEKVINADZE, *Rannesrednevekovye pamjatniki Vašnari* - «Les monuments du haut moyen âge à Vašnari», SA (1972), n° 3, 309-323 (avec résumé en français), ill. La basilique, le martyrion, et une partie des murailles à Vašnari (Géorgie) de la 2e moitié du VIe s. Une inscription grecque des VIe-VIIIe s. non déchiffrée.

Numismatique

K. V. GOLENKO, *Monety iz raskopok Gosudarstvennogo istoričeskogo muzeja v Chersonese (1958-1969 gg)* - «Monnaies provenant des fouilles en Chersonèse au Musée historique d'état», SA (1972), n° 4, 211-222 (avec résumé en français), ill. Parmi les monnaies byzantines 59 sont des IVe-Ve s., 25 du VIe, 6 du VIIe (et 2 non identifiées du VIIe-VIIIe s.) 11 de la 2e moitié du IXe et du Xe s., 4 du XIe s. Il n'y a pas de monnaies du VIIIe et de la première moitié du IXe s.

V. V. AULICH, *Zymnivs'ke gorodišče. Slov'jans'ka pam'jatka VI-VII st. n. e. v Zachidnij Volyni* - «Le site de Zymne. Un monument slave du VIe-VIIe s. en Volynie occidentale», Kiev, 1972, 124 p. (rotaprint, en ukr.), ill. Parmi les trouvailles une pièce en cuivre argenté du Justin I ou Justinien I.

Ch. A. MUŠEGJAN, *Neizdannyj ekzempljar zolotoj monety Rubenidov* - «Une pièce d'or inédite des Rubenides», *Epigrafika Vostoka*, 20 (1972), 95-96, ill. Une pièce de Levon I (1199-1219) de la collection de l'Ermitage.

M. E. MASON, *Zolotoj medal'on vizantijskogo oblika iz Achangarana* - «Un médaillon en or du type byzantin d'Archangaran» (une contribution à l'histoire des relations entre Byzance et l'Asie Centrale) - «Les sciences humaines en Uzbekistan», 16 (1972), n° 7, 29-38, ill. Un médaillon en or en forme de monnaie avec le portrait de Justinien I, trouvé en 1968 dans la région d'Achangaran (Uzbekistan). Le travail est italien.

I. L. ŠTATMAN, *Volžskij put' postuplenija vizantijskich miliarisiev v Vostočnuju Evropu i Pribaltiku v X veke* - «La Volga - voie d'accès des monnaies byzantines *miliaresion* en Europe Orientale et dans la région balte au xe s.», *Istoria i kul'tura slavjanski stran*, Leningrad, 1972, 32-38.

M. B. SVERDLOV, *Izobraženie knjažeskich regalij na monetach Vladimira Svjatoslaviča* - «La représentation des regalia princières sur les monnaies de Vladimir Svjatoslavič», *Vspomogatel'nye istoričeskie discipliny*, n° 4 (1972), 151-159. Vladimir Svjatoslavič était représenté portant des regalia, pareilles à celles des empereurs de Byzance, fait qui exprimait des idées politiques bien définies.

Sphragistique

V. A. GAVRILENKO, *Vizantijskaja sfragistika v otečestvennoj istoriografii* - «La sphragistique byzantine dans l'historiographie russe» (Index bibliographique), VV, 33 (1972), 245-250.

Épigraphie

E. I. SOLOMONIK, *Napisi z Chersonesa Tavrijs'kogo pizn'oryms'kogo času* - «Inscriptions romaines de la basse époque en Chersonèse Taurique», *Inozemna filologia* 28, *Pitannja klasyčnoj filologii*, Lvov 1972, 26-33 (en ukr.). Parmi les inscriptions latines, un texte du IVe s. avec les noms de Licinius et Constantin.

M. M. KOBYLINA, *Fanagorijskaja ekspedicija* - «Expédition à Phanagoria», Arch. otkr., 145-146. La dalle funèbre de Phanagoria portant une croix et une inscription en grec (IVe s.).

T. V. ROŽDESTVENSKAJA, *Značenie graffiti XI-XIV vv. dlja izučenija istorii russkogo jazyka staršego perioda* - «L'importance des graffiti des XIe-XIVe s. pour l'étude de la langue russe ancienne», Vjaz (1972), n° 3, 110-117. L'article mentionne une inscription grecque de l'artisan Georges de Ste. Sophie de Kiev.

T. A. IVANOVA, *Ob azbuke na stene Sofijskogo sobora v Kieve* - «L'alphabet sur le mur de Ste. Sophie de Kiev», Vjaz (1972), n° 3, 118-122 ; S. O. VYSOCKIJ, *Ščе raz pro tlumačennja napisu XI st. z Kyivs'koj Rusi* - «De l'interprétation d'une inscription du XIe s. de la Russie Kiévienne», *Ukrain. istor. žurnal* (1972), n° 7, 159-160.

Codicologie et paléographie

I. N. LEBEDEVA, *Kodikologija - nauka o rukopisnych knigach* - «La codicologie - sciences des livres manuscrits», *Vspomogatel'nye istoričeskie discipliny*, 4 (1972), 66-77 ; Z. G. SAMODUROVA, *Ob izučenii grečeskogo rukospisnogo nasledija v SSSR* - «Étude de l'héritage manuscrit grec en URSS (1945-1971)», Archeogr. ežeg., 50-57 (à suivre).

M. A. SALMINA, *Dnevnik archimandrita Antonina (Kapustina)* - «Le journal intime de l'archimandrite Antonin (Kapustin)», TODRL, 27 (1972), 420-430. Journal inédit d'un collectionneur de manuscrits grecs à la fin du XIXe s. Voir également l'article de Fonkič ci-dessous.

Liste des travaux de E. E. GRANSTREM (pour son 60e anniversaire), Archeogr. ežeg., 337-340.

I. N. LEBEDEVA, *Grečeskije rukopisi s Afona v sobranii biblioteki A. N. SSSR.* - «Les manuscrits grecs provenant du Mont Athos dans la collection de la Bibliothèque de l'Académie des Sciences d'URSS», *Sbornik statej i materialov po knigovedeniju*, 2. Leningrad, 1970, 268-278 (2). Quatre manuscrits : Philon, Grégoire le Théologien, Oribaze (manuscrit de Maxime Marginios) et une vie de S. André Salo.

B. L. FONKIČ, *O sud'be Kievskich glagoličeskich listkov* - «Du sort des feuillets glagolitiques de Kiev», Sov. slav. (1972), n° 2, 82-83. Renseignements tirés du journal d'Antonin Kapustin.

Littérature de la basse époque romaine (en grec, copte et latin)

N. P. ZEMBATOVA, *Dva plana v «Efiopike» Geliodora* - «Les deux plans de «l'Éthiopique» d'Héliodore», Ant. sovr., 285-290. A côté d'une interprétation «véritable» des événements, le roman en présente une autre,

(2) Ce travail a été omis dans la revue de 1970.

cachée ou «fausse», ce qui crée une atmosphère mystérieuse, bien conforme à l'esprit de l'époque avec sa tendance aux idées philosophiques et mystiques.

S. A. BELJAEV, *Ob odnom «protivorečii» «Historii» Viktora iz Vity* - «Au sujet d'une «contradiction» dans l'Histoire de Victor *Vitensis*», Ant. sovr., 193-194. La contradiction dans *Hist. persecutionis*, I, 8, et III, 17 est inexistante : dans le premier cas, Victor de Vita parle de la destruction du temple de la Mémoire, dans le second, uniquement de la localité portant le même nom.

M. K. TROFIMOVA, *Iz rukopisej Nag-Chammadi-* «Des manuscrits de Nag-Hammadi», Ant. sovr., 369-380. Traduction russe de l'Évangile gnostique de S. Thomas.

T. A. MILLER, *Obrazy morja v pis'mach kappadokijcev i Ioanna Zlatousta* - «Les images de la mer dans les écrits des Cappadociens et de S. Jean Chrysostome» (essai d'analyse comparative). Ant. sovr., 360-369. Utilisation originale des images de la mer dans les écrits de Basile le Grand, Grégoire le Théologien et Jean Chrysostome.

E. E. GRANSTREM, *Novye spravočniki o rukopisnoj tradicii sočinenij Ioanna Zlatousta* - «Nouveaux livres de référence pour la tradition manuscrite des œuvres de Jean Chrysostome», VV, 33 (1972), 231-233.

PROCLUS, *Pervoosnovy teologii* - «Éléments de théologie». Traduction et commentaires de A. F. LOSEV, Tbilisi, 1972, 175 p. Traduction russe avec commentaires. Une introduction de S. V. Chidaseli parle du destin du néoplatonisme en Géorgie.

Z. V. UDAL'COVA, *Mirovozzrenie vizantijskogo istorika v v. Priska Panijskogo* - «La conception du monde de Priscos de Panium, historien byzantin du ve s.», VV, 33 (1972), 47-74. La vision de Priscos offre deux aspects : il a vu les plaies du régime social, mais il a idéalisé les bases de l'ordre romain ; il n'est pas un croyant ardent, mais il combine la loyauté politique au conformisme vis-à-vis du christianisme.

Littérature byzantine

Vizantijskie legendy - «Les vies byzantines». Édition préparée par S. V. POLJAKOVA, Len., 1972, 303 pp. Traduction de textes hagiographiques avec commentaires et un article «Les légéndes byzantines en tant que phénomène littéraire». Selon l'auteur cette littérature se distingue par son caractère poétique, sa vision naïve, son caractère populaire et la fraîcheur de la fantaisie.

V. V. Kučma, «*Taktika L'va*» *kak istoričeskij istoč*nik - «La tactique de Léon» en tant que source historique», VV, 33 (1972), 75-87 ; du même auteur, *K voprosu o kriterijach dostovernosti svedenij* «*Taktiki L'va*» - «Des critères d'authenticité des renseignements dans «La Tactique de Léon»», ADSV, 8 (1972), 89-94. La datation, les sources, le problème et la structure ; les procédés utilisés par Léon pour transformer les renseignements du *Strategikon*. Les opinions de Léon subissent l'influence des tendances défensives typiques de la littérature byzantine de la fin du IXe s.-début Xe s. Le caractère de compilation de la Tactique ne nuit pas à sa grande valeur en tant que source : les transformations opérées par Léon révèlent le dynamisme du développement.

R. M. Bartikjan, *O* «*mongolach*» *v* «*Digenise Akrite*» - «Des 'mongols' chez Digénis Akritas», IFŽ (1972), n° 3, 222-228 (résumé en arménien). Interprétation de la phrase mystérieuse ; στρατεύει Μεγουλίων selon l'auteur στρατεύεν Ἀγουλίων. Les Agouloi de l'épopée sont les Agulanes des sources occidentales, habitants d'Angelina (Arménie).

Ja. N. Ljubarskij, *Istoričeskij geroj v* «*Chronografii*» *Michaila Psella* - «Le héros historique dans la Chronographie de Michel Psellos», VV, 33 (1972), 92-114. Les réflexions théoriques de Psellos présentent l'image d'un homme auquel rien d'humain n'est étranger, dans le caractère duquel des particularités contradictoires coexistent. Psellos apprécie davantage le talent que l'origine, la culture que la piété et le courage. En analysant quelques types de héros, l'auteur conclut que la tendance essentielle de l'écrivain est une individualisation maximale pour l'époque.

Sovety i rasskazy Kakavmena - «Les conseils et les récits de Kekaumenos». Œuvre d'un chef d'armée byzantin du XIe s., introduction, traduction et commentaire de G. G. Litavrin, Moscou, 1972, 742 pp. Texte grec du *Strategikon*, traduction russe et commentaire détaillé. L'introduction donne une caractéristique fouillée du manuscrit, la biographie de Kekaumenos, l'analyse de sa pensée et la valeur des «Conseils et récits» en tant que source.

S. V. Poljakova, *Evmatij i Achill Tatij* - «Eumathios et Achille Tatios» (de la transformation du roman grec à Byzance), Ant. sovr., 380-386. Makrembolitès a simplifié le sujet et, en laissant tomber des détails vécus, a atteint un ton sublime et abstrait. Le roman byzantin exige une nouvelle conception : le récit des aventures des amoureux devient une pieuse allégorie de l'amour.

T. M. Sokolova, *Stranica iz istorii vizantijskoj satiry* - «Une page d'histoire de la satire byzantine», Ant. sovr., 387-395. Dans la «Vente des

vies des poètes et des politiciens» de Théodore Prodrome l'étiquette littéraire subsiste, mais le genre change de caractère : la satire de Lucien cède le pas à un humour bon enfant.

Alexis MAKREMBOLITÈS, *Razgovor bogatych i bednych* - «Le dialogue des riches et des pauvres», Traduction et commentaires de M. A. POLJAKOVSKAJA, VV, 33 (1972), 278-285.

T. V. POPOVA, *Vizantijskaja Iliade* - «L'Iliade byzantine», Ant. sovr., 395-409. Au sujet du poème de Constantin Guermoniakos.

B. I. FONKIČ, *Moskovskaja rukopis' iz biblioteki Ioanna Chortasmena* - «Un manuscrit moscovite de la bibliothèque de Jean Chortasmenos», VV, 33 (1972), 216-217. Le manuscrit GIM, 116/221 du début du XIVe s. a appartenu à Chortasmenos et contient les œuvres d'Athanase d'Alexandrie.

Littérature latine du moyen âge

Textes littéraires latins du moyen âge des Xe-XIIIe s. sous la rédaction de M. E. GRABAR'-PASSEK et de M. L. GASPAROV, Moscou, 1972, 53 pp. Certains auteurs (Liutprand de Crémone, Odon de Deuil, Guillaume de Tyr, Othon de Freisingen) sont intéressants pour le byzantinologue.

I. N. GOLENIŠČEV-KUTUZOV, *Srednevekovaja latinskaja literatura Italii* - «Littérature latine médiévale en Italie», Moscou, 1972, 308 pp. Entre autres, Ammien Marcellin, Ambroise de Milan, Jérôme, Paul le Diacre, Anastase le Bibliothécaire, Liutprand et la version latine de «Barlaam et Joasaph».

Littérature orientale

R. A. GUSEINOV, *Sirijskie istočniki po istorii Vizantii XI-XII vv.* - «Sources syriennes pour l'histoire byzantine des XIe-XIIe s.», VV, 33 (1972), 120-128. Michel le Syrien, Chronique anonyme de 1234 et Abu-il-Faradj ; l'auteur étudie surtout le traitement des batailles de Mantzikert et Myriokephalon.

V. A. SACHRANOV, *Persidskaja versija grečeskogo romana* - «Une version persane du roman grec», *Internacional'noe i nacional'noe v literaturach vostoka*, Moscou, 1972, 181-190. La tradition du roman hellénistique dans la littérature en langue persane est parue.

I. V. BOROLINA, *Regional'nye kontakty i mestnye tradicii v tureckoj lietrature srednich vekov* - «Contacts régionaux et traditions locales dans la littérature turque du moyen âge», *ibid.*, Moscou, 1972, 190-203. Les

poésies grecques du sultan Veled (XIIIe-XIVe s.), l'influence de l'hagiographie byzantine et du théâtre des mimes sur la littérature turque.

Littérature caucasienne

M. ŠINDŽIAŠVILI, *Gruzinskie perevody i redakciji «Žitija Antonija» Afanasija Aleksandrijskogo* - «Les traductions et rédactions géorgiennes de la 'Vie d'Antoine' d'Athanase d'Alexandrie», VON, Ser. jaz. i lit. (1972), n° 1, 37-54 (en géorgien).

K. M. MURADJAN, *Rukopisnye dannye ob armjanskich perevodach trudov Kesarijskogo* - «Données manuscrites sur les traductions arméniennes des œuvres de Basile de Césarée», VON (1972), n° 10, 49-57 (en arménien avec résumé en russe). Les traductions de Basile de Césarée aux Ve-VIIIe s.

I. MGALOBLIŠVILI, *Drevnejšie perevody Kirilla Ierusalimskogo i ich značenie* - «L'importance des traductions les plus anciennes de Cyrille de Jérusalem», VON, Ser. jaz. i lit. (1972), n° 3, 82-88 (en géorgien). Du même auteur : *Kirill Ierusalimskij v drevnegruzinskich perevodach* - «Cyrille de Jérusalem dans les traductions en vieux géorgien» (d'après des manuscrits des IXe-XIe s.) (Résumé de thèse) Tbilisi, 1972, 18 pp. L'absence de traductions orientales des «Discours mystagogiques» de Cyrille de Jérusalem est un argument en faveur de leur inauthenticité. Les «Discours catéchétiques» de Cyrille ont déjà été traduits en géorgien au VIIIe s.

S. S. AREVŠATJAN, *Puti stanovlenija drevnearmjanskoj filosofii* - «Le devenir de la philosophie arménienne ancienne», «Voprosy filosofii» (1972), n° 10, 106-116 (avec résumé en anglais). Surtout à propos du rôle de l'école hellénophile aux Ve-VIe s.

I. A. LOLAŠVILI, *Problemy areopagitiki* - «Problèmes à propos de l'Aréopagite», Tbilisi, 1972, 178 pp. (en géorgien). Denys l'Aréopagite dans la littérature géorgienne ancienne.

M. MAMACAŠVILI, *K tolkovaniju odnogo mesta iz sočinenij Ioanna Petrici, «rassmotrenie Platonovskoj filosofii i Prokla Diadocha»* - «Interprétation d'un passage de l'œuvre de Jean Petrici. 'Examen de la philosophie de Platon et de Proclus le Diadoque'», VON, Ser. jaz. i lit. (1972), n° 1, 55-59 (en géorgien). V. K. ČALOJAN, *O sušcnosti misticizma i misticizm Grigora Narekaci* - «L'essence du mysticisme et le mysticisme de Grégoire Narekaci», VON (1972), n° 9, 9-18. Grégoire Narekaci (Xe s.) est un continuateur de Proclus ou du pseudo-Denys.

M. T. AVDALBEKJAN, *Stanovlenie armjanskoj chudožestvennoj prozy (v vek) - «La naissance de la prose artistique arménienne» (Résumé de thèse).*

Erevan, 1972, 42 pp. L'ouvrage complet en langue arménienne (même titre, Erevan, 1971, 302 pp.). Hagiographie, apocryphes, œuvres historiques (Agathange, Fauste de Byzance, Élysée).

V. C. NALBANDJAN, *Egiše* - «Élysée», Erevan, 1972, 246 pp. ; P. M. MURADJAN, *Drevnegruzinskij perevod odnogo razdela 'Istorii' Agafangela* - «Une traduction géorgienne ancienne d'une partie de l'Histoire d'Agathange» («Le Martyre des Ripsizites»), IFŽ (1972), n° 1, 63-76 (en arménien avec résumé russe).

G. S. SVJAZJAN, *Istočniki «Istorii Strany Albanskoj» Mousesa Kagankatvaci* - «Les sources de 'l'Histoire du pays albanais' de Moyse Kagankatvaci», IFŽ (1972), n° 3, 195-206 (en arménien avec résumé russe).

Ž. V. SMBATJAN, *Nekotorye tekstologičeskie popravki v podlinnike «Istorii Aluanak» Movsesa Kalankatuaci* - «De quelques corrections textuelles dans l'original de «l'Histoire d'Aluanak» de Moyse Kagankatvaci (en rapport avec la traduction en arménien moderne), IFŽ (1972), n° 1, 174-192.

G. G. LITAVRIN, *Armjanskij avtor XI stoletija o Bolgarii i bolgarach* - «De la Bulgarie et des Bulgares dans l'œuvre d'un auteur arménien du XIe s.», Sl.Ros. 27-31. Selon Aristakes de Lastivert, les querelles intestines bulgares sont une des causes de défaite dans les guerres avec Byzance.

A. G. MARGARJAN, *Ob istočnikach istorii Mchitara Anijskogo* - «Des sources de l'histoire de Mkhitar d'Ani», VON (1972), n° 1, 86-91 (en arménien, avec résumé russe). Parmi les sources, un manuel de rhétorique de Théon d'Alexandrie et la «Grammaire» de Denys de Thrace.

Littérature slave

E. M. VEREŠČAGIN, *Iz istorii vozniknovenija pervogo literaturnogo jazyka slavjan* - «De la naissance de la langue littéraire chez les Slaves», Moscou, 1972, 50 pp. (résumé en allemand). Communication au VIIe congrès international des Slavisants. En plus détaillé dans un ouvrage au titre identique : Moscou, 1972, 199 pp. (rotaprint). Problème des variantes lexicales et grammaticales dans les traductions slaves les plus anciennes de l'Évangile. Selon l'auteur, elles se présentaient déjà dans le texte primitif slave et sont caractéristiques de la technique de traduction de Cyrille et Méthode.

G. S. BARANKOVA, *O «Šestodneve» Ioanna ekzarcha Bolgarskogo* - «L'"Hexaméron" de Jean l'exarque de Bulgarie», «Russkaja reč» (1972), n° 5, 136-143.

V. A. KUČKIN, *Drevnejšaja bolgarskaja rukopis' iz sobranija goroda Gor'kogo* - «Le plus ancien manuscrit bulgare de la collection municipale

de Gorki», Sov. sl. (1972), n° 5, 69-71. Le manuscrit, de la fin du XIVe s., contient les instructions du père Dorothée et la vie de Basile le Nouveau.

G. M. PROKHOROV, *Prenie Grigirija Palamy 's chiony i turki' i problema 'židpvskaja mudrstvujuščich'* - «Discussion de Grégoire Palamas avec 'les Chiones et les Turcs' et le problème des 'judaisants'», TODRL, 27 (1972), 329-369. Publication et analyse d'un texte vieux slave de l'homélie de Palamas.

G. M. PROKHOROV, *K istorii liturgičeskoj poezii : gimny i molitvy patriarcha Filofeja Kokkina* - «Contribution à l'histoire de la poésie liturgique : les hymnes et prières du patriarche Philothée Kokkinos», TODRL, 27 (1972), 120-149. Fragments des traductions en vieux slave des hymnes du patriarche Philothée ; liste de ses œuvres traduites en vieux slave ; histoire de la diffusion de ses œuvres chez les Slaves du Sud et de l'Est (les vies de saints et les œuvres théologiques n'ont pas été diffusées.

Littérature en vieux-russe

N. V. VODOVOZOV, *Istorija drevnej russkoj literatury* - «Histoire de la littérature russe ancienne», 3e éd., Moscou, 1972, 383 pp. ; N. N. VORONIN-A. G. KUZ'MIN, *Duchovnaja kul'tura drevnej Rusi* - «La culture spirituelle de la Russie ancienne», VI (1972), n° 9, 111-132 ; D. S. LICHAČEV, *Mirovoe značenie kul'tury Novgoroda* - «La valeur universelle de la culture de Novgorod» - «Tysjačeletnie korni russkoj kul'tury», Novgorod, 1972, 82-96 ; V. P. ADRIANOVA-PEREC, *Čelovek v učitel'noj literature drevnej Rusi* - «L'homme dans la littérature édifiante de la Russie ancienne», TODRL, 27 (1972), 3-68.

L. V. ČEREPNIN, *Spornye voprosy izučenija načal'noj letopisi v 50-ch - 70-ch godach* - «Discussions à propos de la chronique primitive dans les années 50 à 70», «Istorija SSSR» (1972), n° 4, 46-54 ; B. M. KLOSS, *K voprosu o proischoždenii Ellinskogo letopisca vtorogo vida* - «De l'origine du chroniqueur hellénique de la deuxième version», TODRL, 27 (1972), 370-379 ; S. V. TVOROGOV, *K izučeniju drevnerusskich chronografičeskich svodov* - «Étude des recueils manuscrits chronographiques russes anciens» (I. Les rédactions de la chronique hellénisante. II. De l'origine du chronographe de la rédaction russe occidentale), TODRL, 27 (1972), 380-404.

N. A. MEŠČERSKIJ, *K izučeniju leksiki «Izbornika 1076 g»* - «Étude du lexique de l'Izbornik de 1076», «Russkaja istoričeskaja leksikologija i leksikografija», I, Leningrad, 1972, 3-12 ; du même auteur, *K voprosu ob*

istočnikach «Izbornika 1076» - «Le problème des sources de l'Izbornik de 1076», TODRL, 27 (1972), 321-328.

A. I. KLIBANOV, *Vizantijskoe «Slovo o starce» i russkaja publicistika XV v.* - «Le 'Dit du vieillard' byzantin et les publicistes russes du XVe s.», Féod. Ros., 162-168.

A. A. ZIMIN, *Antičnye motivy v russkoj publicistike konca XV v.* - «Les thèmes antiques chez les publicistes russes de la fin du XVe s.», Féod. Ros., 128-138.

O. A. BELOBROVA, *Kiprskij cikl v drevnerusskoj lietrature* - «Le cycle cypriote dans la littérature russe ancienne», Leningrad, 1972, 112 pp., ill. Publication de quelques textes vieux russes, consacrés à l'histoire de Chypre et analyse de ce thème dans la littérature de la Russie ancienne.

N. I. PROKOF'EV, *Choždenie Zosimy v Car'grad, Afon i Palestinu* - «Le voyage de Zosime à Constantinople, au Mont Athos et en Palestine» (texte et introduction archéographique) «Učenye zap. Moskovskogo gos. ped. inst.», 455 (1971), 12-42. Publication du récit du voyage (XVe s.) d'après 8 rédactions des XVe-XVIIe s.

N. V. MOŠČINSKAJA, *Literaturnaja istorija «Povesti ob os'mom Ferraro-Florentijskom sobore Simona Suzdal'skogo»* - «Histoire littéraire du 'Récit du 8e concile de Ferrare-Florence par Simon de Suzdal», Učenye zap. Moskovskogo gos. ped. inst. 455 (1971), 43-60 (3).

A. I. IVANOV, *Maksim Grek i ital'janskoe vozroždenie. K. postanovke voprosa* - «Maxime le Grec et la Renaissance italienne. Comment poser le problème», VV, 33 (1972), 140-157 (à suivre) ; N. V. SINICYNA, *Maksim Grek i Savanarola* - «Maxime le Grec et Savonarole» (les œuvres de Maxime le Grec, première collection manuscrite), Féod. Ros., 149-156 ; L. S. KOVTUN, *O stile Maksima Greka* - «Le style de Maxime le Grec» (choix des moyens lexicaux) «Russkaja istoričeskaja leksikologija i leksikografija», I, Leningrad, 1972, 21-27.

G. N. LUKINA, *Nazvanija tkanej v jazyke pamjatnikov drevnerusskoj pis'mennosti XI-XIV vv.* - «Les noms des tissus dans la langue des textes vieux russes des XIe-XIVe s.», «Etimologija 1970», Moscou, 1972, 242-262. De nombreux noms de tissus proviennent du grec.

(3) La chronique précédente avait omis de signaler les travaux de Prokof'ev et de Moscinskaja.

Liste des Abréviations

ADSV — Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka (Sverdlovsk), Antiquité classique et moyen âge.

Ant. Sov. — Antičnost' i sovremennost' — Antiquité et temps modernes, Moscou, 1972.

Archeogr. ežeg. — Archeografičeskij ežegodnik za 1971 g. (Annuaire archéographique pour 1971), Moscou, 1972.

Arch. otkr. — Archeologičeskie otkrytija 1971 (Découvertes archéologiques, 1971), Moscou, 1972.

Féod. Ros. — Feodal'naja Rossija vo vsemirno-istoričeskom processe (La Russie fèodale dans le développement de l'histoire universelle), Moscou, 1972.

IFŽ — Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal (Revue d'histoire et de philologie), Erevan.

IISBN — Issledovania po istorii slavjanskich i balkanskich narodov (Recherches d'histoire des peuples slaves et balkaniques), Kišinev, 1972.

KSIA — Kratkie soobščenija Instituta archéologii (Bulletin de l'Institut d'archéologie).

SA — Sovetskaja archeologija (Archéologie Soviétique).

SIBI — Slavijano-balkanskie issledovanija (Recherches slaves et balkaniques).

Sl.Ros — Slaviane i Rossija (Les Slaves et la Russie), Moscou, 1972.

Sov. Slav. — Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie (Slavistique Soviétique).

TODRL — Trudy otdela drevnerusskoj literatury (Travaux de la section de littérature vieux russe) (Leningrad).

VDI — Vestnik drevnej istorii (Revue d'histoire ancienne).

VI — Voprosy istorii (Questions d'histoire).

VISL — Voprosy istorii slavjan (Questions d'histoire slave), Voronež, 1972.

Vjaz — Voprosy jazykoznanija (Questions de linguistique).

VON — Vestnik obščestvennych nauk (Revue des sciences sociales), Acad. des sciences d'Arménie.

VOON — Vestnik otdelenija obščestvennych nauk (Revue de la section des sciences sociales), Acad. des Sciences de Géorgie.

VV — Vizantijskij vremennik (Annales byzantines).

Moscou. A. P. Každan.

(Traduit du russe par Marie Onatsky-Malin).

COMPTES RENDUS

La suite du «Kriaras»

Ἐμμανουὴλ ΚΡΙΑΡΑΣ, Λεξικὸ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς ἑλληνικῆς δημώδους γραμματείας 1100-1669. Tome III, XLVIII-430 pp., tome IV, XLVIII-431 pp. Thessalonique, 1973-1975.

Au XVe Congrès International des Etudes Byzantines qui s'est tenu récemment à Athènes (septembre 1976), une demi-journée avait été consacrée aux *Instrumenta studiorum* et la remarque a été faite à ce propos qu'en ce qui concerne son outillage scientifique, le byzantinisme doit encore combler son retard sur les sciences de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age occidental. L'imposant *Λεξικό* de notre confrère de Thessalonique, qui a commencé à paraître en 1969 et qui couvre la période de 1100 à 1669, répond précisément à cette préoccupation pour ce qui regarde notre connaissance du vocabulaire grec médiéval ; il nous offre un relevé des mots employés dans la langue populaire, complétant et mettant à jour le Ducange, le seul grand dictionnaire que nous puissions consulter pour cette période et dont il faut reconnaître que, malgré ses trois siècles d'âge, il rend toujours d'inestimables services. Nous avons précédemment (t. XLII, 1972, pp. 281-284) indiqué à nos lecteurs les principes suivis pour l'élaboration des notices et dit notre admiration pour le sens philologique et linguistique aigu dont l'auteur fait preuve : examen scrupuleux des sources, relevé des formes, variantes dialectales, explication étymologique, classement des significations, autant de données multiples qui sont présentées dans une typographie fort claire.

Le vocabulaire du grec ancien fournit toujours l'essentiel du lexique, que le mot soit resté inchangé d'Homère (ou du mycénien) à nos jours comme *βρέφος* ou *ἄρτος*, qu'une forme nouvelle concurrence l'ancienne (*γλυκός* à côté de *γλυκύς*, *ἁρπῶ* à côté de *ἁρπάζω* ; dans ce dernier cas, les deux formes semblent attestées avec la même vitalité) ou la fasse simplement disparaître (*γύπας* élimine *γύψ*). On constate aussi que le grec médiéval présente la richesse en dérivation et en composition qui caractérise la langue à toutes les époques ; voyez, par exemple, aux pages 305 à 325 du tome IV le grand nombre de composés à premier terme *γλυκ-*, *γλυκο-*, *γλυκυ-*.

Toutefois les emprunts sont nombreux, faits au latin (*βρέβιον* < *brevis*), au français (*γρίζα* < *gris*), à l'italien surtout (*γενεράλης* < *generale*), plus rarement au slave (*βάλτος* < *blato*) ou au turc (*γιανίτσαρος* < *yeniceri*).

Le texte que nous avons sous les yeux est le résultat de longues années de recherches minutieuses ; les innombrables matériaux recueillis n'ont pu être exploités que grâce à l'équipe de collaborateurs qualifiés que M. Kriaras a su recruter, l'aide matérielle indispensable lui ayant été heureusement fournie par diverses institutions, notamment l'*Ἐθνικὸν Ἵδρυμα Ἐρευνῶν* et la *Ford Foundation* qui lui ont donné la possibilité de rétribuer des chercheurs. On reconnaîtra d'ailleurs que, pour une entreprise aussi gigantesque, la progression est fort raisonnable, les volumes paraissant jusqu'ici au rythme régulier d'un tous les deux ans. Mais le chemin à parcourir est encore long car les quatre tomes sortis de presse (de *ἀ* à *δείχτω*) ne couvrent guère plus que le cinquième de l'ensemble. L'excellente qualité de ce qui a déjà paru doit encourager les éditeurs : M. Kriaras est d'ores et déjà assuré de la reconnaissance des byzantinistes.

Maurice LEROY.

Le droit privé romain

KASER (Max), *Das römische Privatrecht*, 2. Abschnitt : *Die nachklassischen Entwicklungen*, 2., neubearb. Aufl. mit Nachtr., München, Beck, 1975, *Rechtsgeschichte des Altertums*, III, 3, 2 = *Hdb. der Alt.-Wiss.*, X, 3, 3, 2.

La première édition de ce tome consacré à l'histoire du droit romain du IIIe au VIe s. de notre ère, remonte à plus de trois lustres déjà (1959). L'on sait que les études de droit romain ont connu un vif regain ces dernières années : nous pensons ici à l'Italie, avec les travaux de G. G. Archi, G. Grosso, A. Guarino, et avec la publication — répétée, mais féconde — de mélanges ; nous pensons aussi aux contributions de D. Simon et de F. Wieacker, à celles d'A. Watson, à celles qui figurent dans *A.N.R.W.* ; des papyri, connus parfois depuis pas mal de temps, sont soumis enfin à une analyse critique. — Après *Das römische Privatrecht* (2 vols., 1955-1959) et *Das römische Zivilprozessrecht* (1966), M. Kaser non seulement avait proposé maintes mises au point «techniques», mais encore il était retourné à la question fondamentale de l'heuristique. Dans la présente édition, l'auteur ne s'est pas contenté d'ajouter un supplément bibliographique au texte paru en 1959. Certes, nous trouvons ici des *Nachträge* : ils occupent

44 pages (pp. 569-613) ; mais le volume est passé de 478 p. à 680, bien que la disposition du *Quellenregister* soit plus dense. C'est que M. Kaser a refait son livre : la bibliographie que nous évoquions a été — malgré son abondance — régulièrement insérée dans les notes ; les considérations historiques ont été ajustées (par exemple, sur la vulgarisation du droit, pp. 5-7 et 26-31 ; sur l'évolution du droit matrimonial, celle des droits de la femme, p. 110 et 119 s.) ; d'innombrables précisions apparaissent (voir, en général, les questions qu'amène l'étude de la procédure judiciaire, ou, en plus réduit, au § 249, pp. 308-312, la distinction entre *ius perpetuum* ou *Dauerpacht* et *emphyteusis-Erbpacht*). Le byzantiniste s'arrêtera un instant aux notes de la polémique contemporaine sur le «classicisme» ou l'originalité des constitutions de Justinien (pp. 32-40), et il n'oubliera point que notre connaissance des œuvres des juristes orientaux est restée très lacuneuse (cf. p. 48 s.). Si, dans la même perspective, nous avions à choisir, parmi les innovations, celles qui nous paraissent avoir un intérêt majeur, nous pointerions les passages traitant du colonat (p. 144 s.) ; de l'adoption (*υἱοθεσία*, p. 209) ; de la synonymie entre *neglegentia* et *culpa*, attitudes opposées à la *diligentia* (conçue comme une obligation morale ; p. 350 s.) : le tout est suivi de corollaires originaux sur la *custodia* (pp. 352-354) ; ou, enfin, de l'influence de l'école orientale, dans l'uniformisation en matière de responsabilité (p. 356 s.). Les paragraphes 287 (succession ab intestat, pp. 497-510) et 290 (réserves opposables à un testament, pp. 514-523), notamment, ont été refondus. — Un mot encore : l'effort de M. Kaser a tendu aussi à mieux répartir la matière à l'intérieur des paragraphes. — Le spécialiste, inévitablement, choisira parfois telle interprétation qui s'écarte de celle de l'auteur (peut-être — et, de notre part, ce n'est qu'une hypothèse gratuite — dans le problème des obligations : cf. p. 367, texte et note 42). Nous n'avons rien vu dans ce livre qui ne nous semble pas digne d'éloge.

Pierre HAMBLENNE.

Les Mélanges Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi

Byzantino-Sicula II. Miscellanea di scritti in memoria di Giuseppe Rossi Taibbi, Palermo, Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neollenici, 1975, in-8°, XVIII-538 pp., 29 pl. (Quaderni, 8). Prix : 15.000 Lires.

Il n'est peut-être pas trop tard pour présenter brièvement le copieux volume d'études dédiées à la mémoire du savant philologue de Palerme, G. Rossi Taibbi, mort inopinément le 20 juillet 1972 à l'âge de 48 ans. Etant

donné l'abondance des contributions et la diversité des sujets abordés — qui tous sont susceptibles d'intéresser les byzantinistes — nous devons nous contenter de donner ici un aperçu très succinct, voire même quelque peu caricatural, des articles.

G. AGNELLO, *Nuove indagini sui santuari rupestri della Sicilia* (pp. 1-9), parle des découvertes des sanctuaires de S. Marco à Sutera (province de Caltanissetta), de S. Maria della Grotta à Marsala, de S. Michele à Assoro (province d'Enna) ; il publie également la relation inédite que P. Orsi fit de son exploration du sanctuaire de Petracca près de Noto, aujourd'hui inaccessible. Dans *Grecità e romanità nell'Italia meridionale* (pp. 11-44), G. ALESSIO étudie «un problema di denominazione etnica : dai *Γραικοί* dell'Epiro ai *Grici* e ai *Griki* delle oasi romaiche di Bova e di Terra d'Otranto». L. ALFONSI, *La Sicilia nell'«Historia» di Paolo Diacono* (pp. 45-49), souligne notamment l'«interesse mediterraneo» de l'historien lombard. S. BERNARDINELLO, *Sicilia e Normanni in Teodoro Prodromo* (pp. 51-72), passe en revue les allusions à Roger II que l'on trouve çà et là dans l'œuvre de Théodore Prodrome ; il analyse ensuite les poèmes consacrés à la reconquête de Corfu par Manuel I en 1149 — l'île était alors occupée par les Normands — et publie l'un d'eux (le VI), quasi complètement inédit. C. CAPIZZI édite, traduit et commente *una lista di creditori e debitori ad uso del Bessarione, commendatario di San Giovanni Evangelista di Ravenna*, d'un grand intérêt pour l'étude de la fortune que Bessarion dut à la générosité pontificale (pp. 73-105). G. CARACAUSI étudie *il valore di ζ nei documenti medievali italogreci e il problema delle affricate* (pp. 107-138). S. CARUSO, publie, annote et traduit *un'omilia inedita di Saba da Misilmeri* pour le Dimanche des Rameaux (pp. 139-164). P. COLLURA édite *un privilegio di Guglielmo II per il monastero di S. Maria «de Latinis» di Palermo*, datant de février 1173 (pp. 165-169). A. TUSA CUTRONI, *Le monete del tesoro di Campobello di Mazara. Contributo alla conoscenza della circolazione monetaria nelle Sicilia bizantina* (pp. 171-187), illustre l'importance prise par l'atelier de Syracuse à partir du milieu du VIIe s. ainsi que les répercussions de l'invasion arabe en Sicile sur l'aloi des monnaies frappées dans l'île. F. DELLA CORTE, *Tzetzes e la morte di Minosse* (pp. 189-192), commente Tzetzès, *Chil.*, I, 509-512. I. DUJČEV, *La mano dell'assassino. Un motivo novellistico nella agiografia e nella letteratura comparata* (pp. 193-207), attire l'attention sur le caractère de thème littéraire de l'épisode dans lequel un saint paralyse momentanément la main d'un adversaire prêt à frapper. E. FOLLIERI, *Santa Agrippina nell'innografia e nell'agiografia greca* (pp. 209-259), dans un article riche en con-

sidérations sur les relations entre la Sicile et l'Orient, montre que les plus anciens écrits en l'honneur de sainte Agrippine sont les hymnes grecques composées probablement par Théophane Graptos ; le culte de la sainte sicilienne aurait donc été adopté par l'Eglise constantinopolitaine dans la première moitié du IXe s. Dans une utile mise au point, C. GIARDINA, *Sul § 5 della «Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana» di Liutprando da Cremona* (pp. 261-271), réfute la thèse aventureuse de P. Rasi sur l'application exclusive du droit romain par Otton I en Italie ; il montre qu'on ne peut même pas invoquer les paroles de Liutprand pour prouver une préférence de l'empereur à l'égard du droit romain. M. GIGANTE, *Un motivo dell'aldilà in un poeta italobizantino di Terra d'Otranto* (pp. 273-276), commente quelques vers d'un poème de Joannès Grassos ayant pour sujet la lamentation d'Hécube sur les ruines de Troie. F. GIUNTA, *Documenti su Salerno normanna* (pp. 277-283), édite un acte de 1120 relatif à la famille des Sanseverino et une donation de 1158 en faveur du monastère de l'église de Saint-George «in loco Gifonis». A. GUILLOU, *La soie sicilienne au Xe-XIe s.* (pp. 285-288), prouve l'existence d'une industrie de la soie dans la Sicile arabe des Xe-XIe s. ; elle se procurait la matière première en Calabre byzantine. F. HALKIN, *La passion de sainte Lucie dans un manuscrit de l'Académie, à Léningrad* (pp. 289-294), relève les variantes de la *Passio Luciae* du ms. B 6 de l'Institut archéologique russe de Constantinople, aujourd'hui à l'Académie des sciences à Leningrad. J. IRMSCHER fait part de quelques réflexions *über den Morgenland-Begriff* dans la langue allemande, à l'époque contemporaine surtout (pp. 295-300). E. KITZINGER place entre 1143 et 1153 *the date of Philagathos' homily for the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul* et propose une intéressante chronologie des mosaïques de la Chapelle palatine de Palerme (pp. 301-306). Le regretté Père V. LAURENT, *Contributions à la prosopographie du thème de Longobardie. En feuilletant le Bullaire* (pp. 307-319) s'intéresse à quelques officiers supérieurs du Xe s. : 1) le stratège Nicolas protospathaire et patrice ; 2) le stratège Limnogalaktos ; 3) le stratège Malakènos anthypatos, patrice et protospathaire ; 4) le magistros Nicéphore Hexakionitès ; 5) Léon stratège de Longobardie et de Céphalonie ; 6) l'excubite de Longobardie Pierre Pardos (?). A l'aide surtout d'un document fort peu connu — un encomion de saint Christodoule rédigé par un moine de Patmos peu après 1191 — B. LAVAGNINI évoque de façon remarquable l'intervention des *Normanni di Sicilia a Cipro e a Patmo (1186)* (pp. 321-334). P. L. M. LEONE émet *alcune osservazioni sul «Florentios» di Niceforo Gregora* (pp. 335-345) ; celles-ci ont trait à la chronologie, à un excursus sur les vicissitudes

historiques de l'Italie méridionale au IIIe-IIe s. avant J.-C., à l'imitation de Platon ainsi qu'à une distraction et une citation erronée de Grégoras. A. LIPINSKY, «*Sicaniae regni corona*», *il «kamelaukion» detto «cuffia di Costanza» nel tesoro del duomo di Palermo* (pp. 347-370), identifie ce *camelaucium* avec la «couronne du Royaume de Sicile» que Roger I porta à partir des environs de 1132 ; elle servit encore au couronnement de Frédéric II qui, pour diverses raisons subtilement analysées par l'auteur, la fit ensevelir avec son épouse, Constance d'Aragon († 1222). E. MERENDINO, *Federico II e Giovanni III Vatatzes* (pp. 371-383), examine les rapports entre l'empereur souabe et Byzance à l'aide de quatre lettres envoyées en 1250 à Jean III Vatatzes et à Michel II d'Epire. A. MASSINA étudie la *cripta di «Santa Lania» (Lentini)* — qui serait l'œuvre d'émigrés d'Asie Mineure dans la seconde moitié du VIIIe s. ou la première moitié du IXe s. — *e il problema delle arcate cieche nell'architettura altomedievale* (pp. 385-394). B. PATERA publie des *affreschi bizantini inediti a Mazara del Vallo* (pp. 395-407) ; malgré leur mauvais état de conservation, ces fresques sont importantes «come testimonianza di una produzione artistica di ambiente monastico quasi coeva o comunque non di molto anteriore ai mosaici del tempo di Ruggero II, la quale viene così a colmare, pur in minima parte, una lacuna nella nostra conoscenza della pittura medievale della Sicilia» (p. 399). G. B. PELLEGRINI recense les *nomi arabi in fonti bizantine di Sicilia* (pp. 409-423). En une synthèse fort dense, A. PERTUSI traite du «*thema*» *di Calabria : sua formazione, lotte per la sopravvivenza. Società e clero di fronte a Bizanzio e a Roma* (pp. 425-443) ; il s'agit du texte d'une leçon faite à Reggio Calabria le 15 avril 1972 à l'occasion de la IIe rencontre d'études byzantines sur «Il thema di Calabria». U. RIZZITANO évoque *il sacerdote Ignazio di Matteo (1872-1948) et il suo contributo agli studi arabo-islamici* (pp. 445-471). G. ROHLFS étudie les mots *spílinga-sperlínga-sperlónga* (pp. 473-477). F. RUSSO, *Il monastero greco di S. Nicodemo di Cellerana* (pp. 479-496) retrace l'histoire de ce monastère, situé dans le diocèse de Gerace-Locri et fondé au Xe s. par saint Nicodème de Mammola. N. B. TOMADAKIS analyse *la lingua di Giuseppe Innografo (poeta greco palermitano)* (pp. 497-506). G. VALENTINI, *Il complesso musivo della «Martorana» di Palermo* (pp. 507-512) montre que «in confronto con Cefalù, con la Palatina, con Monreale, il complesso musivo della Martorana è più rigorosamente, organicamente e chiaramente liturgico» (p. 512). Enfin, A. VENDITTI attire l'attention sur *le chiese bizantine di Capri*, où l'influence de l'architecture grecque médiévale est plus sensible encore qu'à Amalfi dont l'île dépendait (pp. 513-530).

En bref, voici un recueil bien digne de figurer parmi les «quaderni» du très actif Istituto siciliano di studi bizantini e neoellenici.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Le livre à Byzance

Byzantine books and bookmen, Washington, Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1975, in-4°, XI-109 p., 65 ill.

Ce recueil reprend quatre des sept communications qui ont été présentées en 1971 à Dumbarton Oaks lors d'un colloque sur «les livres et des lettres à Byzance». Ces contributions sont fondamentales.

Dans une brillante esquisse, N. G. WILSON, *Books and readers in Byzantium* (pp. 1-15), examine les points suivants : la production et le commerce des livres, les lecteurs, les scribes et, enfin, les auteurs et leur audience. Le parchemin était rare et les livres coûtaient cher. Il n'est donc pas étonnant de trouver aussi peu de mentions de libraires. «Until more evidence is found it may be best to assume that the trade in books was almost always in the form of secondhand transactions and special commissions given to professional scribes» (p. 4). Mais ce type de commerce était lui-même limité. Les bibliothèques privées étaient bien peu fournies et le nombre de lecteurs qui utilisaient des livres à des fins non professionnelles était fort réduit. Il y avait dès lors peu de calligraphes en dehors des monastères ... d'autant moins que les *scriptoria* monastiques exécutaient des commandes pour des laïcs et que beaucoup de lettrés se passaient des services d'un copiste. Enfin, la littérature séculière ne touchait pas un large public. Bref, on peut parler de déclin dans le domaine envisagé ici, mais — et la remarque est capitale — «it can at least be said that the decline was not of the Byzantines' own choice ; they valued education as much as did their predecessors, but economic circumstances prevented the circulation of books to many who would have liked to read them» (p. 14).

Ce n'est pas une étude systématique et complète que J. IRIGOIN, *Centres de copie et bibliothèques* (pp. 17-27) s'est proposé d'écrire. Sa contribution est avant tout une excellente leçon de méthodologie. L'auteur souligne par plusieurs exemples comment «l'emploi conjoint de la codicologie et de la philologie permet seul de relier les manuscrits entre eux pour les replacer ... dans le milieu où ils sont nés (centres de copie) et dans celui où ils ont vécu (bibliothèques) pour être lus, annotés, recopiés, détériorés, restaurés» (p. 27). Il propose tout d'abord divers modes d'approche pour étudier les relations entre un centre de copie et une bibliothèque. Il examine ensuite la

manière dont la production des centres était diffusée. Il montre, enfin, comment les réactions du copiste à l'égard de son modèle varièrent selon les époques.

A l'aide des indications bibliographiques fournies par les actes du VIIe concile œcuménique (787), les chroniques de George le Syncelle et de Théophane ainsi que par la *Bibliothèque* de Photius, C. MANGO, *The availability of books in the Byzantine Empire, A. D. 750-850* (pp. 29-45), attire l'attention sur l'extrême rareté et le coût exorbitant des livres à l'époque. Il montre également qu'il n'existait pas alors de bibliothèque centrale à l'exception de la bibliothèque patriarcale, elle-même limitée aux matières ecclésiastiques ... et incomplète. — Bien que le fait sorte du cadre chronologique proposé par l'auteur, il n'est pas sans intérêt de faire la remarque suivante à propos des lacunes de la bibliothèque patriarcale. En 678, Constantin IV, désireux de mettre fin à la crise monothélite, demanda au pape d'envoyer à Constantinople des représentants non seulement compétents mais encore *ἐπιφερομένους ... τὰς βίβλους ἃς δέον ἐστὶ προαχθῆναι* (MANSI, XI, 197 D). De fait, lors de la Xe session du VIe concile œcuménique (18 mars 681), plusieurs extraits des Pères et des hérésiarques furent collationnés sur les livres apportés par les légats romains et non pas, comme à l'accoutumée, sur les ouvrages de la bibliothèque patriarcale. Or, à l'exception d'un manuscrit de saint Ambroise (*Ibid.*, XI, 396 AB), il s'agissait d'œuvres grecques (*Ibid.*, XI, 424 CD, 433 B-437 B, 444 C-445 B, 448 A-449 C ; sur ces collations cf. déjà, Th. SCHERMANN, *Griechische Handschriftenbestände in den Bibliotheken der christlichen Kulturzentren des 5-7 Jahrhunderts*, dans *Oriens Christianus*, 4, 1904, pp. 161-162). Ce sont des cas du même genre que l'auteur relève pour le concile de 787 (cf. pp. 31-32 et n. 12, p. 31) mais, en 680-681, les livres mentionnés comme ayant été apportés par les légats romains étaient plus nombreux. Aussi, soit dit en passant, il semble qu'il faille se montrer moins sceptique à propos des ouvrages grecs des bibliothèques de Rome que M. Mango (*La culture grecque et l'Occident au VIIIe siècle*, dans *I problemi del Occidente nel secolo VIII = Settimane di studio ... XX*, Spoleto, 1973, pp. 712-713 et le présent article, p. 30, n. 2, à confronter toutefois avec la p. 34).

Dans une communication passionnante, H.-G. BECK, *Der Leserkreis der byzantinischen «Volksliteratur» im Licht der handschriftlichen Ueberlieferung* (pp. 47-67), montre que la langue utilisée ne constitue pas un critère suffisant pour déterminer quelle fut l'audience d'une œuvre. Il faut, en effet, distinguer entre une littérature de lettrés, écrite en *δημοτική* ou dans un grec intermédiaire entre la langue savante et le langage vulgaire, et la véritable

littérature populaire. Par d'intéressants exemples — comme les poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire conservés dans des manuscrits de miscellanea essentiellement théologiques ; les fables satiriques transmises par des recueils de littérature populaire, etc. —, l'auteur souligne combien l'examen de la tradition manuscrite peut être utile à cet égard.

Enfin, K. WEITZMANN, *The selection of texts for cyclic illustration in Byzantine manuscripts* (pp. 69-109), partant de la constatation que «the illustration for a text is done in anticipation of the response of the consumer» (p. 69), aborde en historien de l'art les aspects économiques de la production des livres illustrés à Byzance. A l'aide d'une riche documentation, l'auteur s'efforce de préciser quels sont, parmi les textes littéraires, ceux qui furent enrichis d'un cycle de miniatures et attire l'attention sur l'importance des deux critères suivants : la popularité du livre et ses qualités narratives.

Voilà donc un recueil qui se recommande autant par l'importance des questions abordées que par l'excellence des contributions présentées. Puissent ces quelques lignes inciter à le lire.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Photios et la littérature antique

Tomas HÄGG, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur.* Untersuchungen zur Technik des Referierens und Excerpierens in der *Bibliotheke* ; Uppsala-Stockholm, Almqist et Wiksell, 1975. Un vol. in-8°, 218 p. (ACTA UNIVERSITATIS UPSALIENSIS. STUDIA GRAECA UPSALIENSIA, 89).

Voici un ouvrage dense, lucide et bien conçu qui rendra service non seulement à ceux qui s'intéressent à la méthode de travail de Photius, mais aussi, et même surtout, à ceux dont l'intérêt se porte sur les auteurs dont Photius s'est occupé et dont nous ne connaissons un bon nombre que par lui.

L'étude repose, pour l'essentiel, sur l'examen comparatif de la *Vie d'Apollonius de Tyane* par Philostrate et le «codex» 44 de Photius qui offre une sorte de compte rendu de cette œuvre, et le «codex» 241 qui en donne deux séries d'extraits : des «extraits de style» et des «extraits de fond». Le choix de Philostrate est heureux car il présente à lui seul les trois types essentiels de la méthode de Photius : les «sommaires» et les deux façons de faire des extraits.

La comparaison est menée avec beaucoup de perspicacité critique et même avec minutie. Rien n'échappe à l'attention de M. Hägg, même les

divergences infimes dont il est bien difficile de dire où elles remontent : modèle de Photius, fautes de dictée — l'auteur part, en effet, du principe que Photius a *dicté* son texte et ce n'est pas moi qui le contredirai — fautes de Photius lui-même. Encore ces divergences ne tirent-elles pas beaucoup à conséquence. Mais il en est de plus importantes qui requièrent plus d'attention car elles posent le problème de l'intervention personnelle de Photius. Il change un mot, transpose des termes, laisse tomber une phrase, introduit un extrait ou en lie deux par un morceau de raccord. Le familier de Photius reconnaît bien vite là cet auteur avec ses goûts, ses choix et sa fidélité générale au fond même du texte en même temps qu'une certaine liberté à l'égard de la forme. Je suis heureux de voir se confirmer ainsi l'impression toute superficielle que m'ont laissée les comparaisons forcément hâtives que j'ai pu faire entre les extraits et les originaux en éditant le texte de la *Bibliothèque*.

Les conclusions de l'étude sur Philostrate sont contrôlées par une enquête sur les extraits de Méthode d'Olympe (237 et 238), d'Himérius (243), de Plutarque (245) et d'Aelius Aristide (246). Ces nouvelles comparaisons font apparaître le même ordre de divergence que l'examen de Philostrate et en confirment les conclusions.

Dion Chrysostome (209) sert de modèle à l'étude des comptes rendus et Procope (63) et Josèphe (238) à un autre genre de notices où Photius choisit des extraits qu'il présente réunis par des phrases de lui qui résument les passages omis entre deux extraits.

Toutes ces belles démonstrations de M. Hägg ont un aspect plutôt négatif derrière lequel s'estompe un peu l'image d'un Photius vraiment utile et précieux. Précieux en tant que tradition indirecte d'auteurs que nous possédons en tradition directe, précieux pour la reconstruction d'œuvres perdues.

C'est dans les «extraits de style» que les leçons de Photius serrent les originaux au plus près. Il y a plus de divergences formelles dans les «extraits de fond», mais on peut être sûr d'une fidélité essentielle au contenu des originaux. Quant aux comptes rendus, ils sont fidèles aux données de l'œuvre étudiée et leur forme n'est pas sans parenté avec le contexte de l'œuvre résumée et on ne peut reprocher à Photius aucune altération volontaire des textes qu'il a lus.

Ces correctifs à l'aspect négatif du tableau sont énoncés par M. Hägg dans un court passage de ses conclusions, mais on aurait aimé les voir développer davantage.

En tout état de cause, avec ce livre excellent, M. Hägg a tracé la voie aux

utilisateurs éventuels de la *Bibliothèque*. On souhaite le voir exploiter davantage cette veine qu'il a si savamment ouverte car il reste encore beaucoup à dire sur Photius.

René HENRY.

Histoire de Nicetas Choniate

VAN DIETEN (I. A.), *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, Series Berolensis, t. XI, 1 et 2, Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1975, 2 vols., 15,5 × 23,5 cm, CXV-655 pp. et 143 p. Prix : 490 D.M.

Point n'est besoin de souligner l'importance de la χρονικὴ διήγησις de Nicetas Choniate dans l'historiographie byzantine. Due à un haut fonctionnaire de l'époque des Ἄγγελοι, c'est une source majeure de l'histoire du XIIe siècle byzantin et du début du XIIIe, en particulier pour les événements de 1204, leurs conséquences immédiates et les débuts de l'empire de Nicée au sein duquel Nicetas espéra jouer un rôle important. L'édition de Bekker pour le Corpus de Bonn date de 1835 et ne répondait plus aux impératifs de la critique moderne. C'est donc un grand service que M. Van Dieten rend à l'histoire byzantine en nous procurant cette nouvelle édition, fruit d'un labeur acharné et d'une grande érudition.

L'éditeur se trouvait confronté à un texte qui présente plusieurs états rédactionnels dont on retrouve l'écho dans deux familles de manuscrits. M. Van Dieten a savamment et avec beaucoup de perspicacité étudié la tradition manuscrite ce qui lui permet de retracer les différentes étapes de la composition de l'œuvre et de nous en offrir un tableau clair et convaincant, même dans les hypothèses qu'il est amené à formuler.

Avant 1204, Nicetas rédigea une première version de son œuvre couvrant la période de 1180 à 1202. Elle occupe les pages 1 à 535 (2) de l'édition. Après la prise de Constantinople par les Croisés, Nicétas donne une suite à sa χρονικὴ qu'il mène jusqu'à l'automne 1207 (pp. 535 (3)-636, 647-655). Cette version, appelée LO par M. Van Dieten, attestée dans les *Mss. Laur.*, IX, 24, *Oxford, Bodl. Roc*, 22, fut mise par écrit d'avril 1204 à juin 1206 à Selymbria, de juillet à décembre 1206 à Constantinople et terminée à Nicée en 1207 et 1208. Les conditions de travail n'avaient pas été des plus propices, aussi Nicetas, soucieux de perfectionner son récit, en remit-il la continuation sur le métier à Nicée. Cette révision porte sur les événements postérieurs à la prise de Constantinople (p. 583) mais ne dépasse pas avril 1205 (p. 615). Nicetas se décida à livrer aux copistes la version antérieure à 1204, corrigée en certains endroits, et la continuation revue qui forment la rédaction b(revior) de l'œuvre. L'auteur, qui espérait à ce moment jouer un

rôle d'envergure à la cour de Nicée, renonça à son œuvre littéraire pour y revenir après l'échec de ses espérances. Il entreprit alors une refonte complète du texte où il se montre beaucoup plus critique vis-à-vis des milieux dirigeants, des empereurs et des hauts fonctionnaires. Cette refonte l'occupa jusqu'à sa mort en 1215/1216. Elle couvre les événements jusqu'en 1206. M. Van Dieten a tout naturellement pris comme base de son édition cette rédaction a ou auctior.

On trouvera, dans l'apparat critique, le texte de b et des autres variantes. C'est ainsi qu'à partir de la p. 535, en plus de a, l'édition offre non seulement l'apparat critique traditionnel, les leçons b et LO. M. Van Dieten, outre sa savante introduction, a muni son volume d'un apparat historique et philologique succinct mais bien utile. Le second volume comprend les indices (nominum, verborum ad res Byzantinas spectantium, graecitatis, locorum) qui rendent très facile la consultation de ce monumental ouvrage.

Nul n'était plus qualifié que M. Van Dieten pour assumer le travail considérable de cette imposante édition. Celui-ci, venant après l'ouvrage de M. Van Dieten sur la *Panoplie dogmatique* de Nicetas (*Zetemata byzantina*, III, 1970), après la biographie remarquable de Nicetas (*Supplementa byzantina*, 2, 1971) et après l'excellente édition, dans le même Corpus (C.F.H.B., Ser. Berol., III, 1972), des discours et lettres de Nicetas Choniate, apparaît comme le couronnement d'un grand œuvre. On se prend à murmurer : Exegi monumentum aere perennius.

M. DE WAHA.

Le Florentios de Nicéphore Grégoras

Niceforo GREGORA, *Fiorenzo o intorno alla sapienza* a cura di Pietro L. M. LEONE (Collana di Studi e Testi diretta da Antonio Garzya, IV), Università di Napoli, 1975, 244 pp.

Nos lecteurs connaissent l'activité dévorante du Professeur Pietro Leone et l'intérêt qu'il porte depuis des années, entre autres sujets, à Nicéphore Grégoras. Il a publié à différentes reprises, dans notre revue même, des articles concernant soit l'œuvre de cet auteur, soit des lettres qui lui étaient adressées (1). Voici qu'il nous offre dans ce petit volume une édition critique avec traduction et commentaires du *Florentios*. La seule édition dont nous disposions jusqu'à présent, celle de A. Jahn, datant de 1844, était basée sur

(1) Cf. *Byzantion*, XL (1970), pp. 471-516 ; XLII (1972), pp. 525-531 ; XLIII (1973), pp. 344-359 ; XLVI (1976), pp. 13-45.

le seul manuscrit *Basil. gr.*, F, VIII, 4. P. Leone a collationné les six manuscrits connus et son travail témoigne de la rigueur scientifique, de la clarté, de la minutie habituelles à l'auteur, qui a pris soin, en outre de signaler les passages parallèles trouvés dans d'autres œuvres de Grégoras ou ailleurs, les allusions faites à des textes antiques ou byzantins, bref, tous les rapprochements qui pourraient orienter le lecteur dans ce dialogue imité de Platon et de Lucien. Le *Florentios* qui est censé se dérouler dans l'Athènes antique est une œuvre à clés, mais les clés sont fournies dans le *scholion* qui introduit l'œuvrette : Athènes représente Byzance, Nicagoras est le pseudonyme transparent de Nicéphore Grégoras, Métrodore celui du célèbre Théodore Métochite, tandis que sous le nom de Cécropides se cachent les partisans de l'empereur Andronic II et sous celui d'Héraclides ceux de son petit-fils, le jeune Andronic. Les étrangers latins ou présentés comme tels sont parés de noms dont le premier élément trahit leur origine : Xénophane n'est autre que le fameux moine calabrais Barlaam, et Xénocrate un latin de ses amis.

Nicéphore Grégoras a donc fait, en lui donnant les apparences d'un dialogue antique, une œuvre d'actualité. Mais le *Florentios* est un pamphlet et prend avec la vérité toutes les libertés que postule ce genre de jeu littéraire. Il est dirigé contre Barlaam, moine orthodoxe de Calabre, spécialiste d'Aristote, qu'il avait étudié en latin en Italie, sans doute à Naples, où il se serait familiarisé avec la pensée de S. Thomas d'Aquin et de Scot. Il partit en Orient, peut-être pour échapper à l'hostilité des Latins à l'égard des orthodoxes, mais aussi sans doute pour perfectionner sa connaissance du grec et étudier Aristote dans la langue originale. Après avoir séjourné à Arta, puis à Thessalonique, il décida, en 1330, de se rendre à Constantinople pour y enseigner sa doctrine. Bien accueilli par l'empereur Andronic III et le grand domestique Jean Cantacuzène ainsi que par de jeunes disciples, il se heurta à l'hostilité d'un groupe latinophobe, dont les plus illustres représentants étaient Théodore Métochite, récemment rentré d'exil, Nicéphore Choumnos et Nicéphore Grégoras. Barlaam fut une des cibles favorites de ce dernier qui, avant d'écrire le *Florentios* l'avait déjà attaqué dans deux autres pamphlets et dans des lettres.

Dans le *Florentios*, probablement écrit pendant l'été de 1337, l'auteur imagine un débat public, qui aurait eu lieu dans le palais de Jean Cantacuzène, entre lui-même et Barlaam, et où, bien entendu, le Calabrais, tout gonflé de vanité et de suffisance, aurait étalé au grand jour son ignorance, en se montrant incapable de répondre à des questions élémentaires sur l'astronomie et la logique d'Aristote, qui lui étaient posées par Nicagoras

(c.-à-d. par Nicéphore Grégoras), grand vainqueur de la joute oratoire, qui, lui non plus, on le voit, ne péchait pas par excès de modestie. Barlaam ridiculisé et mis hors de combat, est alors relayé par un moine latin de ses amis, et les critiques de Nicagoras portent cette fois plutôt sur Aristote lui-même, dans l'œuvre duquel il cherche des contradictions dans le domaine de la physique et des sciences. Peut-être ses attaques sont-elles dirigées contre la scolastique occidentale et la pensée scientifique en général, que Grégoras entend montrer incertaines en face des certitudes données par la religion...

L'œuvre présentée, éditée et traduite par P. Leone est aussi accompagnée de commentaires très fouillés portant sur la langue, la grammaire, les événements et les personnages historiques ainsi que sur la polémique qui met aux prises les protagonistes du dialogue.

Plusieurs index : un *index graecitatis*, un *index nominum*, un *index locorum*, un index des auteurs modernes terminent ce petit volume dont le contenu et l'élégante présentation font honneur à l'école byzantine de Naples.

Alice LEROY-MOLINGHEN.

Interaction des cultures grecque et latine de 330 à 1600

Deno John GEANAKOPLOS, *Interaction of the «Sibling» Byzantine and Western Cultures in the Middle Ages and Italian Renaissance (330-1600)*, New Haven-London, Yale University Press, 1976, in-8°, XXII-416 p., 18 pl., 5 cart.

On lira avec grand intérêt mais aussi avec circonspection le nouveau livre du Professeur Geanakoplos qui étudie l'interaction des cultures grecque et latine issues d'un tronc commun, l'Empire romain christianisé et sa civilisation classique.

L'auteur a rassemblé, en les remaniant parfois considérablement, dix articles publiés ou conférences données entre 1960 et 1974. Il a ajouté quatre nouvelles contributions (les n°s 7, 8, 11, 13 de la liste ci-dessous). Il a ensuite résumé et systématisé les résultats de ces travaux dans un aperçu général. Avant de parler de ce dernier, il n'est pas inutile d'énumérer les études comprises dans le recueil : 1) *The Orthodox Church : The Primary Creative Element in Byzantine Culture* (pp. 25-35) ; - 2) *Religion and «Nationalism» in the Byzantine Empire and After : Conformity of Pluralism?* (pp. 36-54) ; - 3) *The Influences of Byzantine Culture on the Medieval West* (pp. 55-94) ; - 4) *Western Influences on Byzantium in Theology and*

Classical Latin Literature (pp. 95-117) ; - 5) *Church Construction and «Caesaropapism» in East and West from Constantine to Justinian* (pp. 118-132) ; - 6) *Maximos the Confessor and his Influence on Eastern and Western Theology and Mysticism* (pp. 133-145) ; - 7) *Ordeal by Fire and Judicial Duel at Byzantine Nicaea (1253) : Western or Eastern Legal Influence?* (pp. 146-155) ; - 8) *A Greek Libellus against Religious Union with Rome after the Council of Lyons, 1274* (pp. 156-170) ; - 9) *The Greeks of the Diaspora : The Italian Renaissance and the Origins of Modern Greek National Consciousness* (pp. 172-199) ; - 10) *Crete : Halfway Point between East and West in the Renaissance* (pp. 200-212) ; - 11) *San Bernardino of Siena and the Greeks at the Council of Florence, 1438-39* (pp. 213-224) ; - 12) *Marcus Musurus : New Information on the Death of a Byzantine Humanist in Italy* (pp. 225-230) ; - 13) *The Career of the Byzantine Humanist Demetrius Chalcondyles at Padua, Florence, and Milan* (pp. 231-264) ; - 14) *The Last Step : Western Recovery and Translation of the Greek Church Fathers and their First Printed Editions in the Renaissance* (pp. 265-280). Les notes relatives à ces chapitres sont réunies à la fin du livre.

L'aperçu général, constitué par le prologue (pp. 3-24) et l'épilogue (pp. 281-295), représente la partie la plus originale de l'ouvrage. L'auteur y aborde le problème de l'interaction des cultures latine et grecque de deux points de vue complémentaires, chronologique et sociologique. Il ne se contente pas, en effet, de distinguer diverses phases dans l'histoire de ces relations culturelles ; il examine encore ces dernières à la lumière des recherches sociologiques et anthropologiques sur l'acculturation.

Selon M. Geanakoplos, la longue période étudiée (330 à 1600) peut être divisée en quatre phases. Dans la première (du IVe à la fin du XIe s.), les contacts entre les deux cultures furent sporadiques ; ils eurent lieu surtout en Occident et, du fait de la décadence de la culture latine, l'influence byzantine fut prépondérante. La seconde commença avec la première croisade et s'acheva avec la reprise de Constantinople par les Byzantins (1095-1261). Les contacts entre Grecs et Latins se multiplièrent, en Orient cette fois. Ils contribuèrent à renforcer l'influence grecque sur le monde latin ; ils amenèrent également les Grecs à certaines accommodations sociales et culturelles. Il n'y eut toutefois pas une véritable intégration des deux cultures. Dans la troisième phase qui s'acheva avec la chute de Constantinople (1261-1453), les contacts furent également fort fréquents, mais, comme la culture latine égalait désormais, et, parfois même, dépassait sa rivale, on assista à une confrontation de deux sociétés avancées, phénomène peu étudié par les sociologues. L'Occident exerça des pressions pour

ramener à lui l'Orient byzantin, notamment sur le plan religieux. Des politiques et certains intellectuels furent sensibles à l'influence latine. Dans sa majorité, pourtant, la population grecque ressentit les pressions occidentales comme des atteintes à son identité ; elle réagit vivement soit par l'intransigeance de son orthodoxie, soit — comme ce fut le cas d'une minorité cultivée — par un retour à la culture grecque antique. Enfin, la quatrième phase (ca. 1453-1600) fut celle de la diaspora grecque. Les relations culturelles eurent lieu surtout en Occident. Les savants grecs, au XVe s. du moins, y furent bien accueillis et ils apportèrent leur contribution à la Renaissance. Les diverses colonies grecques restèrent toutefois en marge de la société occidentale. Elles préservèrent leur identité et conservèrent leurs traditions. De ce fait, elles purent plus tard contribuer à l'éclosion du nationalisme grec moderne. L'auteur s'efforce ensuite de rattacher ce schéma à une typologie de l'acculturation. Il distingue trois modes d'acculturation: 1) la domination — ou, du moins, la prépondérance — d'une culture supérieure sur une autre moins avancée; - 2) la fusion de deux cultures en une synthèse nouvelle ; - 3) la rencontre, ou mieux, la confrontation de deux cultures supérieures et plus ou moins égales. La première phase, au cours de laquelle l'influence byzantine fut prépondérante, constitue, aux yeux de M. Geanakoplos, un bon exemple du premier mode. Il est plus difficile de découvrir le deuxième mode dans l'évolution proposée. Quelque chose d'approchant s'est peut-être produit au cours de la quatrième phase ; il n'y eut toutefois pas de fusion culturelle complète si ce n'est en Crète au XVIIe s. Enfin, le troisième mode d'acculturation se manifesta surtout durant la troisième phase.

Avouons-le, cette approche, qui fait appel à plusieurs disciplines, ne manque pas d'intérêt et le schéma proposé est, de prime abord, fort séduisant. Encore eût-il fallu procéder avec une rigueur qu'on cherchera en vain dans ce livre écrit trop rapidement! Malgré son abondance, la bibliographie présente de singulières lacunes. L'auteur, par exemple, mentionne plusieurs travaux, de sociologie et d'anthropologie surtout, relatifs à l'acculturation, mais il ignore que le XIIe congrès international des sciences historiques consacra, à Vienne, en 1965, le premier de ses grands thèmes à cette question. — On retiendra surtout les conférences de A. Dupront (*De l'acculturation*, t. I des *Rapports*, pp. 7-36) et de H. van Effenterre (*«Acculturation» et Histoire Ancienne*, *Ibid.*, pp. 37-44) —. On notera encore, entre autres, qu'à l'exception du livre de M. Gordon (cf. p. 375, n. 31), M. Geanakoplos a négligé, malgré son utilité, la littérature sociologique consacrée à l'assimilation culturelle des émigrés. Par ailleurs, il ne craint pas

d'émettre des hypothèses aventureuses ou d'enregistrer sans discussion des thèses bien vieillies. N'y a-t-il pas, en effet, une certaine audace à suggérer que l'organisation des corporations de Byzance a pu influencer le développement des guildes d'Occident (pp. 73-74)? Comment, d'autre part, peut-on encore, comme le fait l'auteur (pp. 57 et 81), mettre en relation l'apparition du chant grégorien avec le séjour du futur pape Grégoire I à Byzance alors que la découverte du chant «vieux romain» a renouvelé complètement la problématique du sujet? Que dire, enfin, de cette singulière explication du mot *romeo* (*romeus*, *romieu*, etc. = pèlerin) dont l'étymologie reste incertaine? Passe encore que l'auteur ait présenté comme une certitude la dérivation du grec *Ῥωμαῖος* qui n'est, en fait, qu'une des hypothèses proposées par les philologues. Mais fallait-il aller plus loin et rapporter le terme à la fameuse icône appelée *Μαρία ἡ Ῥωμαία* qui, selon la légende, alla sur les flots de Constantinople à Rome, lors de la crise iconoclaste (p. 76)? On regrette en outre les imprécisions, les erreurs de détail dont voici quelques exemples. Pp. 134 et 136: contrairement à ce qu'affirme l'auteur, Anastase le Bibliothécaire n'était pas un Grec. Pp. 98-99 : la traduction par le pape Zacharie des *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand date du VIIIe s. et non pas du IXe s. P. 82 : saint Nil visita le Mont-Cassin mais n'y vécut pas ; son monastère se trouvait à quelque distance, à Valleluce. De plus, le Mont-Cassin n'était pas dirigé à l'époque (dernier quart du Xe s.) par un Grec ; c'est en 1037 que le calabrais Basile fut élu abbé du célèbre monastère, grâce aux pressions exercées par le prince de Capoue, Paldolf III. P. 318, n. 12 : le chiffre de cinquante mille moines grecs réfugiés en Occident aux VIIIe-IXe s. ne repose sur aucune donnée sérieuse.

En raison de l'ampleur du sujet, il serait injuste de déplorer l'absence de telle ou telle question qu'on eût aimé voir aborder, comme la liturgie romano-byzantine de saint Pierre, l'activité intellectuelle des moines latins du Mont Athos, etc. Par ailleurs, on ne peut pas faire grief à l'auteur, visiblement plus à l'aise lorsqu'il parle du bas moyen âge et de la Renaissance, de ne pas avoir traité avec un égal bonheur toutes les parties d'une aussi longue période. On regrette cependant que, malgré quelques timides réserves énoncées en marge de l'exposé, M. Geanakoplos ait souvent considéré — particulièrement à propos du haut moyen âge — l'Orient et l'Occident comme deux entités monolithiques. Ces abstractions ne rendent pas assez compte, nous semble-t-il, de la diversité des situations. On s'étonne surtout du peu d'intérêt accordé par l'auteur à l'hellénisation de l'Italie du Sud et de la Sicile, aux rapports de ces territoires hellénisés avec les régions restées latines, aux relations entre Grecs et Latins à Naples,

Rome, Ravenne et Venise durant le haut moyen âge. — On ne trouve sur ces questions que quelques remarques assez banales disséminées aux p. 59, 78-80, 82-83, 98-99, 318, n. 18 —. Une étude plus attentive eût montré combien le phénomène d'acculturation fut parfois complexe même au cours de la première phase décrite par l'auteur. A Rome, par exemple, les influences grecque et gréco-orientale — il faut, en effet, distinguer, surtout pour le VIIe s., l'influence constantinopolitaine de celle des réfugiés venus de Syrie, de Palestine et, peut-être, d'Egypte — furent bien plus sensibles au VIIe s. et dans les premières décennies du VIIIe s. qu'ensuite ; mais, même alors, le processus d'acculturation ne se déroula pas dans un seul sens. Ainsi des Grecs firent graver leur épitaphe en latin. Le pape Zacharie — le traducteur des *Dialogues* — prôna à saint Boniface la coutume romaine en ce qui concerne la continence des clercs majeurs mariés. Les moines du couvent cilicien des Eaux-Salviennes contribuèrent à la diffusion de la tradition romaine qui situait la décollation de saint Paul à l'emplacement de leur couvent. D'autres composèrent dans leur langue des légendes de «martyres romaines» (ainsi la passion des saintes Foi, Espérance et Charité et de leur mère sainte Sophie). D'autres encore traduisirent en grec les actes de martyrs (ainsi, vraisemblablement, ceux des saints romains Nérée et Achillée). Un Grec composa les litanies des saints en s'inspirant peut-être de la mosaïque absidiale de Saint-Jean du Latran. Il est même possible que Jean Moschos ait accueilli dans son *Pré spirituel* quelques récits qui lui auraient été racontés à Rome au moment de la rédaction de son œuvre ... On voit par ces quelques exemples, tirés à dessein d'une période où les influences grecque et gréco-orientale furent très fortes à Rome, combien il eût été souhaitable de consacrer plus d'attention aux régions italiennes du haut moyen âge. Il s'agit certes d'aires périphériques et le schéma proposé par l'auteur se vérifie plus aisément ailleurs. L'historien des relations culturelles ne peut toutefois pas laisser dans l'ombre des zones de contact sous prétexte qu'elles sont moins représentatives d'une situation d'ensemble.

Ces quelques remarques ne sauraient dissimuler l'intérêt qu'on prendra à la lecture du livre de M. Geanakoplos. Si certains chapitres sont contestables d'autres, comme ceux consacrés aux XVe et XVIe s., témoignent, en effet, d'une plus grande maîtrise. Par ailleurs, cet ouvrage audacieux et novateur suscitera sans doute de fructueuses discussions.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Les mutations de l'Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle

Studien zum 7. Jahrhundert in Byzanz. Probleme der Herausbildung des Feudalismus, herausgegeben von Helga KÖPSTEIN und Friedhelm WINKELMANN, Berlin, Akademie-Verlag, 1976, in-8°, VIII-142 pp., 16 ill. (BERLINER BYZANTINISCHE ARBEITEN, 47).

Ralph-Johannes LILIE, *Die byzantinische Reaktion auf die Ausbreitung der Araber. Studien zur Strukturwandlung des byzantinischen Staates im 7. und 8. Jhd.*, München, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, 1976, in-8°, XXV-401 pp., 8 cartes (MISCELLANEA BYZANTINA MONACENSIA, 22).

Les transformations de l'Empire byzantin au VIIe s. ont fait l'objet de deux livres récents, bien différents quant à la méthode et à l'inspiration.

Le premier est un ouvrage collectif. Il est l'œuvre du groupe de recherche que l'Institut pour l'Histoire ancienne et l'Archéologie de l'Académie des Sciences de la R. D. A. a constitué pour étudier le développement du féodalisme à Byzance. Il réunit les communications — en partie remaniées — présentées lors d'une réunion de travail qui s'est tenue à Berlin du 14 au 16 octobre 1974 sur le thème «La signification du VIIe siècle pour le développement du féodalisme à Byzance».

Les premières contributions traitent des questions socio-économiques, en particulier des relations agraires. Trois d'entre elles sont centrées sur le Code Rural : D. ANGELOV, *Zur Frage des Agrargesetzes und der Herausbildung der Feudalverhältnisse in Byzanz* (pp. 3-9) ; S. MASLEV, *Die soziale Struktur der byzantinischen Landgemeinde nach dem Nomos Georgikos* (pp. 10-22) ; H. KÖPSTEIN, *Zu einigen Aspekten der Agrarverhältnisse im 7. Jahrhundert (nach den juristischen Quellen)* (pp. 23-34). La communication d'Angelov n'est qu'une esquisse fort générale, les deux autres sont plus fouillées et offrent d'utiles états de la question. Dans une optique marxiste, tous trois s'accordent pour souligner l'importance des transformations sociales survenues au VIIe s. et pour mettre l'accent sur la polarisation progressive de la propriété foncière à l'intérieur de la commune villageoise. En d'autres termes, si l'accroissement du nombre des petits propriétaires retarda l'évolution de la société vers le régime féodal, il ne l'aurait pas contrarié fondamentalement. — On regrette que les auteurs n'aient pas eu l'occasion de confronter leurs vues avec celles, si originales, d'E. PATLAGEAN, «*Economie paysanne*» *et «féodalité byzantine»*, dans *Annales E.S.C.*, 30, 1975, pp. 1371-1396, auxquelles il sera désormais impossible de ne pas se

référer, fût-ce avec certaines réserves. — Par ailleurs, G. GOMOLKA, *Bemerkungen zur Situation der spätantiken Städte und Siedlungen in Nordbulgarien und ihrem Weiterleben am Ende des 6. Jahrhunderts* (pp. 35-42), évoque la ruralisation sinon de toutes, du moins de la plupart des anciennes cités du nord de la Bulgarie ainsi que la continuité de la production artisanale du VIe au VIIe s. Enfin, H.-J. DIESNER, *Feudale Elemente im byzantinischen Italien* (pp. 43-49), brosse une esquisse qui, même sous une forme plus développée (cf. ID., *Byzanz, Rom und Langobarden*, ds. *J.Ö.B.*, 25, 1976, pp. 31-45), reste décevante : comment, par exemple peut-on encore parler de l'Italie byzantine sans tenir compte du livre de A. GUILLOU, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle. L'exemple de l'exarchat et de la Pentapole d'Italie*, Rome, 1969, et de l'Italie lombarde sans évoquer les nombreux travaux de G. P. BOGNETTI (sur ces derniers, voir notamment P. TOUBERT, *La liberté personnelle au haut Moyen Age et le problème des «arimanni»*, dans *Le Moyen Age*, 73, 1967, pp. 127-144, spécialement pp. 132-136 = ID., *Etudes sur l'Italie médiévale, IXe-XIIIe s.*, Londres, Variorum Reprints, 1976, n° IV. Les travaux de Bognetti ont été rassemblés sous le titre *l'età longobarda*, 4 vols., Milano, 1966-1968).

La question de l'influence des Slaves sur la société byzantine constitue le deuxième grand thème du recueil. Cinq communications lui sont consacrées. La plus générale — et, hélas, la plus dogmatique — est celle de A. MILČEV, *Der Einfluss der Slawen auf die Feudalisierung von Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert* (pp. 53-58). L'auteur souligne certes les conséquences désastreuses de l'établissement des Slaves pour les grands propriétaires et la libération corollaire de nombreux dépendants ; mais il défend aussi la thèse contestable de l'importation par les Slaves d'un type d'organisation communautaire qui aurait exercé une influence directe sur le Code Rural. Les étapes de l'établissement des diverses tribus slaves, leurs relations avec les Avars et les Bulgares, l'attitude des Byzantins à leur égard font heureusement l'objet de rapports mieux documentés. V. TĂPKOVA-ZAIMOVA, *Ethnische Schichten auf dem Balkan und die byzantinische Macht im 7. Jahrhundert* (pp. 66-72) brosse un intéressant tableau d'ensemble de la question. B. ZÁSTĚROVÁ, *Zu einigen Fragen aus der Geschichte der slawischen Kolonisation auf dem Balkan* (pp. 59-65) envisage surtout l'évolution des rapports entre les tribus slaves et les Avars. Enfin, G. CANKOVA-PETKOVA, *Ueber die Herkunft einiger slawischer Ethnonyme und Toponyme und ihre Bedeutung für das Gesellschaftlich- politische Leben auf dem Balkan* (pp. 73-76) relève quelques emprunts linguistiques qui at-

testent l'existence de relations entre les Slaves et des tribus d'origine turque avant la fondation de l'Etat bulgare ; l'auteur passe également en revue quelques emprunts d'ethniques et de toponymes thraces par les nouveaux venus. Une dernière question, celle des *Slawen im byzantinischen Heer von Justinian I. bis Justinian II.*, est étudiée par H. DITTEN (pp. 77-91). Au VIe s. les Slaves ne servaient pas seulement comme *σύμμαχοι* mais également comme soldats et officiers de l'armée régulière et on connaît le nom de plusieurs d'entre eux. Pour le VIIe s. par contre les sources sont muettes à cet égard malgré l'accroissement de l'importance militaire des Slaves au service de l'Empire. Ce n'est pas là, selon l'auteur, un effet du hasard : les Slaves transplantés alors en Asie Mineure ne devaient pas avoir le statut de stratiotes mais celui de *σύμμαχοι*.

Le dernier volet du triptyque concerne l'Etat, l'idéologie de la culture. H. MIHĂESCU évoque *die Lage der zwei Weltsprachen (Griechisch und Latein) im byzantinischen Reich des 7. Jahrhunderts als Merkmal einer Zeitwende* (pp. 95-100). On retiendra, entre autres, que l'auteur s'accorde à bon droit avec G. Dagron pour préférer à la thèse d'une lutte entre les deux langues celle d'une lente substitution du grec au latin. Le sort du latin fut scellé lorsque les populations romanisées du nord des Balkans furent séparées du monde grec par les Slaves et lorsque les relations avec l'Occident se défirent. Le règne d'Héraclius marqua donc le début d'une nouvelle époque dans l'histoire des rapports entre les deux langues. Un autre problème fort important est abordé par F. WINKELMANN, *Zur politischen Rolle der Bevölkerung Konstantinopels von der nachjustinianischen Zeit bis zum Beginn des Bilderstreits* (pp. 101-119). Selon lui, l'importance politique, au VIIe s., de la population de Constantinople ou, du moins, de certains groupes d'habitants ne fut que transitoire ; elle ne fit que refléter la crise de l'Empire. Cette étude, conduite avec beaucoup de prudence, ne se limite heureusement pas aux factions du cirque mais l'auteur a naturellement été conduit à leur accorder une grande attention. A cet égard, sa communication constitue une des premières, sinon la première, prises de position à l'égard de la thèse révolutionnaire que A. CAMERON avait esquissée dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 67, 1974, pp. 74-91 et *Byzantion*, 44, 1974, pp. 92-120. Les remarques, d'ailleurs nuancées, de Winkelmann ne suffisent pas, nous semble-t-il, à infirmer cette thèse considérablement développée et renforcée dans un livre paru depuis lors (A. CAMERON, *Circus Factions. Blues and Greens at Rome and Byzantium*, Oxford, 1976. Sur cet ouvrage, cf. par exemple, notre compte rendu sous presse dans *L'Antiquité classique*). I. ROCHOW, *Die Heidenprozesse unter den Kaisern Tiberios II.*

Konstantinos und Maurikios (pp. 120-130) illustre, à l'aide des témoignages peu connus de Jean d'Ephèse et d'Evagre, la dernière étape de la longue évolution qui conduisit à l'extinction du paganisme ; cette bonne contribution met également en lumière les clivages sociaux de l'époque. Enfin J. IRMSCHER, *Justinianbild und Justiniankritik im frühen Byzanz* (pp. 131-142) nuance et complète la vision quelque peu simpliste que B. Rubin avait donnée des laudateurs de Justinien. L'analyse des œuvres de Procope ne s'éloigne guère, par contre, des pages admirables que Rubin leur a consacrées. Irmscher insiste toutefois, avec raison, sur le caractère confidentiel et par là même peu efficace du «Gegenbild» de l'empereur brossé dans l'*Histoire secrète*. L'auteur étudie ensuite les critiques qui furent émises contre Justinien à la fin de son règne et sous son successeur ; il termine par un bref examen des chroniqueurs postérieurs.

Bref, tantôt réflexions originales, tantôt états de la question fort utiles, la plupart des articles de ce recueil méritent assurément d'être consultés ; c'est un livre fort intéressant que nous donne le groupe de recherches sur le développement du féodalisme à Byzance.

Si le colloque de Berlin s'est surtout intéressé aux Balkans, R. J. LILIE a, par contre, centré son étude sur l'Asie Mineure. Ce travail, présenté en 1975 à Munich comme «Inauguraldissertation», se distingue par une cohérence et souvent, par une originalité auxquelles le recueil ne peut que plus difficilement prétendre. Il présente «einen Versuch ... auf der Grundlage von Einzeluntersuchungen — die vor allem den ökonomischen Bereich und den Abwehrkampf gegen die Araber betreffen — zu einer Synthese der byzantinischen Massnahmen zu komen, zu einem Grundkonzept der byzantinischen Politik dieser Zeit» (p. XIV). Le plan du livre est exemplaire. L'auteur examine d'abord quelle était la situation dans l'Empire et dans la péninsule arabique avant l'invasion musulmane. Cette esquisse, tout comme le chapitre suivant, consacré aux premières grandes conquêtes, ne recherche pas la nouveauté mais elle repose sur une bonne bibliographie. — On y ajoutera M. AVI-YONAH, *The economics of Byzantine Palestine*, dans *Israël Exploration Journal*, 8, 1958, 39-51 —. Le travail personnel de l'auteur commence ensuite. Il étudie de façon exhaustive les incursions arabes en Asie Mineure de 640 à 800. Il dresse un bilan de la situation économique de l'Empire aux VIIe et VIIIe s. dans lequel il aborde surtout les questions suivantes : l'approvisionnement en blé de Constantinople, les mouvements d'émigration et les transferts autoritaires de populations, la distribution des richesses naturelles, le grand commerce international. Il analyse enfin le système de défense de l'Empire.

On a maintes fois souligné l'importance de la perte des deux plus riches provinces de l'Empire, la Syrie et l'Egypte ; on a souvent montré combien l'Empire devint plus homogène après les conquêtes arabes. Non content de reprendre et de préciser ces conclusions, M. Lilie attire l'attention sur certains faits moins connus. Son étude lui a permis de distinguer diverses zones en Asie Mineure qui était pratiquement la seule province sur laquelle l'Empire pouvait encore compter. Du fait des circonstances, les régions du Nord-Ouest et du Pont — auxquelles la côte occidentale vint s'ajouter au VIIIe s. — devinrent des territoires vitaux en fonction desquels le système défensif suivant fut progressivement mis au point. Une zone déserte précédait le territoire défendu par les thèmes des Anatoliques et des Arméniaques. — Cette défense était peu spectaculaire mais efficace. Elle consistait à tenir les villes et places fortes dans lesquelles la population venait se réfugier en cas d'incursions arabes. Selon l'auteur, les nécessités de coordination et de rapidité amenèrent les chefs militaires à assumer des compétences civiles d'abord limitées aux domaines en rapport avec la défense. Par ailleurs, le long séjour des soldats dans un même endroit et l'amoindrissement de la population locale furent sans doute à l'origine de l'évolution qui fit de l'armée des thèmes une armée de paysans-soldats pourvus de «biens militaires». Cette tentative d'explication ne convaincra peut-être pas tout le monde mais elle est fort séduisante par le dynamisme de la vision qu'elle propose —. Une ligne de défense intérieure protégeait ensuite les territoires vitaux. Enfin, la défense de Constantinople, assurée par une flotte et des troupes particulières, couronnait tout le dispositif militaire. La vie même de l'Empire dépendait désormais de l'existence de la capitale. La ville n'avait plus de rivale. Elle était devenue le seul centre administratif, politique, économique, religieux et culturel de l'Empire et cette centralisation compensait largement la décentralisation militaire due à la création des thèmes.

Nous avons aimé le beau livre de M. Lilie. Souvent personnel, toujours clair et intelligent, il sera lu avec fruit.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Boniface IV

Mirella COLUCCI, *Bonifacio IV (608-615). Momenti e questioni di un pontificato*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1976, in-8°, 109 p. (BIBLIOTECA DI CULTURA, 78). Prix : 2.400 lires.

Il y a peu de monographies consacrées aux papes des premiers siècles du moyen âge. Il est vrai que l'état de la documentation n'encourage guère de

telles entreprises. C'est donc avec curiosité que nous avons pris connaissance du *Bonifacio IV* de M. Colucci. Nous espérions y trouver sinon un exposé original, du moins un bon état de la question. Il nous a malheureusement fallu déchanter. Le livre n'apprend rien qu'on ne connaisse déjà par ailleurs et de graves lacunes bibliographiques le déparent. Passe encore que l'auteur ait, par exemple, ignoré les considérations, du reste quelque peu contestables, qu'O. NUSSBAUM, *Kloster, Priestermönch und Privatmesse. Ihr Verhältnis im Westen von den Anfängen bis zum hohen Mittelalter*, Bonn, 1961, pp. 70-72 et 268, a émises au sujet du décret du concile romain de 610. Admettons même, à la rigueur, qu'elle n'ait pas encore eu connaissance de P. CONTE, *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII*, Milano, 1971 et de P. LLEWELLYN, *Rome in the dark ages*, New York, 1971. Mais on ne comprend pas, par exemple, que, parlant des relations de Grégoire le Grand avec le gouvernement byzantin, elle n'ait pas utilisé l'étude fondamentale de E. H. FISCHER, *Gregor der Grosse und Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der päpstlichen Politik*, dans *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, 67, *Kanonistische Abt.*, 36, 1950, pp. 15-144 ou qu'elle n'ait pas renvoyé, à propos du *monasterium Bonifatii* à G. FERRARI, *Early Roman monasteries. Notes for the history of the monasteries and convents at Rome from the V throught the X century*, Città del Vaticano, 1957, pp. 76-77. On s'étonne aussi de l'absence d'un état de la question sérieux à propos de la datation des formules 60-63 du *Liber Diurnus* auxquelles l'auteur fait allusion n. 9, pp. 11-12. — Remarquons qu'à cet égard, l'argumentation peu connue de E. STEIN, *La période byzantine de la papauté*, dans *Catholic Historical Review*, 21, 1935-1936, pp. 148-149 = ID., *Opera minora selecta*, Amsterdam, 1968, pp. 520-521, mériterait au moins d'être discutée. — Enfin, on eût souhaité trouver une référence à la notice que P. BERTOLINI consacra à Boniface IV dans le *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 12, 1970, pp. 137-140.

Quelques erreurs entachent également l'exposé. Ainsi M. Colucci a tort de dire, p. 13, que «l'appoggio di Bonifacio IV al monachesimo è l'unico e l'ultimo di quei tempi». Il faut tenir compte, en effet, de la faveur dont jouirent les moines sous Honorius (625-638). P. 17, 19 et 105 : l'auteur ignore que l'attribution du *Liber Pontificalis* à Anastase le Bibliothécaire est définitivement abandonnée ... depuis près d'un siècle! P. 28 : le complexe monumental qui devint l'église des Saints-Côme-et-Damien n'était pas originellement dédié à Romulus et Rémus. P. 80 : l'auteur fait montre d'une piètre connaissance de la pensée de saint Augustin en parlant du «potere politico, agostiniamente inteso come opera diabolica». P. 85 : ne simplifie-t-elle pas abusivement la situation en affirmant que, dans l'Empire, «fino a

tutto il sec. VI ed i primi decenni del VII ... il latino è ancora la lingue ufficiale» ?

L'auteur est, certes, animée des meilleures intentions et certaines de ses pages ne manquent pas d'intérêt mais un travail de ce genre — sur un sujet, somme toute, assez mince — ne se justifie que s'il fait appel à une bibliographie exhaustive et s'il témoigne d'une grande précision dans les détails.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Gouvernement et société sous les Lascarides de Nicée

M. ANGOLD, *A Byzantine Government in Exile. Government and Society under the Laskarids of Nicaea* (1204-1261). Oxford, 1975, Oxford University Press, un vol., in-8°, xx-332 p., 2 cartes.

Le professeur Angold a voulu tenter une synthèse de l'histoire de l'empire de Nicée, la première depuis l'ouvrage d'A. Gardner, en 1912. Et effectivement, il nous a fourni un livre riche, passionnant à lire, un livre que l'on aurait parfois souhaité plus long, plus analytique. L'ouvrage est divisé en cinq parties qui étudient respectivement l'empire de Nicée et la notion d'empire byzantin, autrement dit la survie du concept d'empire byzantin après la chute de la capitale en 1204 (I, pp. 9-33), la politique intérieure et institutionnelle («constitution») de l'empire (II, pp. 37-93), où sont successivement abordés l'étude du cadre étatique que l'auteur, se fondant sur l'exemple anglais, appelle constitution, les liens entre l'empereur et l'Eglise, essentiellement les liens avec le patriarche et le contrôle de celui-ci, les relations entre l'empereur et l'aristocratie et enfin, l'usurpation par Michel Paléologue. La troisième partie est toute entière consacrée à l'étude de l'économie nicéenne (III, pp. 97-143). Dans la quatrième, M. Angold se penche sur l'administration centrale, où on notera particulièrement le passage consacré au mesazon. Enfin, la cinquième s'attaque à l'administration des provinces. Une bibliographie, un index général, un index des termes techniques, c.-à-d. des termes juridiques, un index des fonctions, charges et dignitaires complètent le volume.

Dans son exposé, M. Angold est amené à montrer comment le gouvernement de Nicée mit sa situation en parallèle avec l'exil des Juifs à Babylone et garda l'espoir de retourner à Constantinople. Il montre aussi comment, à cette époque, on se replonge dans un certain passé grec, retournant aux guerres médiques et aux victoires d'Alexandre. L'usage du terme «Hellènes» est bien analysé. On soulignera aussi l'exposé concernant les rapports de Théodore II Lascaris avec l'Eglise, sa théorie de la suprématie

impériale, tandis que parallèlement, le patriarche renforce par son administration son pouvoir sur l'Eglise, ce qui débouche sur une grave tension à la mort de l'empereur. Le ch. IV : «The Emperor and the Aristocracy» mérite une attention particulière. Car, s'il contient de bonnes choses, j'avoue que parfois la terminologie de M. Angold me surprend quelque peu. L'auteur, p. 68, mentionne les oppositions entre l'autocratie impériale et un système social aristocratique. Par la suite, les termes «aristocracy» et «nobility» sont employés d'une manière presque synonymique. Or, il me semble que les recherches récentes tendent à opposer à une aristocratie, groupe élitiste mais ouvert aussi bien à l'accession de nouveaux membres qu'à l'expulsion d'anciens, une noblesse, groupe fermé où les critères de naissance sont fondamentaux. Et la situation que l'on voit transparaître dans le livre de M. Angold est extrêmement intéressante et mérite un examen très approfondi. Car, à côté d'une liste de familles nobles, c.-à-d. bien nées (*εὐγενεῖς*), apparaît aussi une hiérarchie officielle qui fait plus ou moins de place au rang, c.-à-d. grosso modo à la naissance ou à l'office. Or, l'office dépend de l'empereur et, dans son chapitre consacré à l'administration, M. Angold montre quel intérêt prend l'empereur à surveiller l'éducation de jeunes gens ou même à leur procurer cette éducation qui leur ouvrira les portes de la haute adminstration. Les questions de «rang», et notamment la formule *εὐγενεῖς καὶ τῆς πρώτης ... τάξεως* qui témoigne que le rang n'est pas toujours déterminé par la naissance, me semblent fondamentales dans la dialectique du pouvoir byzantin. Il y a de la part de l'empereur une action très résolue, semble-t-il, contre la noblesse et pour l'aristocratie. Mais, dans le même moment, cet empereur accorde à son fidèle Tornikes le titre de «Frère de l'Empereur», ce qui le «liant» à la famille impériale, lui confère une importance qui n'est plus due à ses mérites mais à une relation avec un «sang princier» ; ceci tempère la notion aristocratique par un élément nobiliaire. Il y a peut-être des recherches à faire dans cette direction : noblesse contre aristocratie, distinction qu'une confusion de vocabulaire tend à négliger.

Dans son chapitre sur l'économie, M. Angold nous apporte des éléments intéressants. On nous permettra cependant quelques remarques. P. 104, l'auteur suppose une population en expansion démographique pour le réaménagement de la campagne. Mais, les chiffres de la note 66, qui donnent 3 et 4 personnes par famille, ne sont pas convaincants. Pp. 106-107, l'auteur compare des prix de terres et d'oliviers. Il en conclut à une stabilité du prix de la terre et à une variabilité du prix des arbres. Or, M. Angold se base, ici, sur six actes de vente. Trois d'entre eux, en 1231 et 1232, don-

nent 1/3 de nomisma par arbre ; en 1213, le prix est 2,6 ; en 1234, le prix est 1,4 ; et pour les mêmes arbres qu'en 1234, le prix, vers 1260, est de 0,36 nomisma, prix très proche de ceux de 1231-1232. Dès lors, il apparaît aberrant de vouloir, en l'absence de toute donnée sur l'âge des arbres, leur état, etc., comparer ces actes de vente. Enfin, peut-on sérieusement fonder des conclusions sur six actes? L'histoire quantitative est certes à la mode, mais la mode a des limites! De même, les vues de M. Angold, p. 136 sv., sur les changements dans la distribution de la propriété foncière au profit des grands propriétaires, semblent parfois lénifiantes. Le mouvement qui tend à diminuer les droits sur les «bien communaux» doit assurément constituer un coup très dur pour la paysannerie «indépendante». Faut-il, pour faire de l'histoire comparée, rappeler qu'en Angleterre, le pays de M. Angold, ce mouvement est à la base des difficultés de la paysannerie au début de la révolution industrielle? Les ventes par de petits propriétaires aux grands «not necessarily mean that they were especially poor or oppressed». Mais que signifient alors ces ventes? M. Angold ne le précise pas. Il y a ici un phénomène d'absorption de terres et de constitution de clientèles dépendantes très analogue à ce qui passe dans la «commendatio» occidentale (cf. F. L. Ganshof). Le recours à l'histoire comparée, et plus particulièrement au maître livre de R. Boutruche, *Seigneurie et féodalité*, Paris, 1968-1970, ainsi qu'aux Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin, aurait pu amener M. Angold à des positions mieux fondées. D'ailleurs, p. 133, l'auteur est obligé de reconnaître «There are signs, on the other hand, that the peasantry found subjection to a lord increasingly irksome». Il cite notamment des cas d'abandon de tenures avec émigration vers les villages et villes des environs. Il faudrait étudier l'ampleur de ce mouvement que marque l'exode rural et la prolétarisation des ruraux. A noter aussi le cas de refus de s'acquitter des services. Dans la conclusion de ce chapitre, pp. 142-143, M. Angold remarque cependant avec justesse le processus de «féodalisation» de la société. Le terme, quoique reçu, devrait être remplacé par celui de «domanialisation», car, c'est essentiellement à l'accroissement territorial des grands domaines avec, en conséquence, l'appropriation ou la concession des droits régaliens que l'on assiste. Si, la conclusion de l'auteur est très acceptable, on a vu que certains de ses raisonnements méritent d'être revus et précisés. On souhaiterait une analyse plus serrée des processus de féodalisation et une problématique mieux définie qui amènerait à associer certains faits que l'on trouve épars dans le livre.

Quoique intéressant et en général fondé, le livre de M. Angold n'emporte pas toujours l'adhésion. Il est à souhaiter qu'il suscite d'autres études qui

permettront, un jour, de nous donner une vue d'ensemble de l'empire de Nicée.

M. DE WAHA.

La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe s.

C. ASDRACHA, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Etude de géographie historique.* Athènes, Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie, 49, 1976, un vol., in-8°, LII-294 p., 2 cartes, 4 tableaux, 8 planches. Prix : 18 $.

Fruit de plus de dix ans de travail, l'ouvrage de C. Asdracha a été présenté à la IVe Section de l'Ecole pratique des Hautes Etudes. C'est un travail minutieux, solide, qui se recommande par de sérieuses qualités d'analyse et par le caractère précis et méthodique des recherches de son auteur. Une première partie : «*L'Espace et la Population*» présente la cadre géographique, la géomorphologie des Rhodopes, de la plaine de l'Hèbre, des plaines de la côte nord-égéenne, ainsi que le climat de la région. L'auteur s'attache ensuite à l'étude des «voies de communication» terrestres et maritimes, étude solidement appuyée par des textes. Un troisième chapitre, très intéressant, a trait à la population. L'élément grec, le plus ancien, prédomine le long de la côte nord-égéenne et dans les centres urbains. L'élément bulgare est en extension dès le XIe siècle. C. Asdracha s'appuie notamment sur de pertinentes analyses toponymiques. D'autres ethnies sont également passées en revues — Valaques, Arméniens, Ibères, Turcs, Coumans, Petchénègues, Tatars, Latins, Juifs — pp. 3-90. La deuxième partie : «*Economie et Société*» constitue une succession de monographies plus ou moins développées de sites, rangés en quatre zones, qui se clôturent (pp. 173-179) par «Quelques Remarques Générales». Andrinople et Didymoteichon sont des villes de «kastron-acropole renfermée par la ville basse fortifiée et construite dans la plaine» et «kastron-acropole» sur colline avec ville basse non fortifiée. Les marchés extérieurs des villes n'entraînent pas nécessairement la constitution de faubourg. L'auteur insiste à juste titre sur le caractère rural des villes qu'elle a peut-être tendance à exagérer à partir de la persistance d'activités de type agricole. L'Europe a connu pendant tout le Moyen Age et même plus tard des villes comportant à l'intérieur de leur périmètre défendu un espace «agricole» plus ou moins grand. L'important ch. V étudie «La Production, l'Economie et les Catégories Sociales» (pp. 180-204) et les «Formes de Propriété Foncière et les

Catégories Sociales de la Population» (pp. 205-219) puis les échanges (pp. 219-236). L'exposé est intéressant. L'auteur s'attache à l'étude scrupuleuse des productions et des techniques. Si C. Asdracha a parfaitement raison de souligner le rôle de l'élevage dans l'économie de la région, nous nous demandons cependant si conclure à une économie autarcique est bien justifié. Il est évident que dans un monde où les communications sont moins aisées que celles que nous connaissons, les déplacements sont plus réduits et que la notion de grand commerce est pratiquement limitée à des produits de luxe, ou à des produits manufacturés, ou à des matières premières coûteuses. Une agriculture diversifiée, comme celle des Rhodopes, n'est pas une preuve d'autarcie. La spécialisation des cultures est un phénomène tardif, lié à l'éclatement des restrictions de circulation, éclatement auquel la géographie des Rhodopes ne prédispose pas. C'est ainsi que nous sommes tenté d'accorder plus d'importance que C. Asdracha à ses découvertes sur l'activité des marchés occasionnels et permanents, des foires, du commerce des grains avec Venise. Cette activité de vente nous semble bien plus révélatrice du dynamisme d'une région et plus caractéristique que la non-spécialisation de sa production. Deux remarques : 1) que faut-il entendre par blé (p. 184, 186, 224)? 2) L'auteur cite assez fréquemment des troupeaux d'élevage, et notamment p. 188 nous montre la concentration des pâturages près de la ville de Philippoupolis et d'Andrinople. Ces renseignements, très précieux pour l'histoire de l'alimentation spécialement carnée, mériteraient d'être davantage détaillés. Des chiffres comme 50.000 porcs et 70.000 brebis pour Cantacuzéne laissent rêveurs. A titre de comparaison, notons que l'abbaye cistercienne de Meaux (Angleterre) possède 11.000 moutons pour 12.000 à sa consœur de Jervaulx! Le mouton est d'ailleurs un animal très nuisible aux cultures, mais aussi particulièrement sujet aux épizooties. La présence de pareils troupeaux suppose des activités commerciales importantes : viande de boucherie, commerce de la laine d'où artisanat? Ce sont quelques points sur lesquels on eût souhaité davantage d'explications. Car — et nous le regrettons — l'auteur a donné, pp. 261-263 «au lieu de conclusions», un aspect beaucoup trop modeste à la synthèse, aux conclusions de son remarquable travail. Espérons que C. Asdracha aura à cœur de revenir sur certains points abordés dans son magistral travail et souscrivons sans réserve à ce propos de N. G. Svoronos, en tête de la préface : «Etudier l'empire byzantin région par région dans une série de monographies exhaustives ... c'est sans doute, ... la meilleure approche de la réalité de cet empire ...».

M. DE WAHA.

Byzance et l'Angleterre

CIGGAAR (K. N.), *Byzance et l'Angleterre*. Thèse, Lettres, Université de Leyde, 1976, VI-230 p.

Dans sa thèse, Mlle Ciggaar s'est attachée à étudier trois sources peu connues de la topographie et de l'histoire de Constantinople aux XIe et XIIe siècles. Ces études ont déjà paru dans R.E.B., 31, 1973, pp. 335-354 ; 32, 1974, pp. 301-342 ; 34, 1976. Dans sa préface cependant, l'auteur dit avoir apporté certaines modifications aux textes parus dans R.E.B. La première partie est consacrée à «Une description anonyme de Constantinople du XIIe siècle», pp. 1-19. Mlle Ciggaar réédite une courte description de Constantinople dont la version grecque avait été publiée en 1913, mais mal datée. L'auteur a mis en relation le texte grec *Milan Ambrosianus N. 87 sup.* f° 32 et le texte latin *British Museum Cotton Vittelius A xx.* Le texte grec semble bien être une traduction du latin. Mais, il doit procéder d'un autre Ms. que *Cotton Vit. A xx.* qui est un recueil composite du XIVe s. Il y a là un problème de tradition, de recherche de nouveaux manuscrits auquel on souhaite que Mlle Ciggaar s'attache un jour. Si des auteurs anglais semblent bien connaître Byzance, nous ne voyons pas ce qui permet d'attribuer ce texte à un Anglais. Ce texte est peut-être une traduction du grec (p. 12).

II. L'émigration anglaise à Byzance après 1066 (Un nouveau texte en latin sur les Varangues à Constantinople), pp. 20-71. Publication d'un important passage d'une chronique universelle : le *Chronicon Universale Anonymi Laudunensis* d'après Paris *B.N. lat. 5011.* Ici aussi, l'auteur fait œuvre utile, mais on attend que, poursuivant ses recherches, elle parvienne à mieux dater le texte et ses sources ainsi que ses rapports avec Orderic Vital. Des rapports avec des sagas islandaises sont mis en valeur. Mlle Ciggaar étudie soigneusement les sources parallèles et dresse un tableau des relations entre Byzance et l'Angleterre. Celles-ci, en fait, sont curieuses, car si elles existent incontestablement, il n'en est pas moins paradoxal de voir établir des liens entre Byzance et les rois normands d'Angleterre par l'intermédiaire des Anglo-Saxons émigrés. Le recrutement de mercenaires anglais entre 1060-1080, supposé par V. LAURENT, *Numismatic Circular*, LXXI, 1963, pp. 93-96, les données concernant les Anglo-Saxons prenant contact avec le roi de Danemark Sven auraient pu être rapprochées du recrutement de chevaliers flamands par Alexis Comnène auprès de Robert le Frison, beau-père du roi de Danemark Canut IV et adversaire de Guillaume le

Conquérant (cf. F. L. GANSHOF, *Byzantion*, XXXI, 1, 1961, pp. 57-74). Petite remarque, p. 25, n. 111, Mlle Ciggaar renvoie à DÖLGER, 1938, qui citait un chrysobulle d'Alexis Comnène de 1081, d'après G. ROUILLARD, P. COLLOMP, *Actes de Lavra*, Paris, 1937, p. 100, n° 37, l. 34. Depuis, l'acte a fait l'objet d'une nouvelle et beaucoup meilleure édition. Sa date est mars 1082, P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, *Actes de Lavra*, I = *Archives de l'Athos*, V, Paris, 1970, n° 44, pp. 241-244. Cette étude de Mlle Ciggaar nous apporte de précieux renseignements sur les rapports entre l'Europe du N.-O. et Byzance. Elle montre aussi que, contrairement à l'image noircie à souhait par les premiers historiens des Croisades, Alexis Ier Comnène pouvait entretenir de bons rapports avec certains princes occidentaux.

III. Une description de Constantinople traduite par un pèlerin anglais, pp. 72-130. Ce texte avait déjà été publié par MERCATI, d'après l'*Ottobonianus lat. 169*. Mlle Ciggaar le réédite d'après la version d'un manuscrit plus ancien et meilleur, *Oxford Bodleian Digbeanus lat. 112*, f° 17-28 v°, et s'attache à prouver qu'il s'agit d'une traduction du grec. Au lieu de la date de 1190 proposée par Mercati, l'auteur croit pouvoir proposer, au terme d'une analyse serrée, une date de 1063-1070 ou 1075-1081 pour le modèle grec qui procède d'un récit du type *de Aedificiis*. Mlle Ciggaar s'attache à retracer les liens spirituels entre Byzance et l'Angleterre. La Vie de saint Augustin de Cantorbery est très importante à ce sujet. L'auteur aborde les problèmes de la connaissance du grec dans nos régions et établit d'intéressantes comparaisons entre le traduction de la Diègèsis et le texte en question. Toutefois, l'attribution du texte à l'Angleterre sur le seul argument que les deux manuscrits les plus anciens sont anglais nous semble devoir être étayée davantage. Un *Index nominum* et *rerum* de l'*Anonymus Mercati*, pp. 130-136, les notes pp. 137-188, l'index des auteurs pp. 189-196, un index général pp. 196-208 et la bibliographie pp. 209-227 complètent le volume.

Mlle Ciggaar nous a livré un travail soigné. Elle a contribué à résoudre certains problèmes. Elle en a soulevé d'autres. Il faut espérer qu'elle poursuivra ses recherches et nous donnera un jour une vue d'ensemble du problème des relations entre Byzance et l'Angleterre (cf. aussi : D. M. NICOL, *Byzantium and England*, dans Balkan Studies, XV, 2, 1974, pp. 179-203).

M. DE WAHA.

L'hérésie dualiste au Moyen Age

M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages*. Prague, Československá Akademie VED, 1974, un vol., 397 p.

Présenter une étude sur l'hérésie dualiste depuis ses origines, que l'auteur place dans la Basse Antiquité, jusqu'au cœur du Moyen Age est une tâche importante qui suscite le respect. Le livre de M. Loos constitue, sans aucun doute, un apport non négligeable à notre connaissance des hérésies médiévales. Cependant, sous bien des aspects, il surprend et n'entraîne pas toujours l'adhésion du lecteur. M. Loos, en effet, a limité son étude à l'aspect purement «idéologique» des hérésies. Ceci ne l'empêche pas de faire parfois allusion, même assez longuement, aux données politiques, économiques et sociales. Mais, jamais, il ne cherche à expliquer la naissance ou le développement d'une hérésie par ces données, ni par quelqu'autre raison. Descriptif, et parfois même remarquablement, comme dans le chapitre sur certains aspects du catharisme en Europe occidentale, l'ouvrage est peu explicatif. Tout d'abord, on aurait aimé trouver une courte définition de l'hérésie. Un des résultats du colloque «Hérésie et Sociétés» (1965, publié en 1971) a été de montrer que la notion d'hérésie varie éminemment en fonction de l'église officielle. Il était, dès lors, intéressant de se demander pourquoi telle doctrine devient hérétique et de souligner les nuances qui aboutissent ou non à des condamnations. Robert d'Arbrissel ou saint Norbert ont des attitudes qui, parfois, sont très comparables à celles de certains hérétiques ; ainsi chez Norbert, le rejet de toute règle, le retour à l'Evangile. Huizinga avait déjà remarqué qu'entre le bûcher et la canonisation le chemin était court. Le cas de Tanchelm, sur lequel M. Loos passe très rapidement est instructif. Les travaux du chanoine De Smet montrent assez nettement qu'on peut facilement passer de l'orthodoxie à l'hérésie. De plus, les sources concernant les hérétiques sont en grand nombre l'œuvre «d'orthodoxes» et utilisent une langue savante. Erbstösser a remarquablement montré comment les inquisiteurs essayaient de faire cadrer les déclarations des suspects avec certaines doctrines préexistantes et ainsi de relier ces déclarations à quelques grands types d'hérésies remontant à l'Antiquité. Il faut, dès lors, être très circonspect avant de juger du caractère d'une hérésie, avant de la typer. Des éléments concrets comme l'anticléricalisme, le refus des sacrements, et en particulier, du mariage, le refus de la dîme, certaines formes de pauvreté, une sorte d'automatisme du salut, méritent tout autant l'attention que les accusations purement idéologiques. Car ces éléments marquent des faits bien concrets. Tandis que — et M. Loos l'a bien vu

d'ailleurs — l'idéologie hérétique est souvent marquée par des confusions, et peu systématique. Ailleurs, et le cas de Montaillou est exemplaire, la manifestation de l'hérésie est très différente de la doctrine théorique de cette hérésie. On peut, dès lors, se demander si l'hérésie n'est pas d'abord une protestation contre l'Eglise en tant qu'institution. M. Loos le sous-entend p. 44 et sv., lorsqu'il montre que l'apparition de l'hérésie en Bulgarie se fait à un moment où le sort du peuple est très malheureux par rapport à celui des gens d'Eglise. Dans cette hypothèse, les questions de doctrine ne serviraient plus que de couverture à une protestation sociale, économique, mais aussi spirituelle. Car le traité du prêtre Cosmas montre (cf. p. 51) que les paysans n'ont plus le temps de prier. Les conditions économiques sont telles qu'elles excluent une partie de la population de la communauté religieuse. D'où une réaction et matérielle — non aux charges! — et spirituelle — création d'une nouvelle Eglise où la hiérarchie se libère des contraintes terrestres. Cette manière de voir, qui a fait son apparition avec les travaux de Werner, mais qui a rencontré des oppositions comme celle de Grundmann, a été reprise dans les recherches récentes et notamment par M. Mollat dans ses séminaires et ses études sur la pauvreté. Elle amène à concevoir l'hérésie d'une manière moins «européenne», plus locale, et peut-être moins intellectuelle. Sans vouloir nier l'intérêt de la démarche synthétique de M. Loos, nous pensons que le procédé d'analyse régionale et monographique aurait pu apporter à l'auteur des vues enrichissantes.

Au passage, notons que le marcionisme ne semble pas être aussi sûrement l'ancêtre des pauliciens que M. Loos l'affirme. On verra à ce sujet P. Lemerle, dans *Travaux et Mémoires*, V, 1973, pp. 132-134, et R. Manselli, *L'eresia del male*, Milan, 1963, que nous ne trouvons pas cité par M. Loos.

M. Loos nous a donc donné un livre intéressant, souvent passionnant, mais peut-être parfois trop limité à la seule histoire doctrinale.

M. de Waha.

La collection d'actes conciliaires d'Isidore de Kiev

O. Kresten, *Eine Sammlung von Konzilsakten aus dem Besitze des Kardinals Isidors von Kiev*. Vienne, Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Denkschriften, 123 Band, Verlag des Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976, un vol., in-4°, 188 p., 6 pl.

L'étude de O. Kresten se présente comme un travail de codicologie. Mais, elle dépasse de très loin les limites de cette science pour déboucher, dès le

chapitre introductif, sur un examen du rôle du concile de Ferrare-Florence, sur la production des manuscrits grecs au milieu du xve siècle (pp. 17-26). Toutefois, il faut remarquer que ce n'est pas au seul concile de Ferrare-Florence que l'on doit un intérêt pour les collections conciliaires anciennes. Les conciles de Bâle et de Constance, le mouvement conciliaire qui se développe alors amènent à rechercher les collections anciennes, à retrouver le travail des conciles passés et à fonder l'autorité du concile. L'auteur s'intéresse alors à la naissance de la collection d'actes conciliaires d'Isidore de Kiev (pp. 27-38). On sait que le légat pontifical, principal agent de la politique d'union entre les églises, a eu accès à de très nombreux documents disparus depuis lors, d'où l'intérêt de ses collections. Isidore de Kiev entreprit cette grande collection pour contrer celle que Georges Scholarios, adversaire de l'union, avait réunie. Suit alors l'étude particulière de la collection d'Isidore, avec l'édition des subscriptions (pp. 39-41), l'analyse des actes contenus dans la collection (pp. 42-48). On accordera une attention particulière au chapitre, très soigné, consacré aux sources des documents (III — Vorlage, pp. 49-94), à savoir le monastère de Chora (*Vat. gr.*, 830, f° 1052), de Prodromos (*Monac. gr.*, 186, f° 298 v°), de Stoudion (*Vat. gr.*, 836, f° 262 v°), de Sainte-Sophie (*Monac. gr.*, 186, f° 1302, *Vat. gr.*, 830, f° 474 v°). Un chapitre est consacré aux «scribes» (pp. 95-100), à l'étude chronologique des souscriptions (pp. 101-104) qui permet de préciser certains points importants de la vie du cardinal de Kiev, et un autre au sort des manuscrits (pp. 105-108). Une courte conclusion (pp. 109-110) est suivie d'une description précise du *Codex Monacensis graecus*, 186 (pp. 111-113). Car, il faut souligner que, si le travail de Mercati (1926) était basé uniquement sur les manuscrits de la Vaticane, M. Kresten est parti, lui, d'un autre manuscrit : Munich, *Cod. Mon. gr.*, 186. On aura déjà remarqué l'usage remarquable qu'il en fait et l'apport de choix que constitue son livre.

M. DE WAHA.

L'Hagarisme

P. CRONE, M. COOK, *Hagarism, the Making of the Islamic World.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977, un vol., in-8°, IX-268 p. Prix : 7,50 L.

Dans cet ouvrage bien documenté, les auteurs ont voulu retracer certains aspects des origines de l'Islam d'une manière nouvelle. Dès l'abord, ils reconnaissent que leur démarche est inacceptable pour un Arabe croyant. Ce que les auteurs du livre mettent en évidence, c'est le caractère tardif et com-

posite des sources arabes concernant les débuts de l'Islam. C'est ainsi qu'ils sont amenés à souligner avec force le caractère «composite» du Coran et ce qu'ils appellent son apparition tardive. Les deux savants ont fait largement appel dans leur étude au témoignage de sources non arabes — sources juives et chrétiennes — grâce auxquelles ils ont pu reconstituer une image des débuts de la pénétration arabe qui diffère sensiblement des idées reçues. Ils insistent particulièrement sur les rapports entre les communautés juives et l'Hagarisme («Judeo-Hagarism») dans un contexte messianique juif dans lequel la destruction de l'empire romain apparaissait comme une étape vers le rétablissement d'Israël : ensuite, ils montrent la «libération» de l'Hagarisme par rapport au judaïsme, l'importance du «modèle» de Moïse dans la tradition «arabe» à ses débuts; le rôle de la religion d'Abraham et du samaritanisme qui niait la sainteté de Jérusalem. Une seconde partie du livre est consacrée à l'influence de la civilisation antique et de ses diverses cultures sur les débuts de la civilisation arabe. La troisième partie, «The Collision», s'attache à expliquer la pénétration arabe dans le Croissant fertile. Ici aussi, l'analyse est subtile et profonde.

Le mérite de P. Crone et M. Cook est d'avoir tenté une analyse nouvelle, en se dégageant des sources traditionnelles. L'approche des deux savants a le mérite d'insister sur les notions de continuité, d'influences culturelles, puis de marquer les phases de distanciation. Il appartient maintenant au monde savant de mettre les idées de P. Crone et M. Cook à l'épreuve, de les corriger, de les approfondir ou de les confirmer. Mais n'est-ce pas le rôle d'un travail de ce genre de susciter d'autres recherches?

M. de Waha.

Cahiers archéologiques

Cahiers Archéologiques. Fin de l'Antiquité et moyen âge, XXIV (1975), grand in-4°, 206 p., nombr. ill. en noir et blanc.

D. I. Pallas, *Investigations sur les monuments chrétiens de Grèce avant Constantin*, pp. 1-19, 27 fig. Il s'agit du rapport présenté au colloque sur les monuments chrétiens du IIIe siècle, tenu à Rome en octobre 1972. La Grèce est alors moins bien christianisée que la Syrie ou l'Asie Mineure ; toutefois, des communautés importantes se trouvaient à Corinthe, à Thessalonique et aussi à Athènes, et elles eurent leurs martyrs. L'auteur regroupe tous les documents, connus et nouveaux, qu'il s'agisse d'inscriptions de cimetières, de peintures et de sculptures. Leur interprétation dans un sens chrétien et

leur date sont parfois douteuses, et il conclut justement que les traces laissées par les communautés chrétiennes grecques de l'époque, pourtant bien vivantes, sont peu importantes. Ch. SETTIS-FRUGONI, *Il grifone e la tigre nella «grande caccia» di Piazza Armerina*, pp. 21-32, 11 fig. L'auteur démontre de façon pertinente qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une chasse mais de la capture d'animaux sauvages, en relation avec des textes antiques et des représentations de jeux du cirque. La composition offre une synthèse de toutes les captures possibles et en même temps une carte géographique précise, les animaux permettant d'identifier les lieux. Le tigre et le griffon (seul animal mythique figuré) représentent l'Inde fabuleuse et sont consacrés à Dionysos : il faut y voir une glorification du pouvoir impérial.

M. PANAYOTIDI et A. GRABAR, *Un reliquaire paléochrétien récemment découvert près de Thessalonique*, pp. 33-48, 12 fig. Découvert en Chalcidique en 1966 et actuellement au Musée de Thessalonique, ce beau coffret est fait de feuilles d'argent au repoussé et mesure $9{,}5 \times 12 \times 9{,}5$. Les longs côtés sont ornés de la Traditio legis et des Trois Hébreux dans la fournaise, les petits côtés de Daniel dans la fosse aux lions et de Moise recevant la loi ; sur le couvercle, le Chrisme entouré de l'A et de l'ω et un rinceau de vigne sur le rebord. La description matérielle et l'étude iconographique dans le cadre de l'art paléochrétien est faite par M. Panayotidi. A. Grabar examine ensuite la fonction de l'objet en relation avec son programme iconographique — il s'agit d'un reliquaire d'église plutôt que d'un coffret funéraire —, la date — deuxième moitié IVe-début Ve siècle —, et le lieu de production — Constantinople ou Thessalonique. L'illustration est excellente. On déplorera que les notes 44 et 45 aient sauté.

M.-T. et P. CANIVET, *La mosaïque d'Adam dans l'église syrienne de Huarte (Ve siècle)*, pp. 49-69, 7 fig. Le site de Huarte, sur le plateau nord de l'Apamène, offre un bel exemple du développement de l'évangélisation de cette région. Les fouilles pratiquées par les auteurs ont révélé, entre autres, deux églises basilicales du Ve siècle qui conservent d'intéressantes mosaïques de pavement. Celles de l'église A, qui peuvent être datées de 472, comportent une représentation d'Adam trônant parmi les animaux de la création. Les auteurs se livrent à une étude très bien documentée sur le thème iconographique, qui se situe dans la tradition de celui de l'Orphée et n'est pas isolé dans l'art paléochrétien de Syrie, ainsi que sur sa signification dans la piété syrienne.

L. BARBÉ, *Une singularité iconographique du haut moyen âge : la plaque-boucle de Lectoure*, pp. 71-72, 1 fig. Ce bel objet de la fin du VIIe siècle représente, outre quatre serpents bicéphales de tradition germanique, une

figure humaine debout, barbue et pourvue d'ailerons, qui doit être identifiée avec le Christ. D'autres Christs ailés figurent sur une plaque-boucle de Saint-Quentin et sur un coffret-reliquaire découvert par l'auteur à Saint-Luidger de Werden. Il peut s'agir d'un Christ ressuscité, ce qui expliquerait les ailes. Mais pareille interprétation a dû être combattue car elle reste rare et limitée aux VIIe-VIIIe siècles. N. et M. THIERRY, *Peintures du Xe siècle en Géorgie méridionale et leur rapport avec la peinture byzantine d'Asie Mineure*, pp. 73-113, 41 fig. Les auteurs présentent, sur la base de publications antérieures et de leur propre documentation, deux décors géorgiens en Turquie orientale, celui de la basilique de Dört Kilise (laure des Quatre églises) et celui de la cathédrale d'Ishan. Des indications historiques et l'examen de la littérature antérieure précèdent l'étude des peintures, ainsi qu'une description de l'état présent des monuments. Il convient de relever notamment le caractère élaboré du décor absidal de Dört kilise (dernier tiers du Xe siècle) et, à Ishan, le thème typiquement géorgien du Triomphe de la croix dans la coupole (ces peintures sont antérieures à 1032 ; d'autres fragments sont d'époques diverses). Les peintures font l'objet d'une description précise, avec références à des décors conservés en Géorgie et en Cappadoce, et de bonnes photographies. Les comparaisons stylistiques paraîtront toutefois moins convaincantes.

A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia : the Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches*, pp. 115-135, 14 fig. L'auteur émet l'hypothèse que les églises à colonnes de Göreme remontent à la première moitié du XIe siècle, antérieurement au groupe de Yılanlı kilise, tel qu'il a été défini par G. P. Schiemenz (mais ce dernier date les peintures du XIIe siècle) et élargi ici à d'autres sanctuaires peu homogènes. La méthode consistant à examiner les dispositions architecturales des églises par rapport les unes aux autres est certes valable, mais le problème chonologique est très fluide et les conclusions, à la suite d'un exposé pénible à suivre, ont finalement peu de consistance. L'illustration aurait gagné à être plus développée. Quant aux peintures des églises à colonnes, elles méritent un examen plus sérieux que des comparaisons limitées aux autres peintures de Göreme. A propos du *thorakion* de Ste Hélène, considéré comme typique du XIe siècle, il se trouve encore dans les peintures du XIIIe siècle de l'Ala kilise (cf. mes *Nouvelles notes cappadociennes*, dans *Byzantion*, XXXIII, 1963, fig. 17). Bl. DE MONTESQUIOU-FEZENSAC et D. GABORIT-CHOPIN, *Camées et intailles du trésor de Saint-Denis*, pp. 137-162, 59 fig. Les notes de Peiresc, l'Inventaire de 1634, la description partielle de 1726 et les planches du livre de Dom Félibien (1706) permettent de reconstituer, pour une part

importante, le trésor de camées et d'intailles de Saint-Denis, dispersé à la Révolution mais dont de nombreuses pièces sont conservées. Il comportait des pièces isolées de belle taille, comme le buste d'Auguste au Cabinet des Médailles, et des pièces enchâssées dans des orfèvreries. Après une remarquable étude sur l'historique de ce trésor, les auteurs font œuvre utile en éditant les notes de Peiresc et un catalogue des camées provenant du chef-reliquaire de S. Benoît, accompagnés de photos pour la plupart inédites.

M. MAGNI, *Un remarquable témoignage du premier art roman en Italie du Nord : la cathédrale d'Aoste*, pp. 163-181, 33 fig. Après avoir rappelé le rôle déterminant de l'évêque Anselme, un Bourguignon (994-1026), dans l'architecture religieuse d'Aoste, et critiqué certaines traditions locales, l'auteur se livre à une étude approfondie de la cathédrale. Consacré à la Vierge de l'Assomption et terminé en 1040, le monument a subi de nombreuses transformations jusqu'au XIXe siècle. Les tours du chevet et les bas-côtés, de même que la crypte, ont cependant conservé une partie des structures primitives, permettant de reconstituer le plan et l'aspect primitif de cette vaste basilique à trois nefs et cinq absides. L'illustration, très complète, en rend bien compte.

Dans la rubrique «Documents», N. THIERRY, *Etudes cappadociennes Région du Hasan Dağı. Compléments pour 1974*, pp. 183-192, 17 fig., donne une série de notes sur des monuments rupestres, inédits ou non, de la région, accompagnées de quelques plans et photographies. Le livre de M. et N. Thierry sur la région du Hasan Dağı (paru en 1964) comportait certes de nombreuses omissions et erreurs qui mériteraient rectification (des compléments et corrections ont déjà été fournis par des comptes rendus et des articles, non connus ou imparfaitement interprétés par l'auteur). Mais il s'agit ici de notes dispersées, sur l'utilité desquelles on peut s'interroger, et qui paraissent surtout fournir l'occasion de «critiques» sans fondement suffisant et dont le ton étonne dans cette revue. Des *Notes de lecture*, dues à A. GRABAR, sur dix ouvrages récents, apportent nombre d'éléments et de mises au point intéressants. Vient enfin une brève *Notice nécrologique* sur le Cte Blaise de Montesquiou-Fezensac par J. HUBERT.

Jacqueline LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE.

Archéologie : préhistoire, période romaine et haut Moyen Age

Georg KOSSACK et Günter ULBERT (ed.), *Studien zur vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Archäologie. Festschrift für Joachim Werner zum 65. Geburtstag.* Tome I : *Allgemeines, Vorgeschichte, Römerzeit* ; tome II : *Frühmittelalter.* Munich, Verlag C. H. Beck, 1974. 2 vols., 21,5 × 30 cm, XXIV-291 et VI-366 pp., 75 et 121 figg., 24 et 24 pll., 1 et 13 annexes. (MUENCHNER BEITRAEGE ZUR VOR- UND FRUEHGESCHICHTE, Ergänzungsband, 1). Prix : 380 DM.

Le 23 décembre 1974, Joachim WERNER fêtait son 65e anniversaire. A cette occasion, 29 de ses disciples de l'*Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte* de l'Université de Munich lui ont offert deux splendides volumes de *Mélanges* contenant des contributions le plus souvent remarquables, une bibliographie complète des œuvres de J. WERNER et une liste des travaux que celui-ci a dirigés.

Joachim WERNER est, assurément, un des plus grands archéologues actuels et probablement le meilleur connaisseur du Haut Moyen Age. Ses vastes domaines d'intérêt, principalement portés vers la période mérovingienne (voir, e. a., *Münzdatierte Austrasische Grabfunde* et ses publications des cimetières de Bülach et de Mindelheim, de la tombe de Wittislingen), englobent aussi, par ex., les civilisations lombarde (*Die langobardische Fibeln aus Italien*, etc.), ostrogothique, avare et slave. Il a également publié des articles novateurs et magistraux sur la circulation monétaire et les relations commerciales au Haut Moyen Age (*Waage und Geld in der Merowingerzeit*, *Fernhandel und Naturalwirtschaft im östlichen Merowingerreich*, ...). Il n'a pas négligé, non plus, les arts mineurs byzantins : fibules, croix pectorales, boucles de ceinture, ... A côté de ses 242 livres, articles et comptes rendus (depuis 1974, d'autres encore — et non des moindres — ont paru !), J. WERNER a exercé et exerce un immense rayonnement comme professeur, comme maître, comme savant, comme chercheur. Il était normal que *Byzantion* sorte un peu des études byzantines pour s'associer à l'hommage rendu à cet historien et archéologue d'envergure qui n'a délaissé aucun des aspects du Haut Moyen Age.

Il est hors de question de traiter ou même de citer ici la totalité des 29 articles contenus dans ce *Festschrift* ; je n'envisagerai que ceux qui intéresseront directement les lecteurs de *Byzantion*.

Au tome I, consacré à la préhistoire et à la période romaine, il faut citer H. J. KELLNER, *Drei Grazien aus Bayern* (pp. 191-196), G. ULBERT,

Straubing und Nydam. Zu römischen Langschwerten der späten Limeszeit (pp. 197-216), B. OVERBECK, *Numismatische Zeugnisse zu den spätrömischen Gardehelmen* (pp. 217-225), R. KOCH, *Spätkaiserzeitliche Fibeln aus Südwestdeutschland* (pp. 227-246), E. KELLER, *Zur Chronologie der jüngerkaiserzeitlichen Grabfunde aus Südwestdeutschland und Nordbayern* (pp. 247-291), J. GARBSCH, *Ein Flügelfibelfragment vom Lorenzberg bei Epfach* (pp. 163-183) et M. HELL, *Ein Depotfund mit römischem Bronzegeschirr aus Zell am See in Salzburg* (pp. 185-189). Dans un article de méthode consacré aux *Prunkgräber. Bemerkungen zu Eigenschaften und Aussagewert* (pp. 3-33), G. KOSSACK pose magistralement le problème des tombes riches ; ils les juge révélatrices de contacts entre une culture évoluée (Hochkultur) et une culture marginale (Randkultur). Cette hypothèse expliquerait, par ex., pourquoi les tombes riches sont plus fréquentes au début qu'à la fin de l'époque mérovingienne. Il attire aussi l'attention sur les difficultés d'interprétation socio-économique de rites funéraires, souvent liés à l'histoire des mentalités et à la religion (ce thème avait aussi été envisagé par J. WERNER, *Bewaffnung und Waffenbeigabe in der Merowingerzeit* en 1968).

Le tome II concerne le Haut Moyen Age.

H. W. BOEHME, *Zum Beginn des germanischen Tierstils auf dem Kontinent* (pp. 295-308) explique, avec des exemples particulièrement évocateurs, les prémices, l'introduction et le développement du style animalier (style I de B. SALIN) sur le continent des environs de 450 à la fin du ve siècle. Il reprend ainsi en le développant un chapitre particulièrement solide de sa thèse.

H. VIERCK, *Werke des Eligius* (pp. 309-380) nous donne une synthèse de première valeur sur le travail d'orfèvre de Saint Eloi. Un examen rigoureux des documents, tant historiques qu'archéologiques et artistiques, lui permet de regrouper et de reconstituer les principales créations de l'évêque de Noyon-Tournai (voir, par ex., le chapitre consacré à la grande croix de l'abbatiale de Saint-Denis, détruite en 1793). Une étude technique approfondie et de nombreux parallèles avec les *Goldscheibenfibeln* contemporaines rendent la lecture de ce monumental article indispensable pour la compréhension de l'orfèvrerie cloisonnée en Occident.

G. ZELLER, *Zum Wandel der Frauentracht vom 6. zum 7. Jahrhundert in Austrasien* (pp. 381-385) met en valeur un changement de mode vers 600 dans l'habillement féminin. Au vi^e^ s. (Stufe III de J. WERNER), on retrouve le plus souvent dans les tombes de femmes une paire de petites fibules et

une paire de *Bügelfibeln* ; au VIIe s. (Stufe IV), ces deux paires sont remplacées par une ou deux *Einzelfibeln*.

I. OTTINGER, *Waffenbeigabe in Knabengräbern* (pp. 387-410) s'intéresse au dépôt d'armes (hache, sax) dans les tombes d'enfants d'époque mérovingienne. Les armes de taille normale témoigneraient de la volonté de manifester le rang social de l'enfant défunt (ou plutôt, des parents de celui-ci) ; celles de taille réduite seraient soit des armes-jouets, soit des armes d'exercice et n'auraient donc pas de valeur sociale.

S. VON SCHNURBEIN, *Zum Ango* (pp. 411-433) parle de l'angon, arme assimilée depuis Lindenschmidt à celle qu'évoquent des auteurs latins (Walthari) et byzantins (Agathias). Il établit une typologie, une chronologie (2e moitié Ve s.-début du VIIe s.), des cartes de répartition (surtout domaines franc et alaman) des 160 exemplaires d'angon qu'il a pu connaître.

W. MENGHIN, *Schwertortbänder der frühen Merowingerzeit* (pp. 435-469) procède à une enquête similaire pour les terminaisons de fourreaux du début de l'époque mérovingienne (2e moitié du Ve s.-1re moitié du VIe s.). Il distingue 4 types, dont deux seraient surtout répandus en Scandinavie et en Angleterre, et les deux autres dans nos régions et en Rhénanie.

R. PIRLING, *Ein Spangenhelm des Typs Baldenheim aus Leptis Magna in Lybien* (pp. 471-482) étudie un type bien connu de casque mérovingien (le type «Baldenheim», dont l'origine remonte probablement à la fin du Ve s.), dont un exemplaire inédit a été retrouvé en 1939 dans les thermes de Leptis Magna. Elle rapproche ce casque de ceux de Krefeld, Morken, Planig, etc. et principalement de ceux de l'Italie ostrogothique. Une analyse des motifs décoratifs lui permet de proposer des hypothèses intelligentes quant à l'origine de ce casque (un des ateliers ostrogothiques?) et de son possesseur (un fonctionnaire vandale?).

S. UENZE, *Gegossene Fibeln mit Scheinumwicklung des Bügels in den östlichen Balkanprovinzen* (pp. 483-494) étudie un type de fibules ansées, répandu dans l'Est de la péninsule balkanique, surtout dans le dernier tiers du VIe s. (comme l'indique la trouvaille de Bracigovo en Bulgarie, bien datée par une exceptionnelle série monétaire). L'auteur met en évidence des liens étroits entre monde barbare et empire byzantin des environs de 550 aux environs de 650.

U. KOCH, *Mediterrane und fränkische Glasperlen des 6. und 7. Jahrhunderts aus Finnland* (pp. 495-520) voit dans 4 colliers de perles en verre trouvés en Finlande (3 à Voÿri, 1 à Kivijärvi) une preuve de contacts entre le monde mérovingien et la Baltique dans la seconde moitié du VIe s. et aux

environs de 600. Elle n'exclut pas une origine méditerranéenne de ces perles qui, en tout cas, sont bien attestées dans nos régions et en Rhénanie.

U. GIESLER, *Datierung und Herleitung der vogelförmigen Riemenzungen* (pp. 521-543) étudie la datation et le développement d'une petite centaine de passe-courroie aviformes. Elle distingue deux groupes typologiques et les date, après une analyse serrée, du début de la période carolingienne (deuxième moitié du VIIIe siècle).

O. VON HESSEN, *Byzantinische Schnallen aus Sardinien im Museo Archeologico zu Turin* (pp. 545-557) s'occupe des boucles byzantines en bronze conservées au Musée de Turin. Inédites pour la plupart, elles proviennent de Sardaigne. Après une étude typologique et iconographique rigoureuse, il les date du VIIe s. Les conclusions sont particulièrement importantes pour l'histoire de la domination byzantine en Méditerranée occidentale.

V. BIRBRAUER, *Alamannische Funde der frühen Ostgotenzeit aus Oberitalien* (pp. 559-577) envisage quelques trouvailles alamaniques de l'Italie du Nord. Le matériel provenant entre autres d'Alcagno (au moins 3 tombes) pourrait être rattaché à un groupe d'Alamans vivant sous la domination ostrogothique peu après 505/506.

F. STEIN, *Franken und Romanen in Lothringen* (pp. 579-589) examine la difficile question de la transition entre la fin de l'époque mérovingienne et le début de la période romane, d'après les mobiliers funéraires de Lorraine.

G. FINGERLIN, *Ein alamannisches Reitergrab aus Hüfingen* (pp. 591-628) publie une belle tombe de cavalier fouillée en 1966 à Hüfingen. La reconstitution minutieuse de cette sépulture appartenant à la haute noblesse de la région, permet d'intéressants parallèles et rapprochements. La datation proposée (580/590-600/610) sur base des fouilles de Morken, Arlon (tombe 4) et Niederstotzingen (tombes 1, 9 et 12) fait du défunt un contemporain de la «dame» dont la tombe fut retrouvée à Güttingen.

H. DANNHEIMER, *Aus der Siedlungsarchäologie des frühen Mittelalters in Bayern* (pp. 629-657) se base sur des trouvailles souvent inédites et dont il donne un précieux catalogue (cimetières de Kösching, Wielenbach, Zolling ; habitat de Zolling) pour envisager le peuplement rural et la prise de possession du sol en Bavière au Haut Moyen Age.

Tous ces articles sont, comme d'usage dans les *Münchner Beiträge*, abondamment illustrés (dessins et photographies impeccables) et accompagnés, pour la plupart, de belles cartes de répartition, de nombreux plans et *Fundlisten* qui font de chaque contribution, une monographie exemplaire.

Il est impossible, hélas, dans un compte rendu destiné à une revue d'études byzantines de préciser les arguments de ces différentes recherches et de faire part des remarques qu'elles suggèrent. Je renvoie donc le lecteur intéressé au compte rendu critique de H. AMENT (*Bericht der Römisch-Germanisch Kommission*, 1975), ou mieux encore à ces deux splendides volumes qui font honneur à l'école de Munich, à l'école de Joachim WERNER.

Alain DIERKENS.

Les Mosaïques romaines des édifices ecclésiastiques des IVe-XIIIe s.

Joseph WILPERT, Walter N. SCHUMACHER, *Die römischen Mosaiken der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, Freiburg-Basel-Wien, Herder, 1976, 31 × 35 cm, 344 p. [200 p. avec 124 pl. en couleurs et 144 p. de texte]. Prix : 290 DM.

Il est inutile, croyons-nous, de rappeler aux byzantinistes l'importance de la contribution de Joseph Wilpert à l'histoire de la peinture paléochrétienne et médiévale. Son grand livre en quatre volumes, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien der kirchlichen Bauten vom IV.-XIII. Jahrhundert*, paru en 1916 aux éditions Herder, constitue, comme on le sait, une œuvre fondamentale dont l'influence fut considérable et qui reste encore indispensable à plusieurs égards. On connaît moins les trésors d'ingéniosité et de patience qu'il fallut déployer pour offrir aux lecteurs un recueil aussi complet de somptueuses reproductions en couleurs d'une grande fidélité. La représentation des mosaïques fit l'objet de soins tout particuliers. Wilpert fit réaliser des agrandissements en noir et blanc de chaque mosaïque. Il les confia au peintre Carlo Tabanelli. Celui-ci, juché sur des échafaudages parfois périlleux afin d'examiner les mosaïques de tout près, de les laver, ou de les humidifier, et de repérer les restaurations, coloria les reproductions tessère par tessère. Le résultat est admirable et les planches constituent encore un instrument de travail de premier ordre. Elles présentent même un grand avantage sur les photographies : elles font apparaître très clairement les restaurations — les morceaux qui furent restaurés à l'aide de tessères ont été copiés comme s'il s'agissait de peintures ; ceux qui furent refaits en stuc ont été éliminés —. Ce sont ces copies de mosaïques que la maison Herder a eu l'heureuse idée de reproduire à l'occasion de son 175e anniversaire dans un volume qui reprend presque toutes les planches de l'édition originale.

Des trois livres de l'œuvre de Wilpert — 1) *Allgemeine Untersuchung zur konstantinischen, nachkonstantinischen und mittelalterlichen Monumen-*

talkunst Roms ; 2) *Die hervorragendsten kirchlichen Denkmäler mit Bilderzyklen* ; 3) *Untersuchungen über einzelne Darstellungen* — c'est sans conteste le deuxième qui a gardé le plus d'intérêt. Il s'appuie, en effet, sur d'importantes recherches d'archives et est accompagné de nombreuses photos dont les plus précieuses sont les reproductions des anciennes copies des cycles de mosaïques disparus. Ce livre est le seul à avoir été réédité dans le présent volume — les chapitres relatifs aux fresques ont toutefois été omis ; ils sont, du reste, peu nombreux —. Les vues de Wilpert nécessitaient cependant une mise à jour. Elles reposaient, en effet, sur un postulat qui n'est plus défendable aujourd'hui : celui de la prééminence artistique de Rome. Fort de cette conviction, Wilpert s'est très peu intéressé à l'art de l'Orient — il est vrai qu'on ne connaissait alors quasi rien des mosaïques réalisées en Orient avant l'Iconoclasme — ; il s'est cru également autorisé à combler les lacunes de la documentation romaine en faisant appel à d'autres œuvres italiennes sans tenir compte de la diversité des styles locaux. C'est ainsi qu'il analysa des mosaïques d'Albenga, de Casaranello, de Milan, de Naples, de Ravenne, de San Prisco, près de Santa Maria Capua vetere ... C'eût été amputer considérablement le livre de Wilpert que d'éliminer ces œuvres ; l'éditeur s'est sagement abstenu de le faire. Le présent volume est donc loin de se limiter aux mosaïques romaines. Il fallait toutefois redresser les perspectives, tenir compte des nouvelles découvertes et enregistrer les progrès considérables de la recherche. Aussi, le professeur Schumacher ne s'est pas contenté de rééditer le texte de Wilpert en corrigeant les erreurs manifestes et en l'allégeant de certains excursus ; il apporte également une contribution personnelle de premier plan. Celle-ci consiste en une préface, une synthèse sur le développement de l'art de la mosaïque à Rome des origines au XIIIe s. et, surtout, en de substantielles descriptions de chacune des œuvres reproduites dans les planches. — Notons que la description des mosaïques de Sainte-Marie-Majeure a été confiée à Johannes G. Deckers —

Certes, la tâche était immense et M. Schumacher, pressé par le temps, n'a pas toujours pu faire œuvre originale. Il a également laissé subsister çà et là quelques imperfections minimes. Ainsi, p. 14, n'est-il pas audacieux de placer, sans preuve, sous le pontificat de Félix III (IV) (526-530) la dédicace de Saint-Théodore-au-Palatin? P. 332, le pape Théodore mourut en 649 et non en 652. Signalons aussi, en passant, un article dont l'auteur n'a sans doute pas eu connaissance à temps : U. NILGEN, *Die grosse Reliquieninschrift von Santa Prassede. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung zur Zenokapelle*, dans *Römische Quartalschrift* ..., 69, 1974, pp. 7-29 ; il permettra de corriger le point de vue traditionnel défendu par Schumacher,

p. 335, à propos d'une soi-disant *Theodora episcopa*, mère de Pascal I (817-824). Mais cela ne tire nullement à conséquence et on souscrit sans réserve aux importantes descriptions qui rendront de grands services. On regrette davantage la brièveté de la synthèse placée au début du volume (pp. 9-16, sur deux colonnes) ; elle nous semble surtout trop pauvre en références au contexte historique. L'ouvrage ne s'adresse pas, en effet, qu'aux spécialistes. Ceux-ci pourront suppléer cette lacune et se satisfaire des allusions aux événements qu'on trouve çà et là dans les descriptions (par exemple, à propos des mosaïques de Jean VII). Le lecteur non spécialisé risque de s'y retrouver plus difficilement et de tirer, dès lors, moins de profit de la consultation d'un livre si remarquable par ailleurs. Car — il faut le redire pour terminer — c'est un volume d'une qualité rare que les éditions Herder nous proposent pour leur 175e anniversaire.

Jean-Marie SANSTERRE.

Les églises de Vodoča

P. MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Le complexe des églises de Vodoča*, Patrimoine culturel et historique de la R. S. de Macédoine, XIII, Skopje, 1975, in-4°, 72 p., XXIX pl. + II, 30 croquis, XI schémas, 1 plan, en serbe avec résumé français.

Le complexe des églises de Saint-Léon à Vodoča, près de Strumica, tombé en ruines après son abandon au XIXe siècle, conserve des vestiges allant du VIIe au IXe siècle. La présente étude, effectuée à la suite de recherches et de fouilles menées essentiellement en 1961 et 1973-74, fait partie du projet de restauration. Les diverses phases de construction ont pu être déterminées et l'ensemble reconstitué sous forme de dessins et d'une maquette ; ces reconstitutions sont sûres sauf pour les coupoles, auxquelles ont été données des formes courantes dans la région. La question se pose de savoir s'il est souhaitable de reconstruire ce complexe, même pour une destination culturelle. En attendant, la publication est d'un apport précieux non seulement sur l'architecture, liée à des conditions historiques qui sont bien indiquées, mais encore sur la peinture.

Les ruines conservent en effet d'intéressants fragments de fresques. Celles de l'église ouest, que l'auteur rattache à la période de construction de 1037 environ, représentent notamment des Grandes Fêtes et un cycle de l'Enfance de la Vierge ; celles de l'église centrale, dont le programme présente des liens avec les peintures de Sainte-Sophie d'Ohrid, dateraient de la fin du

XIe ou du début du XIIe siècle. D'excellents schémas permettent de les situer et de les replacer dans le déroulement des cycles.

Je me limiterai ici à quelques considérations sur le cycle de l'Enfance de la Vierge. S'il date bien de 1037, il serait le plus anciennement attesté dans une église (à l'exception, toutefois, de Kizil Çukur en Cappadoce et de S. Maria de Gradellis à Rome, de la fin du IXe siècle). Le cycle occupe les parois sud du diaconicon avec les Offrandes refusées et le Retour d'Anne et de Joachim dans un tableau, l'Annonciation à Joachim et l'Annonciation à Anne dans un second, la Rencontre d'Anne et de Joachim et la Nativité ensuite, la Bénédiction des prêtres dans un tympan, puis les Premiers pas et les Caresses (plusieurs scènes sont très fragmentaires mais les reconstitutions de l'auteur paraissent admissibles). La Présentation de la Vierge au temple, qui fait partie des Grandes Fêtes de la nef, se trouve dans le bras nord et vient s'enchâsser dans le cycle entre les Annonciations et la Nativité. On pourrait estimer que d'autres scènes, en particulier celles du Mariage, figuraient sur les parois nord du diaconicon.

Les scènes conservées ou reconstituées indiquent un cycle à la fois très narratif et très équilibré. C'est celui-là même qui apparaît à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid en 1295 et qui devient dès lors classique en Macédoine et dans le Nord des Balkans. Qu'un cycle de l'Enfance de la Vierge apparaisse dans une église byzantine en 1037 ne fait aucune difficulté — on en trouve peu après à Sainte-Sophie de Kiev, puis à Ateni en Géorgie et, vers 1100, à Daphni (voir mon *Iconographie de l'Enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin en Occident*, 2 vols., Bruxelles, 1964-65, *passim*, et en particulier T. I, p. 184 sqq.). Mais on ne peut alors guère parler d'un cycle-type, comme ce sera le cas à l'époque des Paléologues et singulièrement en Macédoine et en Serbie. Or, c'est à ce cycle-type que les fragments conservés dans le diaconicon de l'église occidentale de Vodoča paraissent bien se rattacher. On peut dès lors se demander si les peintures du diaconicon n'auraient pas été exécutées postérieurement à celles de la nef. Une étude stylistique plus poussée de ces peintures permettra peut-être de répondre à cette question.

Jacqueline LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE.

Art lombard : les entrelacs

Rudolf KUTZLI, *Langobardische Kunst. Die Sprache der Flechtbänder.* Stuttgart, Verlag Urachhaus, 1974. 1 vol., 21,5 × 26,5 cm, 256 p., 215 photog., 78 fig., 3 cartes. Prix : DM 72.

Au premier abord le livre de R. Kutzli, consacré aux entrelacs lombards (tel en est du moins l'intitulé complet) séduit, ravit même : présentation irréprochable, photographies sensationnelles et abondantes, schémas clairs et nets, tout concourt, semble-t-il, à sa réussite. Certes, le lecteur est un peu décontenancé de voir représentée uniquement la sculpture lapidaire alors que l'entrelac est très courant dans les arts dits mineurs (par ex. sur les *Goldblattkreuze* lombardes). De même, il se rend vite compte que la notion d'art «lombard» annoncée par le titre doit être prise dans un sens très large puisqu'on trouve dans cet ouvrage des sculptures paléo-chrétiennes, ravennates et ... romanes.

Intrigué, il lira alors la bibliographie (pp. 251-255) étoffée mais hétéroclite (pourquoi citer les études fondamentales de Fuchs, Von Hessen ou J. Werner, que Kutzli n'utilise pas dans son livre? Pourquoi reprendre des manuels généraux d'étruscologie ou la mythologie germanique de Grimm? etc.) ; les traités d'esthétique y dominent, et, parmi eux, 16 titres de Rudolf Steiner indiquent bien le sens, le but, et le contenu du livre de Kutzli. De plus, des lacunes immenses dans la bibliographie inquiètent : l'auteur ne semble connaître ni le *Corpus della scultura paleocristiana, bizantina ed altomedioevale di Ravenna*, dirigé par le regretté G. Bovini (3 vols., Rome, 1968-69), ni le *Corpus della scultura altomedievale* dont au moins neuf volumes ont paru à ce jour (Spolète, 1959-1976 ; l'entreprise n'est pas terminée ...).

Le contenu du livre est à la mesure des inquiétudes ! Aberrations, erreurs méthodologiques, affirmations non fondées, conjectures audacieuses abondent. Elles visent à l'apologie de cette esthétique anthroposophique si particulière ... Sous les dehors poético-philosophico-esthétisants, le chapitre I, consacré à Venise, Rome, Florence et Ravenne, ressortit au pire genre touristique et/ou au verbiage creux.

Quand on saura que la thèse de l'auteur est de voir dans les entrelacs, d'origine typiquement italienne (que fait-il alors des nombreux exemples celtiques?), une source de connaissance mystique, l'on me dispensera, je crois, de plus amples commentaires. La seule lecture des pages 76-78 consacrées au «leitmotiv de l'histoire romaine» (c.-à-d. le jeu de mots *Roma-*

Amor expliqué dans une perspective religieuse syncrétiste) est particulièrement édifiante à cet égard.

Le texte de R. Kutzli irrite et déçoit. Et l'on ne retiendra de son livre que les sensationnelles illustrations pour lesquelles on ne le félicitera jamais assez.

Alain DIERKENS.

Miniatures russes

O. S. POPOVA, *Les miniatures russes du XIe au XVe siècle*. Leningrad, Aurora, 1975, 170 p., 88 pl. Prix : 1.335 frs.b.

Une des meilleures spécialistes de l'histoire de la miniature vieille russe et byzantine, O. Popova, vient de nous donner un livre très attendu. En effet, les études sur la miniature de la Russie médiévale étaient soit fort anciennes (Stasov, Buslaev, Sultanov, Redin, N. Likhačëv), soit très fragmentaires ou limitées à un thème particulier (Aïnalov, Syčëv, Alpatov, Born, Mnëva, Smirnova, Vzdornov, Der Nersessian) ; même Lazarev, Svirin, Nekrasov, s'ils nous avaient donné pour l'enluminure des travaux précieux, n'avaient pas apporté encore une vaste étude de synthèse s'appuyant sur un matériau fort peu connu et très difficilement accessible. De toute façon, la plupart de ces livres et articles étaient depuis longtemps devenus des raretés bibliographiques, manquant même souvent dans les bibliothèques occidentales. Récemment, deux œuvres très utiles, faisant partie d'une série remarquable dont nous rendrons compte par ailleurs, étaient venues combler partiellement cette lacune : *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo : rukopisnaja kniga* (Les livres manuscrits), tome I, Moscou, 1972 ; tome II, Moscou, 1974, mais elles se présentent comme de gros recueils d'articles.

Le livre d'O. Popova, soigneusement édité, dans une excellente traduction française d'Anne Kišilova, apporte à la fois la synthèse nécessaire en même temps que des matériaux inédits, s'appuyant sur une érudite et nécessaire comparaison avec la miniature byzantine et slave du sud. Outre les miniatures assez connues de l'évangéliaire d'Ostromir, on y trouvera avec plaisir celles de l'évangéliaire de Mstislav (Novgorod, XIIe s.) rarement reproduites, des œuvres pratiquement inconnues chez nous comme l'enluminure des évangéliaires de Miliata, de Dobrila (Galič-Volhynie, XIIe s.), le portrait de Boris-Michel de Bulgarie (voir l'étude de V. Gjuzelev, Sofia, 1969), des Actes des Apôtres de Rostov (1220) et une série d'œuvres inédites de Galič-Volhynie et de Novgorod des XIIe-XIIIe s., à côté, bien sûr,

du psautier Khludov. C'est avec satisfaction que l'historien découvrira la miniature de Tver' au XIVe s. On sait que ce puissant centre politique, rival de Moscou, commence seulement à émerger des brumes du point de vue artistique (Evseeva, Kočetkov, Sergeev, *Early Tver painting*, Moscou, 1974). Les débuts de l'art moscovite, dans la première moitié du XIVe s., encore mal connus, sont éclairés d'un jour nouveau grâce aux exemples apportés par O. Popova (évangéliaire de la Sija, 1339). Pour l'évangéliaire Khitrovo dont certaines miniatures — l'ange de Matthieu — furent tantôt attribuées à Théophane le Grec (Lazarev), tantôt à Rublëv (Alpatov), avec prudence et raison, l'auteur s'abstient de trancher en l'absence de preuve dirimante. Les 88 illustrations en couleurs sont excellentes. Une brève introduction du regretté V. Lazarev souligne d'ailleurs les qualités du livre de son élève.

Une bibliographie de base, sans doute limitée par les éditeurs, complète cet excellent ouvrage qui, quoique destiné aussi au grand public cultivé, sera indispensable à l'historien de l'art byzantin, russe et au médiéviste spécialiste de l'enluminure.

Jean BLANKOFF.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES (*)

ALLEN (Jelisaveta Stanojevich), *Literature on Byzantine Art, 1899-1867*, Washington, D.C., Mansell (for the Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies), 1973-1976, 2 tomes en 3 vols., in-4°, LXVIII-518 pp., (Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies based on *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. Series I). — Le Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies disposa, dès 1944, d'un catalogue par auteurs basé sur les volumes 1-39 de la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. En 1960, sous la direction du Professeur E. Kitzinger on commença l'élaboration d'un catalogue par sujets. On décida, sept ans plus tard, de présenter cette dernière bibliographie sous forme de volumes et de faciliter ainsi l'accès à «the most comprehensive bibliographie of Byzantine culture ever compiled» (I, 1, p. VII).

Les deux tomes parus jusqu'à présent reproduisent intégralement les notices bibliographiques des vols 1-60 (1892-1967) de la *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* relatives à l'art. Les titres des articles qui, publiés dans cette revue, n'étaient pas jusqu'en 1950 repris dans sa bibliographie, ont été ajoutés mais l'éditeur n'a procédé à aucune autre addition. Dans le premier tome (vol. I, 1-2) la distribution des notices est topographique (continents, pays, régions, sites — pour chaque pays ainsi que pour les sites les plus importants l'éditeur a introduit des subdivisions par catégories). La première partie couvre l'Afrique, l'Asie et les pays d'Europe de l'Albanie à l'Irlande ; la seconde comprend les autres pays d'Europe et les *indices*. — Notons que les trois sites rangés sous la rubrique «Luxembourg» (Florenville, Nobressart, Ortho) auraient dû l'être sous la rubrique «Belgium» car ils appartiennent tous trois au Luxembourg *belge* —. Le vol. II ordonne les titres par catégories. Il ne peut être utilisé indépendamment du vol. I car les travaux qui ne concernent qu'un endroit bien déterminé n'y sont généralement pas repris.

La multiplicité des rubriques de cet immense répertoire, la rigueur de leur agencement et la qualité des *indices* feront désormais gagner au chercheur

(*) Ont collaboré à la rédaction des *Notices Bibliographiques* : Daniel De Decker (D. D. D.), Michel de Waha (M. d. W.), Alain Dierkens (A. D.), Alice Leroy-Molinghen (A. L.-M.), Jean-Marie Sansterre (J.-M. S.).

un temps considérable. On ne peut donc que souhaiter à cette grande entreprise tout le succès qu'elle mérite.

J.-M. S.

Anticka, byzantská a novořecká literatura, Praha, Odeon, 1975, in-8°, 670 p., pl. (Slovenik spisovatelŭ). — Ce dictionnaire des écrivains de langue grecque de l'Antiquité à nos jours est précédé d'une esquisse de l'histoire des littératures grecque antique, byzantine et néo-grecque écrite par . Boresky et R. Dostálová. Il est accompagné d'une bibliographie succincte et d'un long tableau synchronique.

J.-M. S.

BALOG (Paul), *Umayad, 'Ābbasid and Ṭūlūnid Glass Weights and Vessel Stamps*. New-York, The American Numismatic Society, 1976. 1 vol. 20 × 27,5 cm, 322 pp., 55 pll. (*Numislatic Studies*, 13). Prix : 45 $. — Dans ce volumineux catalogue, P. Balog décrit et étudie 922 sceaux et poids en verre, dont 920 faisaient partie de son exceptionnelle collection privée, appartenant aujourd'hui à l'American Numismatic Society de New York. Après une bonne présentation de la métrologie arabe et une bibliographie de 4 pages, on trouvera le catalogue chronologique des pièces, suivi par une liste de pièces anonymes ou insuffisamment identifiables (et donc indatables). De nombreux *indices* facilitent l'usage de ce livre : noms arabes et anglais des titulatures, des fonctionnaires d'État responsables de la frappe, des légendes pieuses, des liquides contenus dans les vaisselles estampillées. Les 55 planches de bonnes photographies sont faites surtout d'après des moulages, de lisibilité souvent meilleure.

A. D.

BECK (Hans-Georg), *Byzantinistik heute*, Berlin et New York, Walter de Gruyter, 1977, in-8°, 40 p. Prix : 9,80 D.M. — Attachantes réflexions sur la discipline que le Professeur Beck illustre si bien, ces pages présentent une version annotée et légèrement remaniée d'une conférence faite à Athènes le 7 septembre 1976 lors du XVe Congrès international des Études byzantines. L'auteur souligne les aspects positifs ... et négatifs de l'intense activité des byzantinistes. Il dresse un bref bilan des recherches byzantines. Il s'interroge sur la nature même de notre connaissance de Byzance. Il évoque le bagage culturel indispensable aux chercheurs. Il réagit enfin, non sans quelque ironie, contre la tendance de certains à nier la notion de décadence

à propos de Byzance. On trouvera encore dans ces pages fort denses des considérations sur l'univers mental des lettrés de Byzance, sur l'Etat byzantin, etc. Parmi les nombreux passages que nous aimerions citer, nous ne retiendrons que celui-ci : « Byzanz ist meines Erachtens ganz es selbst, ganz spezifisch Byzanz, wo wir keine Möglichkeit mehr sehen, uns damit zu identifizieren, wo es nichts Mundgerechtes mehr gibt und wo wir als Wissenschaftler in die Versuchung geraten und ihr immer wieder erliegen, ganz einfach zu passen und andere Seiten aufzuschlagen, die Gefälligeres überliefern. Wissenschaft gedeiht dort, wo sie provoziert wird *und* sich dieser Provokation stellt *und* bereit is, daran zu scheitern» (p. 15).

J.-M. S.

BEYER (Hans-Vist), voir TRAPP(E).

BINGEN (J.) et CAMBIER (G.) (ed.), *Aspects des études classiques. Actes du colloque associé à la XVIe assemblée générale de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études classiques*. Bruxelles, Éditions de l'Université, 1977. 1 vol. 16 × 24 cm, 101 pp. (UNIVERSITÉ LIBRE DE BRUXELLES. FACULTÉ DE PHILOSOPHIE ET LETTRES, LXVI). Prix : 250 FB. — Les 2, 3 et 4 septembre 1976 se tenait à la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles la XVIe assemblée générale des délégués de la Fédération Internationale d'Études Classiques. Moins de 9 mois après, les *Actes* du colloque associé à cette réunion ont paru ; il faut féliciter chaleureusement les éditeurs, J. Bingen et G. Cambier, pour une rapidité à laquelle nous ne sommes, hélas, guère habitués.

Le Colloque portait sur les Organisations Internationales d'Études Classiques membres de la F.I.E.C. ; il a permis d'entendre 10 savants présenter les organisations (bref historique, buts et réalisations) qu'ils représentaient : Société Internationale et Bibliographie Classique (J. Ernst), Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine avec laquelle l'Association Internationale d'Épigraphie Latine fusionnera en 1977 (H. G. Pflaum), Association Internationale de Papyrologues (J. Bingen), Société Internationale Fernand De Visscher pour l'Étude des Droits de l'Antiquité (R. Villers), Associazione Internazionale d'Archeologia Classica et Unione Internazionale degli Istituti d'Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma (J. Ward-Perkins), Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Antique (J. P. Darmon), Rei Cretariae Romanae Fautores (texte résumé d'E. Ettlinger qui n'avait pu assister au colloque), Association In-

ternationale des Études Néo-Latines (J. IJsewijn), Organisation Internationale pour l'Étude des Langues Anciennes par ordinateur (L. Delatte), Union Académique Internationale (Cl. Préaux). La dixième communication concerne l'Association Internationale des Études Byzantines (pp. 71-77) ; Ch. Delvoye y expose avec la clarté et l'érudition qu'on lui connaît, les problèmes actuels des Études Byzantines.

Ce volume comble une lacune ; il permettra de prendre connaissance de la structure et des objectifs d'associations dynamiques qui méritent assurément l'attention et l'intérêt de tous les chercheurs. On pourrait peut-être regretter que les adresses de ces organismes n'aient pas été jointes au volume ; elles auraient permis et facilité d'indispensables et fructueux contacts.

A. D.

Bodnar (E. W.), Mitchell (Ch.), *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean 1444-1445*, dans *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 112, Philadephie, 1976, 90 p., 24 fig. Prix : 6$. — Ce petit livre se veut la première contribution à une édition critique des œuvres de Cyriaque d'Ancône et il constitue un échantillon de la méthode d'édition. Les voyages de Cyriaque dans le monde grec lui ont permis de récolter de nombreux renseignements ainsi que des inscriptions datant aussi bien de la Grèce antique que de Byzance. L'intérêt de l'édition est évident. On attendra cependant la publication définitive pour juger, car on ne peut entièrement souscrire à la méthode des auteurs qui se contentent, p. 61, d'une information archéologique volontairement incomplète. De même, dans un travail préliminaire destiné à permettre de juger de la qualité de la technique d'édition, on aurait aimé un commentaire des manuscrits plus étoffé que les pp. 5-8, avec stemma de filiation, des datations et descriptions moins sommaires que celles de la p. 18. A priori, est-il entièrement justifié de baser son texte sur *Vat. lat. 5250*, manuscrit dont certaines leçons sont manifestement corrumpues mais qui est le plus étendu? Ne conviendrait-il pas mieux d'insister davantage sur les leçons partielles des manuscrits que de reconstituer un texte composite et peut-être hypothétique?

M. d. W.

Boreský (B.), voir *Antická, byzantská a novořecka Literatura*.

BOUVIER (B), *Le mirologue de la Vierge. Chansons et poèmes grecs sur la Passion du Christ.* Genève, Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana, XVI (Institut Suisse de Rome), 1976, un vol., Droz. XII-366 p., 1 carte, 8 pl. — C'est à une étude littéraire, musicale, folklorique et ethnographique que se livre l'auteur, recherchant systématiquement toutes les traces des chansons grecques qui ont trait à la Passion du Christ. Cette manifestation de la vie populaire, plus ou moins bien tolérée par l'Église, donne des versions parfois poignantes, nous songeons ici au chapitre sur «Le désir de mourir». Dans ce chapitre d'ailleurs, M. Bouvier dépasse de très loin la simple transmission d'une chanson populaire. L'analyse du désir de mourir le conduit à des comparaisons très justes avec Euripide, ou avec une inscription rapportée par Constantin le Rhodien. Si dans l'état actuel de la documentation, les versions du *Mirologue* sont tardives, l'auteur indique cependant, p. 56, l'existence de quelques fragments des XVIe, XVe et XIIIe siècles. C'est un bien bel ouvrage qui nous est donné ici, consacré à une «œuvre» qui, me semble-t-il, ne le cède pas à nos grandes Passions.

M. DE W.

BRAND (Ch. M.), *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus by John Kinnamos.* New-York, Columbia University Press, 1976, un vol. in-8°, XII-274 pp. (RECORDS OF CIVILIZATION SOURCES AND STUDIES, t. XCV). Prix : 25.00 £. — Des trois grandes sources narratives de l'époque des Comnènes, l'*Ἐπιτομή* de Jean Kinnamos n'est pas la plus souvent citée ni la plus célèbre. Devant couvrir la période de Jean II (1118-1143) et de Manuel I (1143-1180), mais s'arrêtant brusquement en 1176, l'œuvre a été quelque peu éclipsée par celle de Nicétas Choniates. Il est cependant d'un intérêt certain de confronter les deux sources. C'est pour faciliter cette tâche et comme préliminaire à une traduction de Nicétas que M. Ch. M. Brand a entrepris cette traduction. Celle-ci est précédée d'une courte introduction historique (pp. 1-11). La traduction occupe les pp. 13-224. Suivent alors un tableau généalogique des rois hongrois (p. 225), le tableau donnant la traduction des noms de peuples (p. 226), les notes de l'introduction (pp. 227-233) et celles du texte (pp. 234-259). Un index complète l'ouvrage. Une nouvelle traduction s'ajoute ainsi à celles qui existent déjà — la traduction française par J. ROSENBLUM, Paris, 1972, contient des erreurs — d'une œuvre sur laquelle toute la lumière n'est pas faite (cf. P. WIRTH, *Zur Frage nach dem authentischen Titel von Johannes Kinnamos' Geschichtswerk*, dans *Byzantion*, 41, 1971, pp. 375-377) et dont la réédition pour le C.F.H.B. a été confiée à P. WIRTH.

M. d. W.

Byzantion Nea Hellas, 2, Santiago-Chile, Editoria Universitaria, 1971, in-8°, 226 p. — Nous n'avons trouvé dans le tome II de cette nouvelle revue que trois études susceptibles d'intéresser le byzantiniste : celles de A. TSOPANAKIS (*Los dialectos griegos del sur de Italia en relación con los neohelénicos*, pp. 45-65), de H. HERRERA (*Dagoberto y Heraclio. Un capitulo de historia diplomática*, pp. 135-160) et de D. STRATIGOPOULOU (*Folclore griego de la era bizantina. «Por un par de rosas»*, pp. 153-160). La banalité des articles de T. LÁSCARIS COMNENO (*Constantinopla : Oriente y Occidente*, pp. 19-44), de O. LAMPSIDIS (*¿Estado bizantino o Estado de Constantinopla?*, pp. 67-70), de F. MALLEROS (*Teodora, emperatriz de Bizancio*, pp. 161-178) et de C. CLAIR (*Lengua helénica*, pp. 179-197) est telle, en effet, que le chercheur ne perdra rien à ignorer ces travaux.

J.-M. S.

La caduta di Costantinopoli. I, Le testimonianze dei contemporanei ; II, L'eco nel mondo, testi a cura di Agostino PERTUSI, Verona, Fondazione Lorenzo Valla-Arnoldo Mondadori editore, 1976, 2 vols., in-8°, XCI-472 + 570 p. (*Scrittori greci e latini*). — Réaliser une vaste anthologie de textes et de documents relatifs à la chute de Constantinople, voilà l'heureuse idée de l'infatigable Professeur Pertusi. «La nostra antologia», précise-t-il, «si propone lo scopo non tanto di ricostruire il quadro degli ultimi avvenimenti che portarono alla catastrofe finale dell'impero bizanto — avvenimenti che tentiamo di ricostruire nella *Cronologia* (t. I, pp. LIX-XCI) — quanto di ricreare il clima psicologico, e il quadro umano, che si determinò attorno ad un evento di portata così universale» (t. I, p. L). Ce recueil ne prétend pas être exhaustif — l'auteur, t. II, pp. 498-512, dresse la liste des sources qu'il n'a pas reprises ; elle est accompagnée d'indications bibliographiques fort utiles —. L'anthologie couvre néanmoins toute la littérature mondiale de l'époque. On y trouve, en effet, des textes et des documents italiens, latins et grecs (édition et traduction), français, allemands, slaves, turcs et arméniens (en traduction italienne seulement). Si certains sont inédits — ainsi les intéressantes lettres adressées par le cardinal Isidore de Kiev à Nicolas V et à Philippe le Bon ; la dépêche que l'orateur de Sienne auprès de la République de Venise, Leonardo Benvoglienti, envoya à son gouvernement ... —, la plupart ont déjà été édités, mais parfois de façon tellement incorrecte ou partielle que M. Pertusi s'est vu contraint de faire d'importantes corrections et additions. L'auteur a rangé les sources en trois grandes catégories : 1) I testimoni della caduta di Costantinopoli ; 2) Gli echi in Occidente e in Oriente ; 3) I lamenti.

Chaque texte est précédé d'une notice consacrée à l'auteur, aux manuscrits, aux éditions et à la bibliographie. Il est de plus commenté par une série de notes placées en fin de volume. Un index des noms de personnes et de lieux termine l'ouvrage. Quant à l'introduction générale, il s'agit de la version remaniée d'une communication lue par l'auteur au «IIIe Congrès international des études du Sud-Est Européen, Bucarest 4-10 sept. 1974» et intitulée *Ripercussioni della caduta di Costantinopoli : un esempio di interrelazioni culturali nel sec. XV tra il sud-est europeo, il mondo mediterraneo e quello pontico.*

C'est une entreprise considérable que M. Pertusi a menée à bien. On lui sait gré d'avoir mis à la disposition des chercheurs un excellent instrument de travail qui est aussi un merveilleux livre de culture.

J.-M. S.

CARATZAS (Stam C.), *Les Tzacones*. Berlin et New York, Walter De Gruyter et C°, 1976. 1 vol. 16 × 23 cm, XXI-451 pp., 9 pll. (*Supplementa Byzantina. Texte und Untersuchungen*. Bd. 4). Prix : 312 DM. — Par le biais de l'étude d'un mot curieux de la langue grecque d'époque byzantine, *τσάχονες*, S. Caratzas envisage une série de phénomènes relevant tant de la linguistique que de la géographie historique, tant de l'histoire institutionnelle que de l'histoire religieuse. Voici quelques-uns des résultats de l'enquête minutieuse de l'auteur (cf. entre autres p. 309) : le mot *τζάχων* désignant, entre le VIe et le Xe le métier de soldat appauvri, tenu à la garde d'un fort, désignera dès le VIIIe s., une catégorie d'hérétiques suite au transfert de nombreux pauliciens sur la frontière byzantino-bulgare où ils servaient comme gardiens de fort. À partir du IXe s., des *tzacones* (sens militaire) sont installés en très grand nombre dans le S et le SE du Péloponnèse ; le terme *tzacone* devient alors, peu à peu, un terme géographique qui désigne un vaste territoire du SE du Péloponnèse. D'autres sens attestés peuvent être expliqués, une fois replacés dans ce canevas sommaire. Une deuxième partie du volumineux ouvrage de S. Caratzas est consacrée à diverses recherches sur les Tzaconies et les Tzacones, et groupe 4 études importantes qui sont autant de chapitres préliminaires aux conclusions énoncées ci-dessus : «Macédoniens et Tzacones avec un fragment inédit de Georges Métochite», «La Tzaconie d'Evliyâ Tchelebi est celle de la bulle d'argent de Théodore II Paléologue», «Tzaconia et Sac(c)ania dans le Péloponnèse», «La Tzaconie de Silli et les

Tzacones en Lycaonie». Un double index facilite l'usage de ce livre original et séduisant à bien des égards.

A. D.

CARO (S. I.) R., *La Homiletica Mariana Griega en el Siglo V* = Marian Library studies N.S. 3-5 University of Dayton, 3 = 1971 = 265 pp., 4 = 1972 = pp. 267-622, 5 = pp. 623-727. — Importante par son volume (727 pages), l'étude du Père Caro l'est aussi par son sujet. L'homilétique grecque n'est certes pas moins intéressante que son homologue latine. L'étude de celle-ci est cependant beaucoup plus avancée. L'ouvrage du Père Caro constitue une tentative hardie d'explorer un domaine encore en friche. Les conclusions pp. 621-683 sont résumées et visualisées par des tableaux pp. 684-686. L'auteur suit l'ordre chronologique, apprécie l'état de rédaction, le genre, l'usage liturgique (fête), l'auteur, le contenu. Dans l'ouvrage lui-même, les discussions concernant l'authenticité sont évidemment plus développées. — On pourrait bien sûr critiquer tel ou tel point de ce travail. On pourrait ainsi, par exemple, noter que le texte 58 (t. 2, pp. 468-480) BHG 1077n, *Auct. Hag.*, G2-S3 n'est complet qu'en grec où chaque strophe possède la lettre adéquate ; BHG 1134 est attribuée à Atticus dans les versions grecque et syriaque. Le P. Caro en fait deux textes différents (14 et 36). Pour le texte n° 16, pp. 359-380 = BHG 1905, le problème a été repris depuis par M. VAN ESBROECK, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens ; étude descriptive et historique* ; Publications Institut Orientaliste, 10, Louvain-la-Neuve 1975, 369 p. Cet exemple montre d'ailleurs combien il reste à faire dans le domaine abordé par le P. Caro. C'est pourquoi le travail de celui-ci étant peut-être imparfait n'en mérite pas moins d'être poursuivi.

M. d. W.

CASTILLO DIDIER (Miguel), *Poesia neohellenica. I : Poesia popular ; de la poesia renacentista cretense a Constantino Kavafis*, Santiago de Chile, Coedicion del Centro de estudios bizantinos y neohellenicos de la Universidad de Chile y de la Editorial Andres Bello, 1971, in-8°, 358 p. — Le byzantiniste retiendra surtout les pp. 25-33 et 33-38 de l'introduction consacrées respectivement aux origines de la poésie néo-grecque et à la renaissance crétoise.

J.-M. S.

The correspondence of Athanasius I patriarch of Constantinople ; lettres to the emperor Andronicus II, members of the imperial family and officials. An edition, translation and commentary by Alice Mary MAFFRY TALBOT, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1975, in-8°, VII-467 p. (Dumbarton Oaks Texts III = Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae, VII). — Les deux patriarcats d'Athanase I (1289-1293 ; 1303-1309) se déroulèrent dans des circonstances difficiles pour l'Empire qui devait faire face aux menaces extérieures, à la pauvreté, à la famine, au schisme arsénite, au conflit entre partisans et adversaires de l'Union... Les lettres d'Athanase éclairent et permettent de nuancer les récits que font Pachymère et Grégoras des événements de ses patriarcats. On constate que les rapports du patriarche avec Andronic II ne furent pas toujours amicaux. On assiste à la lutte d'Athanase contre la vénalité et l'indolence des évêques qui avaient abandonné leur siège pour vivre dans la capitale. On apprend quelles furent les mesures prises par le patriarche pour signaler la misère de ses ouailles. Riches, enfin, en détails de la vie quotidienne et en données prosopographiques, les lettres d'Athanase constituent un document historique de premier plan.

C'est au Père Vitalien Laurent que revient le mérite d'avoir redécouvert un manuscrit inutilisé depuis le XVIe s., le *Vat. gr. 2219*. Copié du vivant du patriarche ou fort peu de temps aprés sa mort, il comprend prés de deux cents lettres, encycliques et sermons d'Athanase. C'est de loin le manuscrit le plus ancien et le plus complet des œuvres du patriarche. Le savant Père assomptioniste n'eut pas l'occasion de réaliser l'édition critique qui s'imposait. Mme Talbot s'est attelée à cette tâche. Dans le présent ouvrage, elle édite avec soin les cent quinze premières lettres du recueil. Celles-ci sont pour la plupart adressées à l'empereur, à des membres de sa famille et à des fonctionnaires. D'autres lettres, disséminées parmi les homélies de la deuxième partie du manuscrit, doivent faire l'objet d'une étude supplémentaire avant d'être publiées. L'édition est accompagnée d'une traduction d'autant plus utile que le style d'Athanase est particulièrement difficile, d'une introduction retraçant, entre autre, la vie du patriarche, d'un commentaire et de quatre *indices*.

J.-M. S.

COSTANZA (Salvator) (éditeur), *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, Messina, Università degli Studi, 1969, in-8°, LI-391 pp. (*Bibliotheca di Helikon*. Testi e studi, 7). — Ce travail consciencieux était

déjà à l'impression quand l'auteur eut connaissance de l'édition de R. Keydell (Berlin, 1967 — *C.F.H.B.*, II). Il ne put dès lors qu'indiquer dans un bref *addendum* (p. 391) les variantes entre les deux éditions.

J.-M. S.

Dujčev (I.), *Cronaca di Monemvasia. Introduzione, testo critico, traduzione e note*. Palerme, *Istituto Siciliano di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, Testi 12, 1976, un vol., in-8°, XLVII-36 p. — La Chronique de Monemvasie a fait couler beaucoup d'encre depuis qu'elle fut mentionnée en 1749 par G. L. Pasini. La part qu'elle semble accorder aux Slaves a suscité des polémiques virulentes et des jugements très défavorables ont été portés sur le texte. Cependant, la recherche historique en est arrivée à confirmer la valeur de la source. Si beaucoup de questions que pose le document restent ouvertes, il ne semble plus que l'on puisse suspecter celui-ci. M. Dujčev commence, dans une introduction claire et précise, par faire l'historique de l'étude de la Chronique, montrant la succession des opinions et soulignant les étapes qui l'ont marquée pour aboutir à accorder au document la valeur qui lui a parfois été déniée (pp. IX-XL). L'auteur reprend alors la classification des manuscrits (pp. XL-XLVII) et établit son édition d'après *Iviron* 329 (XVIe s.). L'édition avec les variantes des autres manuscrits, la traduction italienne avec notes occupent les pp. 2-25. Deux indices (auteurs, noms propres) et une bibliographie complètent l'ouvrage.

M. DE W.

Dostálová R.), voir *Antická, byzantská a novořeská Literatura*.

Duval (Noël), *La Mosaïque funéraire dans l'art paléochrétien*. Ravenne, Longo, 1976, 1 vol. 15 × 22 cm, 133 pp., 50 figg. (dont 8 en couleur, et 8 plans), (coll. *Antichità, Archeologia, Storia dell'Arte*, n° 3). — Ce petit livre de N. Duval est surtout un remarquable *status quaestionis* concernant les mosaïques funéraires, c'est-à-dire des «panneaux (de mosaïque) avec épitaphes recouvrant et signalant une tombe» (p. 18). Cette technique s'est développée à la fin de l'Antiquité, parallèlement à la pratique de plus en plus courante de l'inhumation. Par voie de conséquence, elle est principalement prisée par les chrétiens, quoiqu'il existe des mosaïques funéraires païennes. Les exemples les plus nombreux actuellement conservés se trouvent en Afrique du Nord (sites de Carthage, Kelibia, Sfax, Sousse,

Tabarka, Tébessa, Thina, Tipasa, ...), mais de nombreuses mosaïques peuvent être remarquées sur le continent (Espagne, Italie, Sicile et Sardaigne, Yougoslavie, ...).

N. DUVAL envisage, entre autres, les aspects techniques et l'analyse de la composition, du décor, des symboles de ce véritable «art populaire», «parfois presque industriel». Le livre se termine par 2 appendices : l'inventaire complet (en 1975) des mosaïques funéraires connues de l'Auteur, accompagné de la bibliographie *ad hoc* ; et une étude qualifiée trop modestement d'«essai d'inventaire et de classement des mosaïques funéraires d'Uppenna», l'actuelle Chigarnia, près d'Enfidaville (Tunisie).

Agréablement présenté, cet excellent ouvrage ne se contente pas de clarifier un problème complexe et intéressant, mais aussi il innove, suggère de nouvelles voies de recherche.

A. D.

DUVAL (Noël) (avec la collaboration de Françoise PRÉVÔT), *Recherches archéologiques à Haïdra*. I : *Les inscriptions chrétiennes*. Rome, Palais Farnèse, 1975. 1 vol. 28 × 22,5 cm, 594 pp., 312 figg. (COLLECTION DE L'ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE DE ROME, 18). — Voici un livre de présentation impeccable et de contenu irréprochable. Il rassemble 233 inscriptions chrétiennes (dont plus de la moitié était inédite) provenant du site d'Haïdra en Tunisie, L'ancienne Ammaedra.

La première partie de la publication est, bien évidemment, consacrée au catalogue des inscriptions. Une numérotation discontinue a été adoptée suivant la provenance de celles-ci. Quatre églises ont, en effet, été actuellement prospectées : dans la Basilique I (= Église de Melleus, ou de Saint-Cyprien), ont été repertoriées 148 inscriptions (n° 1 sqq. ; pp. 13-187) ; la Basilique II (dite de Candidus, ou des Martyrs) a livré 11 numéros (n° 200 sqq. ; pp. 188-224) ; dans la Basilique III (= chapelle de la Citadelle byzantine) furent repérées 10 inscriptions chrétiennes (n° 300 sqq. ; pp. 225-241) ; originaires de la Basilique IV (= chapelle Vandale), 55 numéros sont relevés (n° 400 sqq. ; pp. 243-308). Enfin, 9 inscriptions de provenances diverses clôturent la liste (n° 500 sqq. ; pp. 309-320). Pour chaque basilique, une brève introduction, accompagnée d'un plan précisant la localisation des inscriptions, précède la publication de celles-ci. Un tableau des datations proposées se trouve en fin de volume (pp. 525-531), où l'on remarquera aussi un *addendum* (pp. 521-3) et une table de concordance avec les éditions précédentes (pp. 533-7).

La deuxième partie de l'étude groupe tous les commentaires que le chercheur pourrait souhaiter (pp. 325-520) : support et répartition des tombes dans les églises, symboles, écriture, abbréviations, onomastique, titulatures, formulaire, langue. Les conclusions (pp. 507-520) appellent quelques précisions : combinant les données chronologiques sûres (directe ou non) avec les renseignements issus des chapitres précédents (surtout paléographie, formulaire et titulature), les auteurs proposent une datation des inscriptions étudiées. L'examen de la Basilique I, la plus riche en inscriptions, permet d'établir 6 groupes chronologiques, auxquels il est possible de rattacher les épitaphes des autres édifices : étagées entre la fin du ve s. (ou peut-être un peu avant) et la début du viie s., les inscriptions indiquent un maximum entre 560 et 600 environ. L'originalité de l'épigraphie chrétienne d'Ammaedra nous est fort bien présentée à la fin de l'étude (pp. 517-520).

Un index extrêmement détaillé facilite grandement l'emploi d'un livre appelé à servir de référence et de modèle aux épigraphistes et aux historiens.

Le maniement fréquent de l'étude ici présentée et la publication de recherches analogues permettront de juger si les conclusions émises pour Haïdra (entre autres, la valeur des groupes chronologiques proposés) peuvent être étendues et/ou généralisées. Quoi qu'il en soit, on ne saurait trop insister sur la valeur du livre de N. Duval et F. Prévot, et sur son utilité pour la connaissance de l'Afrique du Nord vandale, puis byzantine, pour la compréhension du christianisme des ve et vi^e^ siècles.

A. D.

Engelhardt (Isrun), *Mission und Politik in Byzanz. Ein Beitrag zur Strukturanalyse byzantinischer Mission zur Zeit Justins und Justinians*, München, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, 1974, in-8°, 217 p. (*Miscelanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 19). — L'activité missionnaire fut intense au temps de Justin et de Justinien. Certaines missions furent voulues par les empereurs. D'autres, souhaitées par des personnalités étrangères à l'Empire, eurent lieu grâce à l'entremise impériale. D'autres encore se déroulèrent sans aucune ingérence du pouvoir impérial. Ces dernières, conduites par des missionnaires monophysites, répondaient à des buts essentiellement religieux. Les motifs qui animaient les empereurs dans les deux premiers cas étaient plus complexes. La politique — qui, selon l'idéologie impériale, était indissociable de la religion — y jouait un rôle important. Celui-ci devenait même prépondérant lorsqu'il s'agissait de missions «impériales» envoyées au-delà des frontières de l'Empire.

Débrouiller l'écheveau de ces motivations, caractériser les méthodes des missionnaires et leur personnalité, étudier si possible l'attitude des convertis, voilà la tâche que l'auteur s'est assignée. C'était une entreprise difficile notamment en raison de la dispersion des sources. L'auteur semble l'avoir menée à bien. Il faut, en tout cas, louer le sérieux et la rigueur de son étude.

J.-M. S.

ENNABLI (A.), *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie (Musées du Bardo et de Carthage)*. Paris, Études d'Antiquités Africaines, Éditions du C.N.R.S., 1976, un vol., 255 p., LXIX pl. Prix : 128 F. F. — L'introduction nous apprend que «ce recueil constitue le premier fascicule de l'étude typologique des lampes chrétiennes des musées du Bardo et de Carthage» et n'envisage qu'un type «celui en terre cuite rouge à bandeau pastillé», qui est «le dernier de la production antique». L'introduction comporte une description du type, malheureusement sans dessin ni coupe, un historique des collections des musées, des éléments de datation, une analyse sommaire du décor et de l'iconographie, des comparaisons avec d'autres catalogues et une bibliographie (pp. 11-38). Le recueil occupe le reste du volume, les lampes étant classées d'après le sujet central. Le catalogue est sobre, volontairement dépouillé de tout commentaire iconographique. L'auteur indique dans sa préface avoir voulu dans ce travail commencer un corpus et considérer que seul l'achèvement de celui-ci permettra de se livrer à des interprétations et à des études iconographiques. Il est à souhaiter que ce travail soit poursuivi, en accordant, peut-être, dans les fascicules suivants ou dans une étude d'ensemble, plus d'attention au délicat problème de la chronologie.

M. DE W.

ESCOBAR (Juan), *Tecoa*. Jérusalem, Franciscan Printing Press, s. d. [1976]. 1 vol., 16,5 × 24 cm, 65 pp., 28 figg. — Dans cette étude sommaire, le Père Escobar expose les grands traits de l'histoire de la ville biblique de Tecoa, aujourd'hui détruite. Un monastère, lieu de pèlerinage, y fut bâti à l'endroit présumé de la tombe du prophète Amos.

Une première partie est consacrée à la typographie, aux citations bibliques (11 mentions de Tecoa dans l'Ancien Testament), au rôle de cette petite ville lors des révoltes juives contre Rome aux Ier et IIe siècles, ainsi qu'au monachisme qui s'y est développé dès le prime début du Moyen Age et à une histoire très brève de la ville depuis le Moyen Age.

La seconde partie envisage très rapidement les restes archéologiques : bâtiments monastiques, matériel céramique (dont 10 lampes byzantines, parfois à inscription) et monnaies.

Une pareille étude n'est destinée ni à l'archéologue consciencieux, ni à l'historien rigoureux ; par contre, elle servira pour le mieux le pèlerin, le touriste ou quiconque se contenterait d'une présentation très générale.

A. D.

FEDALTO (Giorgio), *La Chiesa latina in Oriente. II. Hierarchia latina Orientis*, Verona, Casa editrice Mazziana, 1976, 282 p. (*Studi religiosi*, 3). Prix : 14.800 Lires. — Nous avons déjà dit le bien qu'il fallait penser du premier volume de l'ouvrage fondamental de G. Fedalto sur l'Église latine en Orient (cf. *Byzantion*, 1974, pp. 570-571). En voici l'impressionnant complément. Il comprend les listes des évêques latins installés, depuis la première croisade, dans les patriarcats orientaux — l'auteur se limite aux évêques qui résidèrent effectivement en Orient ou qui furent théoriquement à même de s'y installer ; il exclut les évêques titulaires des sièges qui, du fait des reconquêtes musulmane et byzantine, se retrouvèrent *in partibus infidelium* ou *schismaticorum* —. Il contient également les listes des évêques missionnaires latins (jusqu'au XVe siècle). Les sièges sont rangés par ordre alphabétique. Chaque liste est précédée d'une notice donnant, outre la bibliographie essentielle, les variantes onomastiques du siège ainsi que des renseignements sur sa localisation, sur son origine comme diocèse en général et comme diocèse latin en particulier, sur sa dépendance éventuelle à l'égard d'une métropole ou d'un archevêché. La présentation des listes proprement dites s'inspire de celle de la *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi* de C. Eubel [e. a.]. Un index des noms, un index des sièges et des lieux, une table des sièges rangés, cette fois, par patriarcat et archevêché terminent l'ouvrage.

On reste confondu devant l'ampleur de la tâche réalisée par l'auteur. Nul ne pourra ignorer cet incomparable instrument de travail.

J.-M. S.

GRÉGOIRE (Henri), *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (Variorum Reprints, Londres, 1975), 366 pp. — Ce recueil reprend toute une série d'articles écrits par H. Grégoire dans diverses publications, entre 1930 et 1951, et centrés sur l'épopée de Digénis Akritas. Nous avons essayé dans ces «reprints» de présenter au lecteur un choix d'études qui lui permette

d'apprécier la diversité des domaines auxquels a touché l'activité du Maître et de suivre l'évolution de sa pensée et l'élargissement progressif de ses recherches au champ des littératures arabe, turque, russe, française, allemande. A ce volume nous avons ajouté une brève préface et un index des noms propres limité par les exigences de la collection.

A. L.-M.

GRIERSON (Philip), *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection.* Vol. III, 1-2 : *Leo III to Nicephorus III, 717-1081*, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1973, 2 vols. in-4°, x-887 pp., 70 planches. — Est-il besoin de le dire? ce catalogue entrepris par A. R. Bellinger et continué par Ph. Grierson constitue un ouvrage de référence indispensable aux historiens comme aux numismates. Le troisième volume couvre une période bien plus longue que les deux premiers qui allaient respectivement de 491 à 602 et de 602 à 717. Au cours des trois siècles et demi envisagés ici — de 717 à 1081 — le monnayage byzantin connut plusieurs changements notables. Parmi les caractéristiques externes il faut citer surtout le réduction du nombre des unités monétaires, l'introduction de pièces plus minces mais plus larges et, enfin, l'apparition, au XIe s., de pièces concaves, phénomène capital car il est le signe de l'adultération d'une monnaie dont la qualité s'était jusqu'alors maintenue dans l'atelier de la capitale. — Par rapport aux pièces issues de ce dernier, le monnayage des ateliers impériaux qui continuèrent encore à fonctionner un certain temps en Occident présentent diverses anomalies soigneusement étudiées par M. Grierson. — Certains événements ne furent pas sans influencer les types et les inscriptions monétaires. Ainsi le monnayage des empereurs iconoclastes fait moins usage des symboles religieux qu'au VIIe s. et qu'après la restauration définitive des images ; d'autre part, l'apparition, sur les monnaies, du titre *basileus Romaion* pourrait bien être une conséquence de la création de l'Empire carolingien.

Ces questions, parmi d'autres, sont évoquées par M. Grierson dans une introduction substantielle (pp. 1-221). Après un aperçu général, l'auteur analyse en détail le système monétaire de la période envisagée — on notera, entre autres, une énumération bienvenue des termes monétaires et des noms de pièces —. Il passe ensuite en revue les divers ateliers et leur activité ainsi que les types et les inscriptions monétaires. Une abondante bibliographie termine cet exposé. Le catalogue proprement dit obéit au modèle rigoureux adopté par l'auteur dans le volume consacré au VIIe s. La première partie

couvre les règnes de Léon III à Michel III (717-867) ; la seconde, ceux de Basile I à Nicéphore III (867-1081). Cinq *indices* terminent l'ouvrage.

A propos de l'usage du *tari* en Italie méridionale on ajoutera aux références citées p. 27, n. 82 et 84 les documents mentionnés par V. von Falkenhausen, *Untersuchungen über die byzantinische Herrschaft in Süditalien vom 9. bis ins 11. Jahrhundert*, Wiesbaden, 1967, p. 38, n. 303-304. D'autre part l'accroissement de l'élément grec en Italie du Sud et en Sicile au VIIe s. ne s'explique pas seulement par l'arrivée de réfugiés grecs des Balkans comme le dit l'auteur p. 236.

J.-M. S.

Grierson (Philip), *Monnaies et monnayage*. Introduction à la numismatique. Collection historique dirigée par P. Lemerle. Paris, Aubier-Montaigne, 1976, 1 vol., 286 p., 67 fig. — L'ouvrage constitue la traduction française adaptée de Numismatics, Oxford University Press. Point n'est besoin de présenter l'auteur ni d'insister sur la qualité et l'étendue de son information. — Dans l'Introduction, le Professeur Grierson s'attache à définir les multiples aspects de la numismatique, à en souligner l'intérêt profond et varié pour la compréhension des faits historiques et de civilisation. Il en donne aussi d'emblée, avec beaucoup de rigueur, les limites. Il s'essaie ensuite à cerner les origines de la monnaie avec un sens des nuances qui fait de ces pages un modèle de méthode. Il s'attache enfin à résumer d'une manière concise, mais claire, les caractères des monnayages grec, romain, byzantin et médiéval (pp. 38-45), puis des temps modernes. Sont alors abordés les monnayages de tradition orientale : monnayage musulman, indien, chinois et dérivés. Le ch. III traite des «Types et légendes», des signes accessoires, de la manière de décrire les monnaies et d'établir un catalogue. Le ch. IV développe les problèmes de «Fabrication des monnaies». Au ch. V, l'auteur traite des «découvertes de monnaies et trésors monétaires». Ph. Grierson démontre d'une manière lumineuse les possibilités et les limites de l'interprétation des trouvailles. Il aborde successivement le problème des découvertes fortuites de monnaies isolées, les trésors — trésors perdus, trésors d'urgence, trésors de thésaurisation, trésors volontairement abandonnés — les trouvailles de fouilles. Le ch. VI expose les techniques numismatiques : problèmes de datation, localisation, imitation et immobilisation, métrologie, titre des monnaies, production des ateliers monétaires, contrefaçons et faux. Au ch. VII, est abordée l'étude des jetons et méreaux, des médailles et objets apparentés (poids monétaires ou

dénéraux, objets monétiformes divers). Au ch. VIII, Ph. Grierson analyse les études et collections numismatiques. Un glossaire complète l'ouvrage, ainsi que les indications de poids des monnaies les plus importantes et des renseignements bibliographiques. Le Professeur Ph. Grierson nous a fourni une excellente introduction à la numismatique, sûre, riche en idées et d'une grande rigueur de méthode.

M. d. W.

HEAD (C.), *Imperial Twilight : the Palaiologos Dynasty and the Decline of Byzantium*. Chicago, Nelson-Hall, 1977, un vol., VIII-210 pp., 12 ill. Prix : 11 $. — L'époque des Paléologues attire de plus en plus l'attention. Qu'on songe seulement au *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* de l'Académie de Vienne (fasc. 1, 1976). L'auteur veut donner, en deux cents pages, une peinture complète. Mais de quoi ? La fin de la préface, p. 4, juxtapose dans un même paragraphe : «Palaiologan epoch», «Palaiologan emperors» et «Byzantine world». L'ouvrage n'est certes pas une peinture de la vie byzantine, de la société byzantine. C'est, en fait, une suite de biographies impériales exposées d'après les chroniques. La biographie est un genre difficile pour qui veut faire œuvre d'historien, facile pour le «journaliste». M. Head n'échappe pas à ces reproches, s'attachant de trop près aux chroniques et à leurs détails les plus incontrôlables (cf. la légende sur la jeunesse de Michel VIII). Entièrement centré sur quelques personnalités, ce livre ne rend que très peu compte des aspects économiques, sociaux, philosophiques, culturels et artistiques de l'époque. Mais ainsi, n'est-ce pas l'essentiel d'une civilisation qui nous échappe? Et cette «civilisation» décline-t-elle? Ce n'est certes pas l'avis des auteurs compétents. Néanmoins, ce livre reste un bon manuel d'histoire politique et dynastique, fort lisible pour le grand public.

M. DE W.

HERRERA CAJAS (Héctor), *Las relaciones internacionales del imperio bizantino durante le epoca de las grandes invasiones*, Santiago-Chile, Universidad de Chile, 1972, in-8°, 236 p., 1 carte. — Après avoir abordé quelques questions préliminaires relatives aux frontières de l'Empire et à l'idéologie impériale, l'auteur brosse une rapide esquisse des relations internationales au IVe siècle. Il analyse ensuite en détail les relations de Byzance avec la Perse jusqu'à la conclusion de la paix de 532. Une troisième partie est consacrée aux rapports avec les Wisigoths, les Huns, les Vandales et les Ostrogoths jusqu'au début de la reconquête de Justinien.

Dans l'ensemble, l'auteur possède bien la bibliographie de son sujet mais il aurait gagné, nous semble-t-il, à tenir compte davantage des réalités sociales et économiques. Enfin, on ne peut que regretter l'absence d'un index.

J.-M. S.

HUEBENER (Wolfgang) (ed.), *Die Goldblattkreuze des frühen Mittelalters*. Bühl/Baden, Verlag Konkordia, 1975. 1 vol. 20,5 × 29,7 cm, 168 pp., 51 pll., ill. (Coll. *Veröffentlichung des Alemannischen Instituts Freiburg i. br.*, n° 37). Prix : 68 DM. — Les 25 et 26 octobre 1974, l'*Alemmanisches Institut* organisait, à Fribourg-en-Brisgau, un colloque sur le thème «Die Goldblattkreuze des frühen Mittelalters». Le volume présenté ici contient les Actes du Congrès et rassemble 12 contributions réparties en 4 groupes. Les sujets abordés ont une portée beaucoup plus large que le seul problème — par ailleurs fort intéressant — de ces petites croix (dont la taille varie de 3 à 9 cm) découpées dans une feuille d'or et décorées au repoussé.

Dans une première section consacrée à la terminologie et à l'histoire de l'art, on trouvera une excellente introduction concernant les techniques de fabrication et de décoration des *Goldblattkreuze* (E. FOLTZ, *Technische Beobachtungen an Goldblattkreuzen*, pp. 11-21), ainsi que les résultats d'analyses chimiques, particulièrement intéressants pour déterminer la provenance du métal utilisé : Rhin, importations peut-être orientales, monnaies fondues, ... (A. HARTMANN et R. WOLF, *Vergleichende Spektralanalysen an einigen frühmittelalterlichen Goldfunden und Goldblattkreuzen*, pp. 23-30). Deux analyses stylistiques des décors de ces croix sont données, pour l'Italie lombarde, par H. ROTH (*Die Langobardischen Goldblattkreuze. Bemerkungen zur Schlaufornamentik und zum Stil II*, pp. 31-35) et, surtout, pour l'espace au Nord des Alpes, par G. HASELOFF (*Zu den Goldblattkreuzen aus dem Raum nördlich der Alpen*, pp. 37-70 : cette contribution est peut-être la plus remarquable de celles présentées dans ce livre).

La deuxième partie envisage le contexte culturel et social de ces *Goldblattkreuze*. Une étude dense et de très grande qualité de R. CHRISTLEIN situe le problème (*Der soziologische Hintergrund der Goldblattkreuze nördlich der Alpen*, pp. 73-83) ; W. HUEBENER envisage les trouvailles de la péninsule ibérique (*Goldblattkreuze auf der Iberischen Halbinsel*, pp. 85-90), alors que le contexte socio-politique de l'Italie lombarde est traité par A. KOLLAUTZ (*Das Registrum Gregorii als Quelle über die gesellschaftlich-*

sozialen und religiösen Zustände des langobardischen Italiens zur Zeit Papst Gregor I, pp. 91-101).

La troisième partie est constituée de 2 inventaires régionaux, exhaustifs, des *Goldblattkreuze*, avec bibliographie *ad hoc* et chronologie des trouvailles : R. CHRISTLEIN pour le Nord des Alpes (pp. 105-112) et O. VON HESSEN pour l'Italie (pp. 113-122).

La quatrième partie intéressera spécialement le lecteur de *Byzantion* ; elle traite des «Goldblattkreuze und der östliche Mittelmeerraum», avec une substantielle contribution de H. VIERCK (*Folienkreuze als Votivgaben*, pp. 125-143) et le discours inaugural du colloque dû à K. WEIDEMANN (*«Byzantinische» Goldblattkreuze*, pp. 145-149).

W. HUEBENER tire magistralement les conclusions du colloque (pp. 153-157) ; une table de concordance, deux tables des matières (lieux, personnes) et des indications bio- et bibliographiques sur les auteurs des articles terminent ce volume.

Dans une notice bibliographique, obligatoirement brève et impersonnelle, il n'est guère possible d'insister longuement sur les innovations et les positions d'un livre tel que celui-ci ; on ne peut dès lors que conseiller à l'archéologue, à l'historien, au byzantiniste (qui y trouvera bien des renseignements intéressants) de le lire et d'apprécier son contenu de grande qualité, sa présentation remarquable.

A. D.

KAPLAN (M.), *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'église dans l'empire byzantin* (v^e^-vi^e^ siècles) = Byzantina Sorbonensia, 2 (Publications de la Sorbonne), Paris, 1976, 88 p. ISBN 85944-001-1. — Ce petit ouvrage rendra de grands services. M. Kaplan est l'auteur d'une thèse sur «La grande propriété dans l'Empire byzantin (vi^e^-viie siècles) : l'Etat et l'Eglise». — Son sujet l'a amené «à étudier d'abord les actes législatifs de l'époque, c'est-à-dire le Code Justinien et les novelles de Justinien et de ses successeurs qui constituent l'essentiel des sources écrites actuellement disponibles pour ce sujet». Ce sont les régestes de ces actes depuis Anastase (491) jusqu'à Justin II (565) non compris (début de DÖLGER) que nous donne M. Kaplan. L'analyse des actes est assez et parfois très détaillée. Les principaux termes «techniques» sont cités dans la langue originale. Plusieurs index (sources législatives, général, graecitatis) complètent ce très utile petit volume.

M. d. W.

Die Kirche angesichts der Konstantinischen Wende. Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976, in-8°, XI-421 pp. (Wege der Forschung, CCCVI). — On connaît le principe qui préside à l'ordonnance de cette collection. Chaque volume est centré sur un thème général et comporte une vingtaine d'articles de revues, principalement allemandes, qu'il a paru judicieux de reproduire et de voir figurer dans un recueil, eu égard à leur apport scientifique. Cette fois, l'éditeur déroge légèrement à cet usage, puisque le présent volume contient deux contributions inédites : G. Ruhbach analyse succinctement les théories politiques d'Eusèbe de Césarée, tandis que G. May recourt aux témoignages des «grands Cappadociens» pour examiner la politique religieuse des empereurs d'Orient de Valens à Théodose. Quant à la bibliographie terminale de l'ouvrage, elle eût utilement été enrichie de la référence à l'étude fouillée sur «Eusèbe de Césarée et la naissance de la théorie Césaropapiste», qu'a donnée récemment J.-M. Sansterre à la revue *Byzantion* (T. XLII, année 1972, pp. 131-195 et 532-594).

D. D. D.

LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE (Jacqueline), voir *Wallonie*.

LAMPSIDIS (Od.), *Ἀνδρέου Λιβαδηνοῦ βίος καὶ ἔργα*, Athènes, *Ἐπιτροπὴ Ποντιακῶν Μελετῶν*, 1975, in-8°, 309 p. (*Περιοδικοῦ «Ἀρχεῖον Πόντου» παράρτημα*, 7 = *Πηγαὶ τῆς ἱστορίας τῶν Ἑλλήνων τοῦ Πόντου*, 1). — Selon l'auteur, André Libadénos naquit à Constantinople dans les quinze premières années du XIVe s. et mourut peu après 1361. Il fit partie d'une ambassade byzantine envoyée en Égypte entre 1321 et 1328. Il séjourna ensuite à Constantinople et à Ténédos (où il exerça la fonction d'*apographes*). Peu après 1335, il se rendit à Trébizonde auprès de son ami l'empereur Basile. Après la mort de ce dernier (1340), il fut mêlé aux luttes intestines de l'État de Trébizonde jusqu'en 1355. On retrouve sa trace en 1361, dans la même ville.

Son œuvre principale est la *Περιηγητικὴ ἱστορία ἀναβάσεως Ἀνδρέου*, communément intitulée *Périégésis*. Fort intéressant pour l'histoire des Grands Comnènes, ce texte abonde également en descriptions de villes et de régions ; il donne en outre, des informations sur les trajets maritimes, sur les voyages aux Lieux Saints, sur la vie scolaire, sur les maladies et les médecins ... Bref, c'est un travail fort utile que cette nouvelle édition, accompagnée d'un commentaire substantiel, de la *Périégésis* et des autres œuvres de Libadinos.

J.-M. S.

LEANZA (Sandro), *L'esegesi di Origine al libro dell'Ecclesiaste*, Reggio Calabria, Edizioni Parallelo, 38, 1975, in-8°, 123 p. — Reconstitution critique du texte des quelques fragments conservés de l'exégèse qu'Origène fit de l'*Ecclésiaste*, analyse des traces de ce travail dans les autres écrits d'Origène, examen de la fortune de l'œuvre, cette étude sera lue avec intérêt par les spécialistes de la patristique.

J.-M. S.

MAFFRY TALBOT (Alice-Mary), voir *The Correspondence of Athanasius I, patriarch of Constantinople*.

Mazaris' Journey to Hades or interviews with dead men about certain officials of the imperial court. Greek text with translation, notes, introduction and index by Seminar Classics, 609, State University of New York at Buffalo, Arethusa, 1975, in-8°, XXXIII-134 p. (Aretusa Monographs, V). — Ce dialogue satirique, composé entre janvier 1414 et octobre 1415 par un membre de la cour impériale tombé en disgrâce, tourne en ridicule certains personnages de l'entourage de l'empereur et brosse un tableau bien sombre des habitants du Péloponèse. L'œuvre de Mazaris avait été éditée pour la première fois en 1831 par J. Fr. Boisonnade. Cette nouvelle édition est l'œuvre de J. N. Barry, M. J. Share, A. Smithies et L. G. Westerink qui avaient participé en 1971 à un séminaire consacré à la technique de publication des textes anciens.

J.-M. S.

Μελετήματα στὴ μνήμη Βασιλείου Λαούρδα-Essays in Memory of Basil Laourdas, Thessalonique, Gregoris, 1975, in-8°, VIII-645. — Dans cet imposant volume dédié à la mémoire du grand philologue et historien Basile Laourdas († 1971), les articles suivants intéressent les études byzantines : P. CHARANIS, *Basil Laourdas as Byzantinist* (pp. 79-90) ; P. A. CLEMENT, *The date of the Hexamilion* (pp. 159-164) ; B. C. P. TSANGADAS, *Topographica constantinopolitana : «Brachialia»* (pp. 165-175) ; L. G. WESTERINK, *Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the world* (pp. 177-195) ; B. RADOJCIĆ, *Michel Saronites et Constantin Bodin* (pp. 197-202) ; G. I. THÉOCHARIDÈS, *Ἡ Ἁγία Ἐκκλησία ἡ ἐν τῷ Σταδίῳ (;)* (pp. 203-239) ; K. M. SETTON, *Catalan Society in Greece in the Fourteenth Century* (241-284) ; J. W. BARKER, *The «Monody» of Demetrios Kydones on the Zealot Rising of 1345 in Thessaloniki* (pp. 285-300) ; C. A. TRYPANIS, *A Possible Portrait of Johannes Geometres Kyriotes* (pp. 301-302) ; A.

XYNGOPOULOS, *Ἀμνοὶ Χρυσούφαντοι* (pp. 303-305) ; S. ALEXIOU, *Πρόσφυγες ἀπὸ τὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία* (pp. 307-312) ; S. HARKIANAKIS, *Das Athonische Mönchtum* (pp. 313-321) ; D. J. CONSTANTELOS, *Theological Considerations for the Social Ethos of the Orthodox Church* (pp. 323-335) ; J. E. REXINE, *Mount Athos and Greek Orthodox Monasticism* (p. 337-347).

J.-M. S.

Museum Notes, 21. New York, 1976, publiées par The American Numismatic Society, un vol., III, 301 p., 18 pl., fig. — On signalera dans ce volume l'article de W. E. Metcalf, *Early Anonymous Folles from Antioch and the Chronology of Class A*, pp. 109-128, qui situe ces pièces entre 969 et 1030. Le volume 21 se clôt (pp. 261-301) par un index systématique des 20 premiers volumes.

M. DE W.

MITCHELL (Ch.), voir BODNAR (E. W.).

MONFASANI (John), *George of Trebizond. A Biography and a Study of his Rhetoric and Logic*, Leiden, E. J. Brill, 1976, in-8°, VIII-414 p. (COLUMBIA STUDIES IN THE CLASSICAL TRADITION, vol. I). — C'est une importante lacune que vient combler cette monographie sur Georges de Trébizonde (1395-1472 ou 1473). Après avoir retracé en détail la vie du célèbre humaniste d'origine crétoise (pp. 1-237), l'auteur analyse sa rhétorique et sa dialectique (pp. 242-327). Il projette de publier également un volume de textes et de bibliographie qui complètera le présent ouvrage. Ce dernier se présente cependant de façon autonome : l'auteur fait de longues citations de documents en notes et en édite d'autres dans divers appendices (pp. 339-380 où l'on trouvera publiés, outre plusieurs lettres, une brève autobiographie tirée du *De Antisciis* de Georges, le colophon de son commentaire sur l'*Almagest*, les préfaces qu'il adressa au pape Paul II pour les *Questiuncula de vita Ioannis* et le *De questione Hieronymi et Augustini super legalibus* et au pape Nicolas V pour la traduction des *Lois* de Platon, son *Oratio de laudibus eloquentie*, sa préface aux *Rhetoricorum libri*, un acte notarié de 1442 concernant la vente d'un esclave par Georges et, enfin, un épilogue anonyme à une traduction du discours sur la *Couronne* de Démosthène).

J.-M. S.

Nicholas I Patriarch of Constantinople Letters. Greek text and English translation by R. J. H. JENKINS and L. G. WESTERINK, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Center for Byzantine Studies, 1973, in-8°, XXXVII-631 pp. (*Dumbarton Oaks Text*, II = *Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, VI). — En 1844, A. Mai (*Spicilegium Romanum*, X, 2, pp. 161-440) édita les lettres du patriarche Nicolas le Mystique d'après le *Vat. gr. 1780* de la fin du XVIe s. J. P. Migne reproduisit cette édition dans sa *Patrologia Graeca* (111, col. 27-392). Or le manuscrit utilisé est une copie du *Patmos 178* du Xe-XIe s. C'est évidemment ce dernier qui sert de base à la présente édition. Conçue et, en grande partie, réalisée par le Prof. Jenkins († 1969), elle fut achevée par son collaborateur, le Prof. Westerink. La chronologie des lettres a été soigneusement revue par les éditeurs qui complètent et corrigent plus d'une fois les *Regestes* du Pere Grumel (I, 2, 1936, pp. 133-221). — On remarquera notamment que trois lettres seulement (*Ep.*, 3, 4, 161), et non seize, peuvent être datées du premier patriarcat de Nicolas. — La traduction en regard du texte grec est précise et élégante. L'introduction comprend, en plus des questions philologiques et chronologiques, un aperçu de la vie de Nicolas, bref mais dense. L'édition, enfin, est suivie du résumé des lettres avec leurs dates et un essai d'identification des destinataires. L'ouvrage possède cinq *indices* (noms propres, termes spéciaux, vocabulaire, citations et incipit).

J.-M. S.

Numismatique byzantine. — Il arrive parfois qu'en dépouillant des revues dont le propos est étranger aux études byzantines, on puisse y glaner l'un ou l'autre renseignement intéressant. On nous permettra de signaler, ici, la nouvelle publication de deux sous de Justinien trouvés aux Pays-Bas, dans le cimetière de la localité de De Waal (Texel). Quoique déjà citées au XIXe siècle, ces pièces acquièrent un intérêt nouveau par suite de la parution de travaux précisant le contexte archéologique de la découverte, un site d'habitat du Haut Moyen Age. La bibliographie récente est à trouver dans la revue de la principale association d'archéologues amateurs des Pays-Bas : G. Gerrits, *De Romeinse Munten van Texel*, dans *Westerheem*, XXII, 4, 1973, n° IX, X, pp. 158-161 ; P. J. Woltering, *De Waal (Texel)*, dans *Nieuwsbulletin van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Oudheidkundige Bond*, november 1972, pp. 135-136 ; A. W. Byvanck, *Excerpta Romana*, III, La Haye, 1947, p. 173. Les byzantinistes n'ont guère l'habitude de dépouiller ces revues, c'est pourquoi, malgré la date de parution des articles, nous avons cru bon de la mentionner ici.

Dans le même ordre d'idées, signalons l'étude de R. et M. Dhenin, *Trouvailles de monnaies d'or byzantines ou pseudo-byzantines dans les départements du Nord et du Pas-de-Calais*, dans *Septentrion*, I, 1970 (fasc. 7-8), pp. 147-150. Pour une période antérieure, la même revue a publié un *Trésor de monnaies constantiniennes de Bavai (Nord)* (J. Gricourt, au tome IV, 1974, pp. 32-37). Dans une tombe datée de la fin du IVe s. ou du début du Ve s., on a trouvé une monnaie de Théodose et une d'Arcadius à Bergilers (Oreye) entre Tongres et Braives (J. Alenus-Lecerf, *Sondages dans une nécropole du Bas-Empire à Bergilers*, dans *Conspectus MCMLXXIV*. Bruxelles, 1975 (= *Archaeologia Belgica*, 177], pp. 54-57).

A. D. et M. d. W.

PS.-BASILII, *εἰς τὰ ὕδατα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα*. Introduzione, testo e traduzione a cura di Salvatore COSTANZA, Messina, Peloritana editrice, 1967, in-8°, 69 p. (*Quaderni dell'Istituto di Filologia classica dell'Università di Messina*, 1). — Il s'agit de l'édition critique d'une homélie inédite attribuée par la plupart des manuscrits à saint Basile et par un autre à saint Jean Chrysostome. L'éditeur montre que ces attributions ne peuvent pas être acceptées. Il lui semble impossible de déterminer quel fut l'auteur de ce texte.

J.-M. S.

PUCHNER (Walter), *Das neugriechische Schattentheater Karagiozis*. Munich, Institut für Byzantinistik und neugriechische Philologie, 1975, 1 vol. 14,7 × 21 cm, 250 pp., 9 pll. (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensa*, 21). — La série des *Miscellanea Byzantina* dirigée par H. G. Beck a accueilli la thèse que W. Puchner a présentée à Vienne en 1972, sur le théâtre d'ombres «chinoises» Karagiozis. Il est peut-être bon de rappeler que cette forme d'expression est d'origine turque et qu'elle s'est répandue dans tout le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée, principalement en Grèce ; le personnage populaire de Karagiozis doit être rapproché de notre Polichinelle. W. Puchner nous donne une étude dense, étayée d'abondantes notes et d'une très vaste bilbiographie ; on y trouvera aussi une table alphabétique de 145 «marionnettistes» Karagiozis (avec éléments biographiques), les listes des 264 pièces du répertoire de ce théâtre et des textes connus (édités ou non) de celles-ci, et 9 planches représentant les principaux personnages du théâtre Karagiosis.

A. D.

RESTLE (Marcel), *Reclams Kunstführer Istanbul Bursa, Edirne, Iznik. Baudenkmäler und Museen*, Stuttgart, Philipp Reclam jun. Verlag, 1976, 10 × 16 cm, 632 pp., 184 pl., 2 cartes hors-texte. Prix : 43 DM. — L'ordonnance de cet ouvrage a été confiée au codirecteur du *Reallexikon zur Byzantinischen Kunst*, conçu à Munich et édité à Stuttgart. Eu égard à l'intérêt que l'auteur porte aux antiquités byzantines et islamiques, ce guide archéologique, qui constitue l'un des meilleurs du genre, se signale particulièrement à notre attention par la quantité et la qualité des plans et illustrations. Il se substituera donc à la partie introductive du Guide Nagel, recensé ici-même (T. XXX, 1971, pp. 303-304), dont il amplifie la matière.

D. D. D.

SCHREINER (Peter), *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken. I. Teil : Einleitung und Text*, Wien, Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1975, in-8°, 688 p. (*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*, XII, 1). — Par ses *Studien zu den* ΒΡΑΧΕΑ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΑ (München, 1967), M. Schreiner était particulièrement bien préparé à la tâche redoutable qui consiste à éditer et commenter les chroniques brèves. Le vol. II sera constitué par le commentaire historique. Le vol. III contiendra les traductions des passages qui en valent la peine et les indices. Le présent volume s'ouvre par une introduction dans laquelle l'auteur rappelle la définition et les différentes espèces de chroniques brèves avant l'exposer les principes de son édition. Celle-ci rassemble 116 chroniques qui enregistrent des événements antérieurs à la prise de Monemvasie par les Turcs (1540). Elles ont été réparties par l'auteur en six grands groupes : *Reichschroniken* (Chr. 1-13), *Kaiserchroniken* (chr. 14-22), *Regionalchroniken und Stadtchroniken* (Chr. 23-52), *Chroniken türkischer Eroberungen* (Chr. 53-80), *Einzelchroniken* (Chr. 81-109) et *Chronikfragmente* (Chr. 110-116). L'édition de chacune d'elles est précédée d'une introduction traitant du ou des manuscrit(s), de la tradition et, s'il y a lieu, de l'auteur (ou du rédacteur ...), de la date et du lieu de rédaction, des éditions et des traductions précédentes. La qualité de ce premier tome laisse favorablement augurer de la valeur des volumes à paraître.

J.-M. S.

ΣΟΦΙΑΝΟΥ (*Δημητρίου Ζ.*), *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος ὁ ἐν Βουναίνῃ — ἀνέκδοτα ἁγιολογικὰ κείμενα, ἱστορικαὶ εἰδήσεις περὶ τῆς μεσαιωνικῆς θεσσαλίας (ι' αἰών)*, Athènes, 1972 (211 pp., 14 pl.). — On connaît depuis longtemps un martyrion en langue démotique de Nicolas de Vounaina, nommé aussi

Nicolas le Jeune pour le distinguer de S. Nicolas De Myre. Ce texte nous a été transmis par six manuscrits et quatorze éditions successives l'ont vulgarisé : la première a été imprimée à Venise en 1657. Malheureusement cette version de la Vie de Nicolas laisse dans le vague beaucoup d'éléments sur lesquels l'historien aimerait être éclairé. Elle ne nous apprend ni à quelle époque le saint a vécu, ni quand il est mort, ni quels ennemis il a combattus, si bien que les commentateurs de ce texte ont pu proposer pour le cadre historique les dates les plus diverses, variant du VIe au XVIIe s. Mais ce martyrion n'est qu'un remaniement d'une vie ancienne en langue savante qui nous a heureusement été conservée. M. Sophianos nous donne ici la première édition de ce texte tiré du *cod. 81* (XVIe s.) du Monastère de la Transfiguration aux Météores, manuscrit d'après lequel il édite aussi pour la première fois l'acolouthie ancienne et le synaxaire qui ne sont certainement pas dus au même auteur que la vie. Il nous offre aussi en *editio princeps* le remaniement du martyrion en langue savante fait par le moine Akhaïkos et conservé dans le *cod. 94* (XIIe) du Saint Monastère d'Andros et le synaxaire en langue vulgaire d'auteur inconnu contenu dans le *cod. 2768* de la Bibliothèque Nationale d'Athènes. Il reproduit en outre le texte du remaniement en langue populaire édité à Venise en 1657 par le hiéromoine Akakios Diakrouses.

Le plus intéressant de ces documents, suivi de près par le martyrion d'Akhaïkos, est la Vie ancienne de Nicolas. Elle permet de préciser des détails topographiques et de fixer le cadre historique. On sait maintenant que le saint originaire d'Anatolie, a vécu sous le règne de Léon VI le Sage (886-912), qu'il a exercé un commandement militaire à Larissa en Thessalie, que c'est dans cette région qu'il a été pris par l'ennemi, martyrisé et tué d'un coup de sa propre lance parce qu'il refusait d'abjurer le christianisme. Ses ennemis sont désignés sous les noms d'*Ἀβάρους*, *Ἀβάρεις*, mais, comme il ne peut plus être question d'une attaque d'Avars aux IXe-Xe s., ce terme doit résulter d'une confusion avec les Arabes. Des noms propres émaillent le récit, noms de lieux, noms de personnes connues par ailleurs, comme le métropolite de Larissa, Philippe, ou de personnages inconnus, comme l'heureux bénéficiaire d'un miracle posthume du saint, un duc de Thessalonique, nommé Euphemianos, qui, atteint de la lèpre, demande d'abord l'aide de S. Démétrius de Thessalonique, puis celle de S. Achille de Larissa avant de découvrir dans la montagne de Vounaina le corps intact de Nicolas, tout proche d'une source. Il s'y baignera et obtiendra sa guérison.

La mention de l'Achilleion de Larissa fournit à M. Sophianos un *terminus ante quem* pour la rédaction de la Vie parce que le corps de S. Achille fut enlevé de Larissa par le tsar Samuel de Bulgarie pour être transporté à Prespa en 985. La Vie doit donc avoir été écrite entre 912, date de la mort de Léon le Sage, et 985. M. Sophianos fixe la date de l'attaque des Arabes contre Larissa en 901 ou 902 et la mort de Nicolas le 9 mai d'une de ces années. Le martyrion ancien aurait été écrit vers le milieu du xe s.

A. L.-M.

Sos (Agnes Cs.), *Die slawische Bevölkerung Westungarns im 9. Jahrhundert.* Munich, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1973. 1 vol. 21,5 × 30 cm, VIII-210 pp., 61 figg., 32 pll. (*Münchner Beiträge sur Vor- und Frügeschichte*, 22). Prix : 70 DM. — Il est toujours difficile d'unir en une synthèse cohérente les données textuelles et les *realia* archéologiques, sans l'*a priori* habituel à de nombreux historiens qui, partant des textes et de la linguistique, veulent à tout prix y greffer le résultat des fouilles sans tenir compte de l'apport original de celles-ci. Agnes Sos est, à mon avis, parvenue à poser clairement le problème, sans privilégier abusivement l'archéologie par rapport aux sources écrites. Comme elle le dit elle-même, l'archéologie, pour pouvoir être appliquée utilement à la connaissance d'une région, doit être exploitée systématiquement et ne peut être dissociée des données de la critique historique ; c'est à cette seule condition que la synthèse acquiert de la valeur.

Le problème envisagé dans le livre d'A. Sos est celui de la population slave en Hongrie occidentale (par ce terme, l'auteur entend la «Transdanubie», la partie de la Hongrie située au Sud-Ouest du Danube) au IXe siècle. Fidèle au but exposé ci-dessus, elle scinde son exposé en 3 parties nettement distinctes : les pp. 3-83 examinent le problème aux points de vue historique et linguistique (*Westungarns Verhältnis zum ostfränkischen Reich im 9. Jahrhundert*) ; 21 cartes y aident le lecteur à suivre les mutations de géographie historique de la région envisagée, et à percevoir la diversité des hypothèses en présence. Aux pp. 193-200, on trouvera, présentées année par année (de 791 à 903), les références aux sources (surtout narratives) historiques mises en œuvre. La deuxième partie, consacrée à l'archéologie — que l'auteur connaît particulièrement bien fourmille de renseignements originaux, inédits, de première main, et présente les très riches découvertes des fouilles réalisées en Transdanubie. Les éléments réunis par A. Sos étonnent par la diversité des sites et des trouvailles, d'une importance parfois exceptionnelle (nécropoles de Zalavar-Receskut et de Popaszepetk —

fouilles de l'auteur —, site de Zalavar, ...). Aux pp. 170-187, la troisième partie envisage, de façon pluri-disciplinaire (histoire, linguistique, archéologie), le rôle des Slaves en Hongrie occidentale aux xe at xie siècles (*Die Beziehungen der Slawen Transdanubiens zu den landnahmezeitlichen Ungarn* ...).

A. Sos a eu l'excellente initiative de proposer au lecteur peu familiarisé avec les sites envisagés, des cartes de localisation (pp. 188-191) ; 11 pages de bibliographie serrée (pp. 200-210) terminent une étude destinée à servir de référence à tous les chercheurs qui, de près ou de loin, s'occuperont d'une région où convergent les influences slaves et avares, franques et byzantines.

A. D.

STRATOS (André N.), *Byzance au VIIe siècle. L'empereur Heraclius et l'expansion arabe*, Genève, *La Guilde du Livre*, 1976, in-8°, 521 p., 9 cart., 15 pl. — Décidément, le grand ouvrage de M. Stratos bénéficie d'une large diffusion. On sait que les volumes sont traduits en anglais au fur et à mesure de leur parution. On connaît moins l'existence du condensé des trois premiers tomes que l'auteur publia en 1970 pour un public de non-spécialistes. En voici la traduction. La présentation du livre est luxueuse et attrayante, mais on eût souhaité que l'éditeur se fût contenté de l'illustrer de cartes et de photos. Etait-il besoin, en effet, de joindre quelques dessins édifiants («Héraclius prêtant serment devant le patriarche Serge», «le départ d'Héraclius pour la campagne contre les Perses», etc.) qui ne représentent les costumes de l'époque qu'avec une fidélité toute relative?

J.-M. S.

TRAPP (Erich) (ed.) avec la collaboration de WALTER (Rainer) et BEYER (Hans-Veit), *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit.* Fascicule 1 : *Ἀαρών-Ἀψαρᾶς*. Vienne, Verlag der Oesterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1976, 1 vol. 23,5 × 29,5 cm, 18 + 163 pp. (*Oesterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Kommission für Byzantinistik*) et un volume annexe (Beiheft), *Abkürzungsverzeichnis und Register zum P.L.P., 1. Fasz.*, 1 vol. 23,5 × 29,5 cm, XXXIV + 36 pp. — Les Byzantinistes ont un nouveau sigle à connaître, le *P.L.P.* (*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*), dernier-né des florissantes études de prosopographie byzantine. Annoncé par son fondateur, H. Hunger, au XIIIe congrès d'Etudes Byzantines d'Oxford en 1966, le *P.L.P.* est édité par les soins de l'Académie Autrichienne des Sciences et, plus particulièrement, par E. Trapp aidé de R. Walter et H.-V. Beyer. Toutes les notices sont traitées

par ordinateur I.B.M. ; la programmation est l'œuvre d'une équipe d'informaticiens dirigés par F. H. Lang.

Le premier fascicule vient de sortir de presse ; on y trouve 1723 noms (classés alphabétiquement, de *Ἀαρών* à *Ἀψαρᾶς*), accompagnés de toutes les références souhaitables et de la datation la plus précise possible. Le fascicule annexe donne l'explication des abondantes abbréviations, bibliographiques entre autres (29 pages !), et s'achève par de nombreux *indices* (noms, lieux, professions et fonctions).

Une belle initiative qui séduira l'ensemble des Byzantinistes ...

A. D.

VANNIER (Jean-F.), *Familles byzantines. Les Argyroi (IXe-XIIe siècles)*. Paris, 1975, 1 vol. 16 × 24 cm, 74 p. (PUBLICATIONS DE LA SORBONNE, Série BYZANTINA, n° 1). — Cet ouvrage de prosopographie ouvre une série consacrée à Byzance (*Byzantina*) par le Centre de recherches d'histoire et de civilisation byzantines, de la Sorbonne. J. F. Vannier a mené à bien une enquête complexe sur la riche famille des *Argyroi*, attestée par les sources depuis 843-844 environ. Trente personnages (30 numéros, auxquels on ajoutera un membre de la famille, découvert après la rédaction du livre et présenté à la p. 63. Les *Argyroi* 2 et 3 sont peut-être une seule et même personne) sont ainsi suivis, présentés suivant les exigences de la critique actuelle (mentions exhaustives des sources et de la bibliographie les concernant). L'auteur a pu dresser un tableau généalogique (p. 64) bien commode. Cet excellent livre s'achève par un aperçu de la «diffusion du prénom Argyrus en Italie méridional», qui pourra utilement servir à l'étude des *Argyri* et de leurs liens potentiels avec les *Argyroi* byzantins.

A. D.

Wallonie (La). Le pays et les hommes (direction scientifique Rita LEJEUNE et Jacques STIENNON), t. I, Des origines à la fin du XVe s., Bruxelles, La Renaissance du Livre, 1977, 509 pp. — Dans ce très beau livre dédié à la terre wallonne, signalons un chapitre intitulé *Les influences antiques et byzantines* (pp. 251-257) dû à la plume de Mme Jacqueline LAFONTAINE-DOSOGNE. On relèvera aussi quelques traces de byzantin dans le chapitre suivant : *Richesse et signification de l'iconographie mosane* (pp. 259-267) de Philippe VERDIER.

A. L.-M.

WALTER (Rainer), voir TRAPP(E).

WEISS (Günter), *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos*, München, Institut für Byzantinistik und Neugriechische Philologie, 1973, in-8°, VI-367 p. (*Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 16). — Analyse de la carrière de Michel Psellos ; étude portant sur les fonctionnaires byzantins du XIe s., sur leur rôle, sur leur statut économique et social, sur l'originalité de leurs conditions de vie et de travail comparées à celles de leurs «collègues» d'Europe occidentale ; réflexion sur la bureaucratie. C'est un livre attachant que la thèse de M. Weiss. Malheureusement, des raisons indépendantes de notre volonté ne nous ont pas permis de disposer plus tôt de cet important travail. Le lecteur a sans doute déjà pris connaissance des longs comptes rendus que des savants plus compétents que nous ont fait de ce livre (cf. notamment P. Gautier, dans *Revue des Études byzantines*, 33, 1975, pp. 325-330 et D. Simon, dans *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 69, 1976, pp. 463-466). On voudra bien, dès lors, s'y référer.

J.-M. S.

WIRTH (Peter), *Grundzüge der byzantinischen Geschichte*, Darmstadt, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1976, in-8°, VIII-173 pp., 7 cartes (Grundzüge, 29). — Dans cette intéressante synthèse, l'auteur s'est efforcé de décrire pour un public cultivé les lignes de force de l'histoire byzantine. Toute esquisse implique des sacrifices. Aussi, M. Wirth a renoncé à traiter de questions jugées accessoires comme l'évolution de la hiérarchie ou l'organisation de la fiscalité et il ne s'est guère intéressé au monde des lettres. Une bibliographie sélective, par sujets, termine l'ouvrage.

J.-M. S.

1. Zagorsk. Cabinet ecclésiastique et archéologique.
Icône «Introduction au Temple».
Première moitié du xve s.

2. ZAGORSK Icône de S. Jean Chrysostome.
Milieu du XVe s.

3. SINAI. Monastère de Ste. Catherine, ms 2123 f° 49v.
Jeunes gens dans le *fournaise* et Saints.

4. ZAGORSK. Cabinet ecclésiastique et archéologique.
Icône de S. Jean le Théologien. XVe s.

L'Annonciation (église de Trissakia)

PLANCHE I

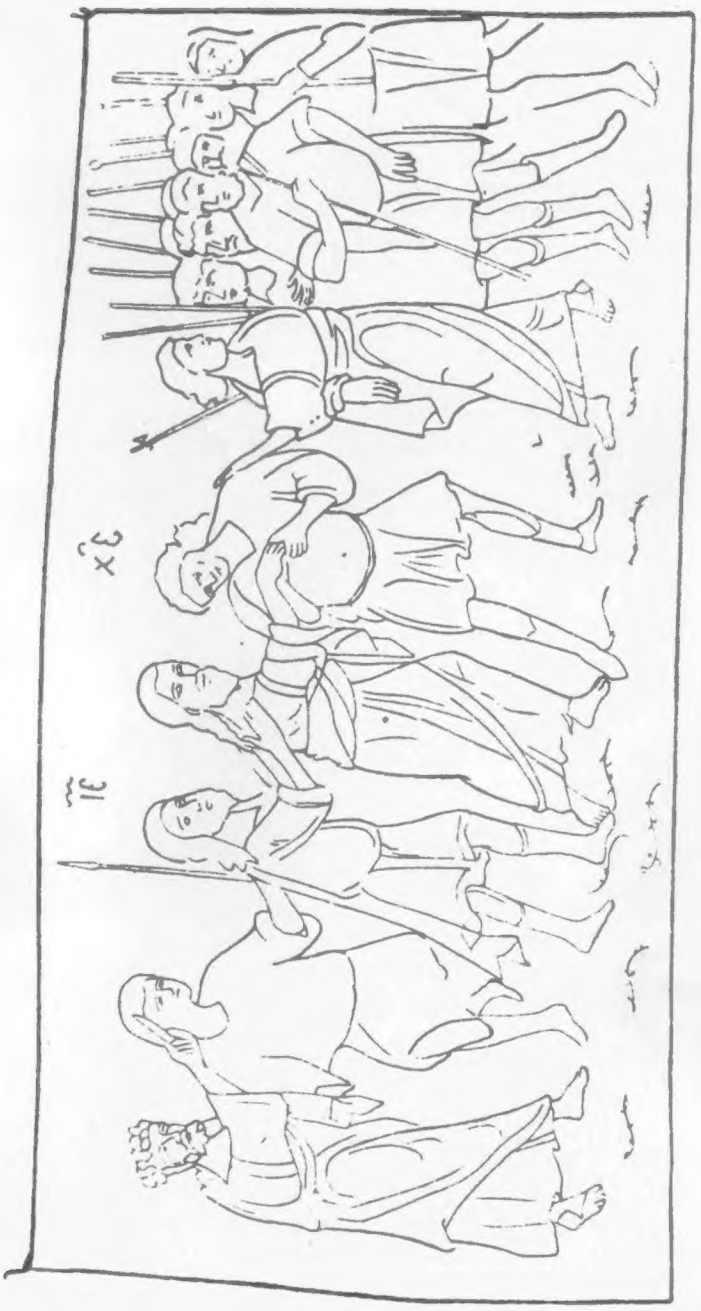
Eglise des Saints Anargyres de Théodore Limniotès (Kastoria).
(Tirée du livre de S. PÉLÉKONIDES, *op. cit.*).

La Trahison de Judas (Eglise de Trissakia).
(Photo Ed. Iliopoulos).

PLANCHE III

PLANCHE IV

La Trahison de Judas (Enkleistra de St. Néophytos).
(Photo tirée du livre de K. Tsiknopoulos, *op. cit.*).



Tétraévangile de Djzaïteti.
(D'après G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile* — fig. 329).

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